Montgomery, Field Marshall

The Connaught Hotel
Carlos Place
London, W.1.

November 13, 1959.

Dear Field Marshal:

Here is what is known in my country as "folding money"!

It was a great pleasure for me to see you again on Wednesday. Permit me to wish you a most enjoyable trip.

As ever yours,

Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G.,
Isington Mill
Alton
Hampshire.

FROM: FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN,
K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.

~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

Isington Mill,
Alton,
Hants.

8 July 1959.

My dear Ed

I was glad to hear from you and to get your letter of June 26th. The clippings have not yet arrived, but I shall read them with great interest.

I am glad to hear that you will be in London during October next and we must, of course, meet. Please let me know your dates as soon as they are firm and then you can come and stay with me again here at my home.

Yours ever

Montgomery of Alamein

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, 22, N.Y.

June 26, 1959

Dear Field Marshal:

I am today dispatching a few clippings which resulted from our television effort.

It now looks as though I will be in London during most of October, and I look forward eagerly to the opportunity of seeing you again.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.
Isington Mill
Alton
Hants.

OVERSEAS

May 8 1959

to:

FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN
ISINGTON MILL
ALTON
HAMPSHIRE
ENGLAND

DELIGHTED YOU FOUND FILM ACCEPTABLE STOP ARRANGING DELIVERY YOUR PRINT EARLY NEXT WEEK STOP STILL TRYING ARRANGE ADDITIONAL HALFHOUR FROM WEALTH OF FILM AVAILABLE. REGARDS.

ED MURROW

514-182-513

NOTES ON CONVERSATION WITH MONTGOMERY - May 3, 1959

1. Russians terribly, terribly frightened of Germans.

2. Khrushchev convinced, and convinced Monty, not the slightest possibility of war over Berlin.

3. Khrushchev said: "Don't push us about so much in public - do it quietly."

4. Montgomery completely convinced Russians sincere in wanting to reach an accommodation over Berlin. Equally convinced Russians will never go for package deal.

5. Khrushchev vigorous, alert, informed - "have to get up early in the morning to get ahead of him"

The Daily Telegraph
and
Morning Post
LONDON

TELEPHONE: JUDSON 2-2626
CABLES: GLUSON NEW YORK

50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

April 30, 1959

Dear Ed,

I thought you would like to see how the other London papers treated your brilliant Montgomery interview, and also to have a final edition of The Daily Telegraph, which is a much better looking paper than the early Manchester edition I sent you yesterday (we receive this before lunch on a Sabena flight from that place). I am told by an apparently reliable source that the Field Marshal received no fee for his talks with C.B.S. If this is so, I think it would be a very good thing to say it, as it is generally assumed that he was paid a large sum. Could you ask someone in your office to telephone me, and let me know?

Yours sincerely,

Alex H. Faulkner

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE READER'S DIGEST
PLEASANTVILLE · NEW YORK

April 30, 1959

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thanks for the excerpt from your Montgomery interview, which you sent via Al Cole.

It's interesting indeed, as you say, but I should think it would go over better when listened to on TV than when read in printed form. Our feeling is that in type it seems discursive and hence to lack as great impact as we'd want.

The best of thanks, however, for letting us see it.

Cordially yours,

Ken Payne

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

EXECUTIVE EDITOR: KENNETH W. PAYNE

MURROW: What do you think a father can contribute to a son? Do you agree with Lord Chesterfield that the main thing a father can teach his son is to ride, to shoot, to fish and to try to tell the truth?

MONTGOMERY:

I agree with the last one, very much, but not the first - the first three. Now, my experience, of course, of that, is based on two step-sons and one, my own son. And it's not -- you would say from my own experience - that perhaps you haven't the right to speak a great deal on this subject - because my wife died after I'd been married ten years and I was left alone. By that time the two step-sons were both in the army. Curiously enough, their father had been killed in the first war, in Italy, and they had been brought up to hate soldiers, and weren't even allowed to play with toy soldiers in the nursery - never - all soldiers out -- they're all stupid people. I think some of them certainly are. My own boy, his mother died just before the war and so I went away to fight. Because, you see, in 1938, I had to go away to Palestine, to fight the Arabs, and came back just in time to take a division out to the Second War, in September, 1939. And so the whole of the war, when he was emerging, from about the age of nine up to when he went to the bigger school, I had to hand him over to somebody else. Now, I believe that, in the bringing-up of a young boy, there are certain things which are essential and I would apply these things to anybody who wanted to have anything to do with me - or to serve on my

MONTGOMERY:

staff - or to come into my set-up. The first thing is: well, a lot of points, but I would name three and I would put the first one as integrity. And that is - integrity, to me, means speaking the truth. Now, if you can teach your son to speak the truth, however bad he may be or become in certain other ways, you've got a starting point - you got some way you can begin with him and get him molded in the right way - speaking the truth. When the war was over, there was an officer, who had been on my staff, who wanted to start a Boys' Club in the slums of a big industrial city, up in the North of England - and he needed a little money -- and he asked me if I would help him -- and I put down the money which would start this club. And I said - there's only one rule in this club - every boy who belongs to this Boys' Club - were working boys from very poor homes - he speak the truth. If he doesn't speak the truth - if he tells a lie he's judged by his fellow-club boys -- and if he's guilty - he's out. So I put great store by that. Now, the next thing I would put store by is courage. And I think courage wants a little analysis - because there are two sorts of courage. There is physical courage and there's moral courage. Now, physical courage is not given to us all to have. Some people have it and some haven't. If you haven't got it, well, you've just got to make the best of it. But moral courage you can have - and moral courage, I think, is standing firm, by what you believe to be right, in the face of temptation. And teaching a boy that, when there is great temptation, he'll look the other boy in the face and say - no - no. And I think the third thing is enthusiasm. If a boy has enthusiasm, that isn't just a great lump of meat, you see, just

MONTGOMERY:

fleeting about. But if he's really enthusiastic - that if he understands that he wants something out of this life he's got to put something into it - and so on. You see, that's what I call enthusiasm. If he does a thing, he enters into it and does it wholeheartedly. Well that, I think --- I think those three things are amongst those which a father should teach his son. I did. Then, I think that when the boy becomes about sixteen, it's very difficult to do any more. I think that if --- if after that age ....

END OF REEL

MONTGOMERY:

Now, when a boy reaches about the age of sixteen, it's rather difficult to say, it might be fifteen - it depends on how quickly he develops - but about that age -- then, I think there's not a great deal you can do, except by influence, to mold his character. I think, then, you can do quite a lot to persuade him to make, for himself, a life, and not just half a life, by --- by thinking that classroom work doesn't matter - that the only thing, alternatively --- that the only thing that matters is to do well in examinations. Of course, you have to do well in examinations, in this life, because our society demands that you have to do certain things to get certain jobs. But a great many people think that that is the only thing that matters. It doesn't. There, you start to build up the boy's character and to see that he'll stand firm in the buffeting that he's going to get in this life. Now, it's about that time, I think, that you've got to be a bit careful with these boys - because - I'm talking about boys - because I have no experience with girls. I've had great experience with boys. I've launched three, in life, and they've all succeeded - none of them have gone to prison - not yet. They all married nice girls. I'll talk about that in a minute. I think, then, you've got to be a bit careful about this television, which can be a great medium, but it can be a very great danger if these boys, come in at night and sit glued, all night, to the television - I think it's dangerous. And I think, then, that the relationship between the boy and his father has got to become close and intimate. And it is then, of course, that he'll begin to be interested in girls. Now, I think, myself, from my experience, that one of the really big things that matter

MONTGOMERY:

is that your son should marry a nice girl. And my experience is that the first girls who come to your house, brought there by the boys, are quite dreadful --- are quite dreadful. That happened, in my case - in three cases. No, in two cases - three boys -- and I said nothing. You say not a word. If you say - what dreadful girls, they'll probably go straight off and marry them. It's no good, you see. You say nothing. Then, finally, the boy - you got to realize that the girl has been brought there by the boy for that reason - to know whether you approve, or not, of this girl. And finally, he brings the right girl and then you say -- what a charming girl. Do ask her, here, again -- and so on. That's how you do it. And the last thing, I think I would say about this is, that the parent must not expect gratitude from the children. You must be delighted if you get it. But if you demand- if you make tremendous demands on your boys, at this age - this teen-age when he's emerging - he is sixteen, seventeen, eighteen - if you make demands on him and expect his love and his affection - and demand it, you may not get it. You hope you'll get it. And whether you get it or not will depend a great deal on how you've handled the boy in his early life - and then you do get it and you're delighted. I think that's really how I would put it. The other small point is, that I taught my boys, very early in life, the value of money. And when they were sixteen years olds, at school, I gave them their full allowance and made them entirely dress themselves, in their clothes, and run their life - and taught them the value of money. And then, as they began to get older and began to earn their own incomes, they had learned the value of money and didn't go off the rails - they were

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used to handling money and to writing checks - and all that sort of thing. Now, that's how I would see this business of the relationship between the father and his son. It's terribly important.

COLLINGWOOD: It is sometimes said that the present generation has lost its drive and enthusiasm - its capacity for action and doing great things - is interested, now, in security - in safety - in unadventurous things. Do you think that's true?

MONTGOMERY:

No, I don't think it's true at all. I heard it said -- I'm interested in it -- when you were saying it - I heard it said -- I don't believe it. I believe that the boy of today is just as good as we were - and I'm not certain that's not better. You see, I've been very well placed, in my life, in the last ten years, to see the boys of the free world - what you would call the drafted boys - what we call the National Service Boys - who come into the army or the armed forces to do their National Service. I've seen them all - Norway, Denmark - right across (NAME) to Italy, Greece, Turkey - back to Canada, the United States. They're first-class boys. I think they're excellent boys. What you can do with them will depend on how you handle them. And if the leadership is right, with these boys, they're first-class. And I think it's very important, also, of course, that the home life is good. You see, what often happens is that the parent sends his boys to school and he thinks that the whole thing will be done by the schoolmaster. Never was there a greater error - never. The parent and

MONTGOMERY:

the schoolmaster are partners in the battle for the boy - they're partners. And it's a frightful thing when the schoolmaster has to fight a losing battle with the parent. They're partners - and it must be well understood. And so often you'll find that a boy comes -- he's all right at school and he goes home, on the holidays, from a boarding school - and he goes back and the schoolmaster's got to start all over again. The boy's slipped back, you see, with over-indulgent parents. So I don't agree with it. And my reading of the thing is that the boy of today, he's an excellent boy. Of course, there are lots of bad ones, I mean, who go about -- teen-agers who beat up people. But generally speaking, I would say he's just as good as we were - if not better. That's my view.

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Tel: Bentley 3126.

ISINGTON MILL
ALTON
HAMPSHIRE

April 16, 1959

My dear Ed

Thank you for your cable. Certainly you can submit my remarks on "Father and Son" to Readers Digest, or any other paper you select, for a suitable fee. I note that programme will be on 28 or 29 April. I will be in Moscow on those dates!!

Yrs ever

Montgomery of Alamein

P.T.O.

I will be delighted to take part in a "Small World" programme in the autumn.

M of A

April 21, 1959

Mr. A.L. Cole
General Business Manager
The Reader's Digest
Pleasantville, N.Y.

Dear Al:

This should be sent to one of your editors, but I don't know which one.

A couple of weeks ago, I was doing a long film interview with Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein, an hour of which will be presented on April 28. In the course of the interview, I put him the question as per the attached. There won't be room for either the question or the answer in the television show, merely because we have decided to concentrate on current events.

Please don't think me so arrogant that I believe that my outtakes are suitable for the Digest, but I thought the old boy's answer was interesting, and somebody in your shop might have some passing interest in it.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

MURROW: What do you think a father can contribute to a son? Do you agree with Lord Chesterfield that the main thing a father can teach his son is to ride, to shoot, to fish and to try to tell the truth?

MONTGOMERY:

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- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

ERM

Collingwood

TWX/E/ACR1 WEE46/TD64

LONDON 39 22 1154A

PRESS CBSINC

NEWYORK

BURKE FOR FRIENDLY INFORMATIVELY BBC RUNNING OUR MONTGOMERY INTERVIEW SUNDAY AFTERNOON AUGUST 2ND STOP VIRTUALLY UNPRECEDENTED FOR BBC CARRY ANYONE LESS THAN QUEEN OR PRIME MINISTER WHO FIRST APPEARED ON COMMERCIAL TELEVISION STOP CONGRATULATIONS REGARDS

COLLINGOOD

TWX ACR 22 WCA 1575 TD40

LONDON 19 7/11.31AM

PRESS CBSINC

NY

BURKE FRIENDLY MONTY SAW FILM TODAY AND COMPLETELY HAPPY EXUBERANT SENDS HEARTIEST TO ED REGARDS

KENDRICK

HERES ANOTHER

BV 558A MAY 7

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Office Communication

to: MURROW OFFICE

from: PHILLIP PODLEY

RE: MONTGOMERY INTERVIEW

EXCELLENT!, WONDERFUL!, PLEASE GIVE US MORE LIKE IT!!

F 307

APRIL 29 1959

THE NEW YORK TIMES, W

TV: Montgomery Talks

Field Marshal Is Shown in Interview With Murrow and Collingwood

By JACK GOULD

LAST night's conversation with Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery was an extraordinary television program—utterly absorbing in its provocativeness, refreshing in its candor and fascinating in its personalization of history. For a farewell production before he begins his leave of absence, Edward R. Murrow could not have done better.

•

The Columbia Broadcasting System assigned a full hour to the talk between the field marshal and Mr. Murrow and Charles Collingwood, C. B. S. correspondent in London. The sustaining sixty-minute period represented a substantial investment in behalf of public service. But the network's money proved admirably well spent for the interview demonstrated video's unusual ability to arouse and excite interest in world affairs.

Whether a viewer agreed or not with Lord Montgomery's opinions of men and events or his solutions for the ills of the world was perhaps incidental to the larger video achievements. The field marshal, thanks to the impact of the home screen, assuredly set off many a discussion in the home parlor.

Perhaps the most vivid TV segment was the field marshal's reminiscences of the conduct of World War II. The informality of the approach was unusual in its application to a world figure still very much in the news.

The rights and wrongs of the invasion strategy, the virtues and shortcomings of American military figures and the invariable correctness of his own position were set forth by the field marshal much as if he were chatting over recent happenings in his home town. The recorded video conversation may prove one of the historian's most useful tools in simplifying and clarifying the past for the layman.

•

The camera work by the C. B. S. staff for the most part presented Lord Montgomery in close-up. But it was a nice subtle touch to show that on most every wall in his home there was a portrait of the field marshal.

The program also gave a hint of the apparent working accord that presently prevails between Mr. Murrow and C. B. S. news. Both received roughly equal billing. But once again Mr. Murrow and his co-producer, Fred W. Friendly, displayed a knack for the TV documentary that is second to none and not duplicated elsewhere. "Montgomery Speaks His Mind," the program's formal title, illustrated why Mr. Murrow will be missed so much during his sabbatical.

•

DAILY MAIL, Wednesd

MAILBAG

The NEW Prime Minister

(AS REVEALED BY MR ED. MURROW)

SIR, — It is quite astonishing how the hitherto shadowy figure of the Prime Minister has suddenly been sharply revealed as a lovable man of quiet humour, touching faith, and down-to-earth common sense.

The unveiling was achieved by the deft American, Mr. Ed. Murrow.

Will whoever is responsible for the stuffy, contrived, party political broadcasts learn anything, I wonder?

Laleham. A. R. KIMBERLEY.

MONTGOMERY SPEAKS HIS MIND

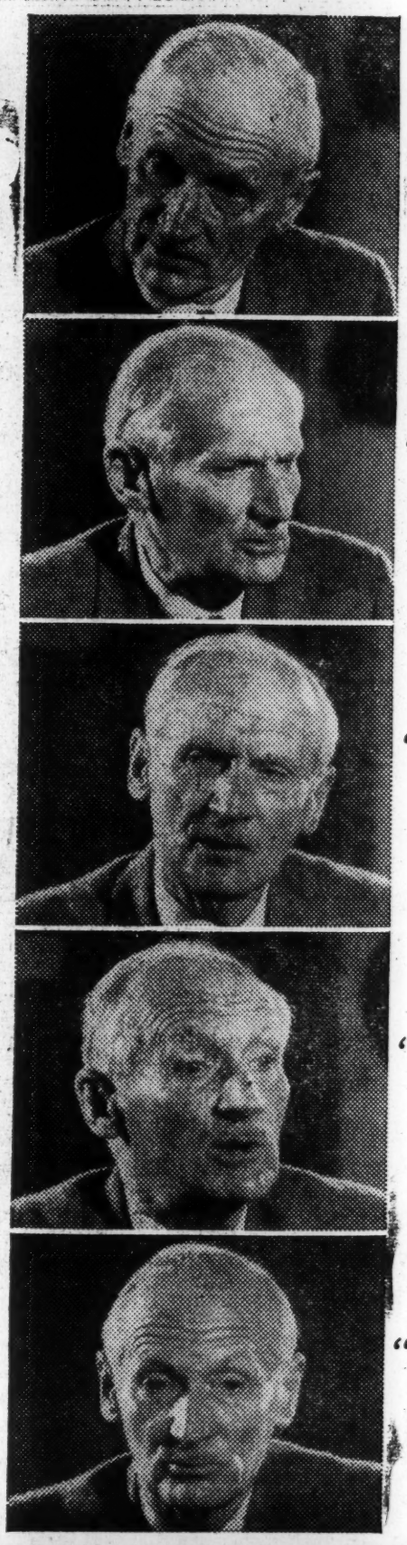
TO EDWARD R. MURROW AND CHARLES COLLINGWOOD in a full hour interview broadcast on the night of his arrival in Moscow for a visit with the leaders of the Soviet Union.

Don't fail to hear the outspoken views of the famous British Field Marshal who routed the German armies in North Africa and helped launch the final assault on Europe in World War II.

You will hear his frank and peppery opinions of his former comrades in arms, the possible solutions of the Berlin crisis, and the chances for world peace, in this timely report edited by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly.

CBS

Tonight at 7:30 on channel 2



"Russia is terribly afraid of Germany ...we all know what 70 million Germans can do when united under a leader."

"Speaking as a soldier, there's only one thing that I'd be frightened of... and that is the Red Army."

"If we ever had to go to war with the present command set up in NATO, we should have some pretty good disasters."

"I never said Eisenhower was a bad general. Never. I just said I didn't agree with the way he did his stuff."

"Soldiers are not so hot when it comes to this political racket."

Draws Ike's Criticism

Montgomery Visits Khrushchev for 2 Hours

United Press International.

MOSCOW, April 29.—Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery held a do-it-yourself conference with Nikita S. Khrushchev today despite criticism by President Eisenhower and the British press for talking too much.

Tass news agency said the British soldier and the Soviet premier had a "friendly conversation . . . in which a number of quetions dealing with the international situation and Soviet-British relations were touched upon."

Viscount Montgomery refused to speak to newsmen about the two-hour conference.

In a filmed television interview shortly before his departure for Moscow, he attacked United States leadership and policies.

The British press termed his words "egotistical . . . muddled, mischevious and irresponsible . . . unforgiveable."

At his news conference in Washington, President Eisenhower said the British press had expressed his own sentiments about Viscount Montgomery's biting remarks.

(A reporter who called Viscount Montgomery in Moscow from London asked if he was aware of the president's remarks. He said no.

("The president stated that his reaction to your comments on the American leadership was pretty well expressed by the British press," the reporter said.

("What's that?" Viscount Montgomery asked.

(Well, sir the consensus was you talked too much."

("Interesting."

("Do you have anything to say about the president's remark or the editorials in the London papers?"

("No comment. Thank you. Goodbye."

(The British foreign office, apparently jolted by what Viscount Montgomery had said in the TV interview, emphasized he had spoken as "a private citizen.")

Viscount Montgomery, retired deputy supreme commander of NATO, met Khrushev in the Kremlin. He had asked for the invitation and got it despite criticism at home.

Also at the meeting was Vasili Sokolovsky, chief of the Soviet general staff.

Afterward Viscount Montgomery and Sokolovsky lunched with Defense Minister Rodion Malinovsky and Soviet and British dignitaries.

After lunch Sokolovsky took him on what seemed to be a rather boring tour of the city.

When he declined to see one object after another, he was asked what he would like to see.

"The Children's World," he said, referring to Moscow's fanciest department store for children.

Viscount Montgomery bought three naked celluloid dolls and five children's story books. A Soviet officer paid. Then he went back to the British embassy.

Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, left, talks with British Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, right, in Moscow today. The British military hero pursued his do-it-yourself summit conference despite opposition in the press at home. Others in photo are identified by official Soviet source as Marshal Vasili Sokolovski, Red Army chief of staff, and an interpreter.

United Press International Radiotelephoto

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1959

Montgomery Asserts U. S. Is Lacking in Leadership

By Ralph Chapman

Leadership of the free world passed to the United States after World War II but that leadership has been "very intermittent in its pulsations . . . not been as good as it might be," British Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery told Americans last night.

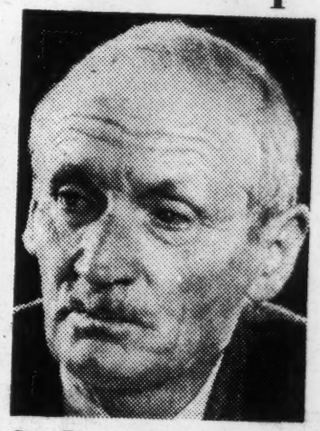
"I think you've got to admit the fact, rightly or wrongly," he said, "that American leadership, of recent years, has been rather suspect."

One reason for this is, he said bluntly:

"Your leaders over there are people who are not awfully well. Mr. Dulles (an awfully nice chap, a very decent chap) is in the hospital with cancer. Your President has had three very serious illnesses . . . The head of your State Department today walks about on two crutches. I mean, he can't walk properly—not very good . . . I have a feeling that the United States leadership has, perhaps, slipped a little bit."

These views and others on world affairs were voiced during an interview filmed at his home some time ago and shown by CBS-TV last night in a program called "Montgomery Speaks His Mind." Interviewers were Edward R. Murrow and Charles Collingwood.

Actually, the retired Field Marshal was in Moscow yesterday, beginning a visit to the Soviet Union as a "private citizen."



Sir Bernard Montgomery in film clip from his television interview on the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Montgomery: Exciting TV:

Britain's fiery Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, a cataract of opinion, provided us last night with one of the most stimulating hour sessions enjoyed on television (CBS-TV, 7:30 P.M.). Most appropriately titled, "Montgomery Speaks His Mind," the program was filmed in his country home at Isington-in-Hampshire, Enland, with Ed Murrow and Charles Collingwood doing the interviewing.

Outspoken, direct, and, at 71, just as sharp as we imagine he was directing the North African campaign during World War II, the retired soldier gave his views and opinions on war strategy, the present world crisis and today's leaders (President Eisenhower, included), with little fear of the repercussions his words might invite.

Montgomery's TV appearance will undoubtedly set off pro and con debates in political circles today, for there was plenty said to chew over. However, whether one agrees with the peppery hero or not, no one can deny that "Monty's" a showman par excellence. And also, that a show of this kind does, as Ed Murrow pointed out, invite one to think.

Daily News - April 29, 1959

Montgomery Criticizes U.S. Role In World Leadership Since War

Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery severely criticized the United States' post-war world leadership in a television program seen here last night.

The retired 71-year-old British military leader conceded that the United States had been "a very sure anchor in the free world." However, he asserted that its leadership had been "intermittent," "not as good as it might be," "rather suspect" and perhaps characterized by "lack of decision at the top level."

Lord Montgomery said American leadership had perhaps "slipped a little" because President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter and former Secretary of State Dulles "aren't very well, very fit."

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Britain is coming forward with more "consistent" leadership, according to the Field Marshal. He said the British had "the experience of centuries" in world leadership, but the United States had "quite a bit to learn."

Lord Montgomery said soldiers did not make good politicians and should stay out of politics. He himself has been criticized in the British press recently as a soldier mixing in politics because of his statements on international politics and his present Moscow visit.

Timed for Moscow Arrival

The release of his hour-long television program was timed by the Columbia Broadcasting System to coincide with his arrival in Moscow yesterday. The hour-long program was based on an interview obtained by Edward R. Murrow and Charles Collingwood last month in England.

The Field Marshal, in his interview, disagreed with President Eisenhower's statements minimizing the importance of a summit conference with the Soviet Union. According to the speaker, Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev is the only Russian who "counts." The Field Marshal suggested summit conferences every six months.

He also disagreed with the President's statements on the Berlin crisis minimizing the importance of possible ground warfare in view of nuclear potentials. According to the Field Marshal, it is playing into the enemy's hands to concentrate on nuclear weapons at the expense of conventional ones.

Reiterating his proposals for a "thinning out" of armed forces in Central Europe, he added the suggestion that small United States and British forces be left in France.

Lord Montgomery expressed "sadness" that President Eisenhower had not communicated with him since the speaker's memoirs were published last year. However, he repeated the criticisms contained in the memoirs of the President's wartime military leadership as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, especially for alleged failure to realize the post-war political consequences of letting the Russians take possession of Berlin, Prague and Vienna.

The Field Marshal added some new criticisms of the President last night, indirectly. He referred to General of the Army Douglas MacArthur as a "master strategist" and the greatest American military leader in World War II. He also called President Truman "one of the great Presidents" because of his decision to resist the Communist invasion of South Korea.

Greeted by Sokolovsky

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, April 28 — Field Marshal Montgomery, bare headed and in mufti, flew into Moscow tonight to meet some of his old wartime allies in the Soviet army and for two days of unofficial talks with top Kremlin officials.

Britain's controversial soldier appeared in holiday mood as he stepped off a Soviet jet airliner from Paris and shook hands with an old wartime friend—Marshal Vasily D. Sokolovsky, who headed the Soviet greeting party.

"You look much younger than the last time I saw you," Lord Montgomery said in his jolly, high-pitched voice.

Marshal Sokolovsky, resplendent in his marshal's uniform, grinned good naturedly and replied:

"I have to be young for the position I hold. I am Chief of Staff of the Soviet armed forces."

Lord Montgomery, who himself has held a similar exalted post in Britain, is in Moscow as the guest of British Ambassador Sir Patrick Riley.

He said he hoped to meet Premier Khrushchev tomorrow

Big Promotion for Montgomery Memoirs

COLLINS have prepared for booksellers an impressive brochure giving details of the promotion plans for *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Montgomery* which Collins publish on November 3rd at 35s., with a first printing of 135,000 copies. The brochure has been designed by Mr. Ronald Politzer, head of Collins' publicity department.

Serialisation of the book will begin throughout the world on October 5th, United Kingdom rights being held by the *Sunday Times*. Serialisation will straddle book publication and run altogether for some 10 weeks. The *Sunday Times*'s promotion of its top-rank serials is usually lavish: the Montgomery book will involve the biggest expenditure the paper has ever incurred for such a purpose and will include TV advertising, giant 48-sheet posters on the hoardings of the principal cities and large and extensive press advertising. Second-serial rights have been secured by a number of provincial newspapers and publicity for the book in the provinces will continue there after the *Sunday Times* extracts end in December.

The *Sunday Times* is giving a reception at the Savoy Hotel on September 25th to enable members of the book and newspaper trades to meet the Field-Marshal, who will speak. Collins will make a recording of the speech, and will send tapes to their branches and agents overseas.

Broadcast Publicity

Broadcast publicity will be considerable. There is to be an hour's feature programme on September 20th, the day on which Field-Marshal Montgomery relinquishes the N.A.T.O. post of Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe, which he has held since N.A.T.O. started, under four successive Supreme Commanders and over a period of seven and a half years. This occasion also marks the Field-Marshal's completion of 50 years' continuous active service in the British Army—the longest ever recorded, longer than Wellington, Marlborough and Monck—and is bound to receive considerable press publicity.

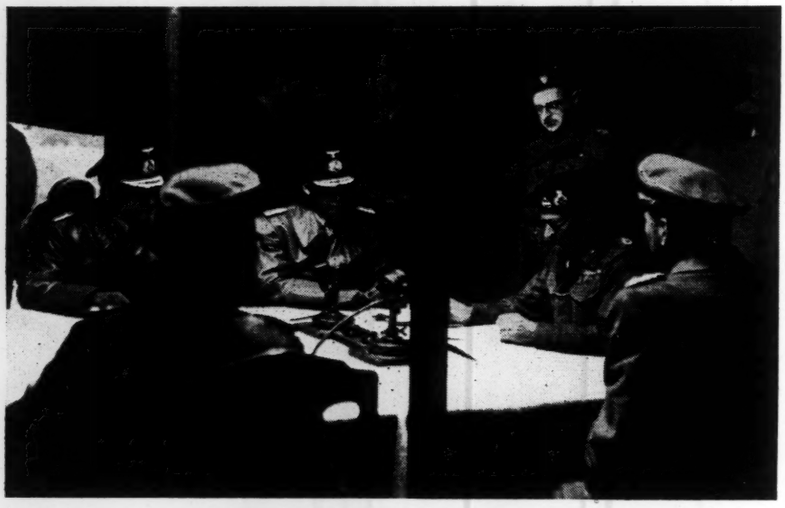
Montgomery is going to appear in a series of eight television programmes running over a period of six weeks and bridging the Christmas-New Year period.

There will be a Prologue on Sunday, December 7th, after which there will be a series of half-hourly programmes every Friday; after the sixth of these, there will be an Epilogue.

Collins say: "We feel that nothing could be more advantageously calculated from the point of view of the book's sale — this invaluable publicity during the vital shopping days before Christmas, and then helping to carry the book on into the New Year and catching the Book Token business."

The Field-Marshal is writing the scripts of these programmes himself. Each of the six programmes will be devoted to an individual battle, viz.: Alamein, Mareth, Sicily, Normandy, Winter 1944/5, Cross-

Display piece to be issued by Collins for the Montgomery Memoirs. It stands 20 inches high and the cut-out photograph, mounted on hardboard, stands out against a yellow background. Lettering at the foot is in red Dayglo on a black panel. Collins plan to issue these display pieces a month before publication to enable booksellers to attract advance orders, especially while the serial is beginning in the "Sunday Times". Collins are supplying additional labels which can be pasted over the "ORDER NOW" label at the appropriate time—"OUT MONDAY", "OUT TODAY", "BUY IT HERE"



The scene at Montgomery's Headquarters on Luneburg Heath when he accepted the surrender of the German armies in the West. (Chester Wilmot can be seen immediately to the right of the left-hand pillar.) One of the 46 illustrations to Field-Marshal Montgomery's forthcoming Memoirs and one selected by Collins' Publicity Department for blowing up for booksellers' displays

ing the Rhine and the Surrender on Lunebburg Heath. In the Prologue, the Field-Marshal proposes "to tell them what a battle is". In the Epilogue he will reflect on the lessons to be learned from the battles and on the conclusion that while the armed forces won the war, the politicians lost the peace.

On October 23rd, Montgomery will as usual preside over the Alamein Reunion and on October 31st he will be the guest of honour at a Foyle's Literary Luncheon.

Display Material

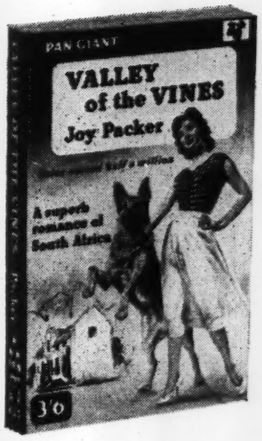
Collins have prepared an impressive amount of display material for booksellers. The chief item will be a cut-out figure of the Field-Marshal in his familiar but unorthodox military attire, standing 20 in. high, and bearing the slogan "The most eagerly awaited of all memoirs". ("It seems superfluous to state the title and author", say the publishers.) This display piece will be issued a month before publication so that booksellers can attract advance orders, particularly while extracts are appearing serially. The display piece will be issued with a set of four alternative labels, to be used in turn—in advance, "Order Now, Coming November 3rd"; week before publication, "Out Monday"; day of publication, "Out Today"; after publication, "Buy it here". Booksellers will be asked to paste each successive label over the preceding one at the appropriate time.

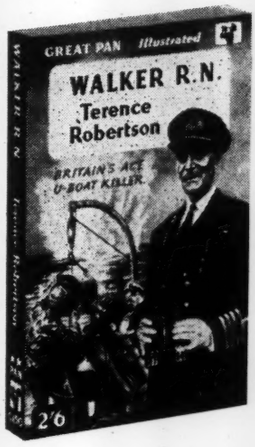
Stick-in tickets will be issued from Glasgow with all trade parcels of the book and blow-ups to any size specified of photographs in the book of the surrender on Luneburg Heath will be issued to booksellers on the instruction of Collins' representatives to the publicity department in London.

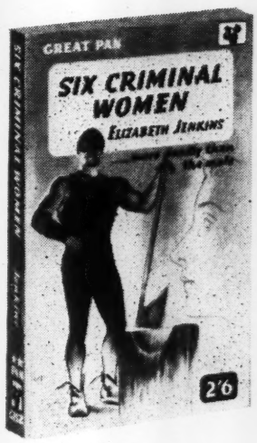
The World of Books

C. DAY LEWIS, whose better half is Nicholas Blake, will review some of the latest crime fiction in "The World of Books" on Saturday, August 16th, at 6.15 p.m. in Network Three. Peter Augustine will read an extract from *Katorga, an Aspect of Modern Slavery* (Heinemann), Bernard Roeder's account of a Russian penal camp, and Maurice Hussey will review recent Shakespearean criticism.

PAN AUGUST 15







THE VALLEY OF THE VINES
Joy Packer. Vivid with colour, brimful of excitement, this superb romantic novel, set in South Africa, has been a world bestseller—over half a million copies sold. **3/6**

THE HUNTERS
James Salter. Outstanding novel of an American jet pilot in Korea who puts personal air victories above all else. 'A brilliant picture of jet-age combat' —*R.A.F. Review.*
20th Century-Fox film, starring Robert Mitchum, to be released shortly. **2/6**

THE HAPPY HIGHWAYMAN
Leslie Charteris. Further exciting adventures of THE SAINT. Sales of PAN Charteris thrillers now exceed 2 million copies. **2/6**

FIND A VICTIM
John Ross Macdonald. A fast-moving American thriller featuring LEW ARCHER, private detective. 'John Ross Macdonald is one of the most impressive crime writers in the business'—*Truth.* **2/6**

WALKER R.N.
Terence Robertson. The amazing exploits of Britain's ace U-Boat killer. The story of the unrelenting struggle of the 'Little Ships' in the grim battle of the Atlantic. *Illustrated.* **2/6**

VIOLENCE AT SUNDOWN
Frank O'Rourke. FIRST BRITISH EDITION. A gripping Western—the story of one man with guts and a gun . . . and nothing else to help him keep the law. **2/6**

VARIABLE WINDS AT JALNA
Mazo de la Roche. Lovers of the WHITEOAKS saga will meet many old friends—and make some new ones too—in this richly exciting romance of our own day. **2/6**

THE BLUNDERER
Patricia Highsmith. A frightening American novel of suspense—as gripping as a mantrap. 'Savage, precise and more than a little inhuman'—*The Spectator.* **2/6**

SIX CRIMINAL WOMEN
Elizabeth Jenkins. Sinister women . . . more deadly than the male! Six fascinating stories for the 'true crime' connoisseur. **2/6**

Reprinted by popular demand

The Naked Island	**Russell Braddon**	**2/6**
PAN sales approaching 1 million copies.		
Live and Let Die	**Ian Fleming**	**2/6**
Diamonds are Forever	**Ian Fleming**	**2/6**
Demand for PAN JAMES BOND thrillers is soaring. Now featured in 'Daily Express' strip.		
Appointment with Death	**Agatha Christie**	**2/6**
Sparkling Cyanide	**Agatha Christie**	**2/6**

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15. quotes from British newspapers.

WED. Apr. 29, 1959

Lord Montgomery's American TV Broadcast

Another subject of comment is Lord Montgomery's filmed interview, televised in the United States, in which he criticizes recent American leadership of the free world. All the editorials say that he should not have spoken as he did.

The DAILY EXPRESS (Conservative):

> "Muddled, mischievous, and irresponsible -- such is the television broadcast which Lord Montgomery has delivered to the Americans. Naturally, Montgomery says some things that are pungent and sensible, but any good he may do by this means is completely outweighed by the cruel taunts he throws at the United States and her leaders."

The NEWS CHRONICLE:

> "Montgomery shows a sublime and ridiculous disregard for the effect his words are likely to have. It is part of the muddle that there are grains of sound common sense in the speech. Will he never appoint a sub-editor? The Field Marshal's remarks will delight Moscow, destroy much of Mr. Macmillan's recent work with the United States, and madden the average American. We entirely agree with Montgomery that soldiers should stay out of politics."

The DAILY MAIL (Conservative) says that the interview was tactless, to put it mildly. It adds that suspicion of British motives is already deep-seated in the United States and Europe, but it asks if, after this, it will be believed that Monty is only on a private visit to Moscow. The paper comments:

> "He said he would like to see a withdrawal of troops from East and West Germany. Only the previous night Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Britain's Foreign Secretary, had said that a disengagement, leaving a vacuum in the middle, was most dangerous. This is exactly what Lord Montgomery has now proposed to a wide audience."

Oil

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (Liberal) turns to another subject, the announcement that the consumption of oil in Britain last year was over 25 per cent higher than in the previous year. The newspaper believes

(over)

that oil consumption is likely to continue to increase. However, THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN writes:

> "The pressure of demand which is common throughout Europe, and which is building up again in the United States as industrial activity quickens, has not created a seller's market for oil. There is oil in plenty in the world, and intense competition to find buyers for it. Domestic producers in the United States have succeeded in getting mandatory quotas imposed on imports, which means that still more oil from the Middle East and Venezuela will be available to the rest of the world. Furthermore, although Soviet oil at present has only a tiny share of the market in the non-Communist world, the Russians seem to be making real efforts to increase oil exports. That is another potential source of competition."

The newspaper concludes that the Arab governments must take account of this abundance of oil, for if the price of crude oil is more likely to fall than to rise, the best hope of increased revenue is in selling more oil rather than trying to put up the price.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES, the organ of Britain's business and financial interests, makes the same point. It adds that another important factor is likely to be the production of oil from the Sahara, a source of supply which makes the development of a shortage in the future much more unlikely.

Cyprus

In an editorial on Cyprus, THE TIMES says that while she is heading fast for independence, there are signs of friction. It refers to a recent violent clash between Greek Cypriot right wing and left wing factions:

> "This was a manifestation of an old and deep-rooted battle of ideologies, a quarrel which will become a more prominent part of Cyprus politics now that the unifying force of anti-colonialism has been removed. Even so, it would be wrong to assume that a struggle for power is at present being waged among the Greek community in Cyprus. The prestige of Archbishop Makarios and the still surviving mystique of EOKA are far too strong to give any serious opposition a chance."

E N D

CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.
PLaza 1-2345

NOT FOR RELEASE BEFORE
7:30 PM EDT APRIL 28,
1959

MONTGOMERY SPEAKS HIS MIND

an interview with

Field-Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein

interviewed by

Edward R. Murrow
Charles Collingwood

edited and produced by

Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

as presented over the CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

April 28, 1959 ------- 7:30-8:30 pm, EDT

MONTGOMERY SPEAKS HIS MIND

April 28, 1959

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Field-Marshal, Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, Knight of the Garter. Of his victories, Winston Churchill wrote: "The fame of the Army group, like that of the Eighth Army, will long shine in history, and other generations besides our own will honor the character, profound strategy and untiring zeal of their Commander who marched from Egypt through Tripoli, Tunis, Sicily and Southern Italy, and through France, Belgium, Holland and Germany to the Baltic and the Elbe without losing a battle or even a serious action." And the Supreme Commander, Dwight D. Eisenhower, said: "Montgomery's brilliant performance is already a part of history."

BRIEF SCENES OF FIELD-MARSHAL MONTGOMERY
IN ACTION FROM EGYPT TO GERMANY

MURROW:

Now in retirement at his converted mill at Isington, Hampshire, the Field-Marshal, at seventy-two, remains crusty, controversial and constantly interesting. And this soldier who stopped the Fascist armies in the desert, took the Nazi surrender in Germany, and helped weld the NATO shield against communism in Western Europe, still uses poetry in describing battle and the real victory.

MONTGOMERY:

I don't know whether you've ever read a poem by Robert Southey in a book of poems call "The Golden Treasury," and the poem is called AFTER BLENHEIM, and it begins rather like this: "It was on a summer's evening, old Casper's work was done, and he before the cottage door, was seated in the sun." He was a German, you see, on the battlefield of -- at Blenheim, and his little grand-

children, Wilhelmine and Peterkin, were playing about and they found a skull, and they took this skull to the old man, and he began to reminisce about the battle of Blenheim, and little Wilhelmine said to him: Now tell us all about the war, and what they fought each other for," and he said, "Oh, I don't know what they fought each other for, but it was a wonderful victory," and then it finishes up, the last verse: "And everybody praised the Duke that this great fight did win. But what good came of it at last, quoth little Peterkin. What good came of it? And the old chap said -- that finished the old man. He said: "Oh, I don't know what good came of it, but it was a famous victory. Now that poem is very indicative of the present day. You see - twice -- in my life time - and maybe in yours, too, we have taken part -- we British -- in two world wars. Twice! And in neither case have we received the benefits which it was hoped and even promised that peace would bring. In neither case. Now that's bad. It's very bad. And I don't think you could do that today. I mean, today, you see the -- a man couldn't say, "Oh, I don't know what we fought about." We must know what we fought about.

MUSIC

MURROW:

Field-Marshal Montgomery of Alamein and reporters Collingwood and Murrow talked at his home at Isington-in-Hampshire for two days. It was a free-wheeling, wide-ranging discussion, with no questions submitted in advance. Tonight, because of the Berlin situation and the complexity of the diplomatic negotiations now in progress, we choose to deal primarily with the current situation. Perhaps at some later date, we can share his memoirs with you, but first of all, something in the nature of a brief character sketch, which may be somewhat revealing of the Field-Marshal -- a few quick excerpts of his comments on Generals and command decisions.

MONTGOMERY:

I think that the Germans professionalized war and democracy professionalized politics.

Now the same man can't do both. It is totally and utterly different. That is my view. The -- the soldier has at his command a machine which reacts immediately and with precision to his touch. He can give orders. The politician hasn't. The politician has to delay. He is dependent on people's votes. I was never dependent on people's votes. Perhaps it was rather a good thing -- a good thing I wasn't. They are quite different, and I don't know -- I don't know of any -- in -- talking of the highest ranks, I should say there are very few Service Chiefs who have made good politicians, and I don't know of any politicians who have made good Service Chiefs. I don't know them. I'd be glad to know if there are some, but I don't know them; so the two things are totally different, and I would never go into politics. I think that war is a very rough and dirty game, but politics, by gum -- by gum!

MURROW:

Montgomery on Marshal Zhukov.

MONTGOMERY:

Zhukov was a very good soldier -- a very good soldier. He made the mistake of going into politics and he became Minister of Defense in Russia. He went into politics. He got his fingers burnt, and he was out. That was his mistake.

MURROW:

The Field-Marshal on the American G.I.

MONTGOMERY:

But there is no doubt about it -- that the American soldier -- he's a first-class fighting man - By Jove, he is -- absolutely superb fighting man. Of course, when he came into the war, I first saw him in the war in North Africa, when they landed there - the other end of Africa to me - and there's no doubt about it, at that time he was pretty green, and the first entry into battle of the American Army in North Africa, in the opening stages, weren't too good. They had to learn, but I'd like to say this -- they learned a jolly sight quicker than we did.

They fairly got on to it, because when you chaps get a move on, you fairly step on the gas.

MURROW:

One great soldier talks about another.

MONTGOMERY:

I never met MacArthur until - I should think it was in 1951. That was the time when I was staying with Eisenhower in Washington, and I said to him - Ike -- I said -- "Ike, I want to go and see MacArthur." I wasn't quite certain how this would go down, you see with -- with Ike. And he said, "Yes, certainly - certainly." And we fixed it up, and I went up to New York and I went to see him in the Waldorf Astoria, where he lives in a flat, at the top of the house. Now I said to Ike, "Now, how should I -- what shall I talk to him about?" And he said, "You needn't bother," he said. I said, "Well, I want to know. I want him to tell me about his campaign and his problems in Japan," and he said, "Well, if you tell him that, you -- you just sit and listen, and you'll get the stuff all right," he said, and By Jove, I did. It was first-class -- very clear brain and very clear talking - extremely good, and when I survey the American military chiefs, which I'm entitled to do, because after all, we served together in the war, and there is no criticism about him, and I would say that MacArthur was far and away the best Service Chief that America produced in the Second World War. Whether that would be the opinion in the United States, I don't know. Of course a lot of people would say -- "Well, he wasn't so hot in Korea." Well, that had nothing to do with the Second World War, you see -- that's afterwards. But in the Second World War, I think he was a master strategist. He was extremely good.

MURROW:

The Field-Marshal on history and generals.

MONTGOMERY:

If you study history a lot, you'll find that there are two sorts of generals, and the French are very good on generals. They say that first of all there is Le Bon General Ordinaire. Now he is the general who is extremely good - as long as he's got some one to tell him what to do, he's excellent. We want a few chaps like that, and then -- and then there's the Grand Chef. The Grand Chef knows what to do without being told. He just wants a broad directive. Now, you come down to that Gettysburg campaign and you'll find that the best general that Lee had was Jackson. But Jackson was killed at Chancellorsville, and he was a Grand Chef. He didn't have to have detailed instructions. Jackson could be told -- "You go around the left flank and get up there and capture Cemetery Hill." And Jackson -- that's all -- Jackson would get on with it and do it. But he was replaced, you see, by Ewell or somebody. And he said - "You go around the left flank and capture Cemetery Hill, if you think you can do it." And he went and looked at Cemetery, and he said - No, I don't like this" - no good, you see. And I think that was the trouble. That Lee should have realized that his having lost Jackson, his -- his Corps Commander situation is rather different -- definite instructions and orders -- and having given an order, you see, in this life, my view is that you then have got to see it's carried out. A lot of people think that if you give an order, it'll be done. My philosophy is -- if you give an order, it won't be done. You've jolly well got to go and see it done!

MURROW:

The decisive Field-Marshal on the need for decision.

MONTGOMERY:

Decision -- calmness in action and decision in the crisis. That is a great attribute of a general, and if he hasn't got that he's no good, and he's got to be able to choose his subordinates very wisely, but he must have the quality of decision. I would say that that is essential not only in generals - military

leaders, but also in political life, Decisions! And a General -- a Commander-in-Chief who has not got the quality of decision, then he is no good.

MURROW:

Monty on staff work and visiting firemen.

MONTGOMERY:

I lived in my little tactical headquarters which people often poked fun at, you see, and said - "This guy lives by himself and that he won't allow anybody there. The real point was that I maintained that if you are a great Commander-in-Chief in the field -- commanding great forces, you must -- you must have time to think. You must isolate yourself from all the terrific detail of staff work that goes on, and you cannot see all these rubberneckers - wandering Members of Parliament and people who come around just because they want to see you. I said - 'No, I won't have them,' and they had to go to my rear headquarters and see the Chief of Staff, and all that sort of game.

MURROW:

Field-Marshal, you have spent much of your life assessing situations, both military and political. How would you assess the present status of the Western Alliance?

MONTGOMERY:

Well, that's a very big question to answer in a short time. I think you've got to remember that the -- the Western Alliance was born of fear and that there was a feeling of insecurity because the Security Council, in the United Nations were not able to -- to give the security the nations wanted. Now NATO has done a tremendous job. It's stopped the war. It's prevented a Soviet expansion in Europe, which it was very frightened of, and that's been

very good in ten years. Now I believe that today NATO needs a reorganization to meet the changed conditions, because we've arrived at the stage, now, where an all-out nuclear war can be considered extremely unlikely, and I believe that the political leaders of the Western Alliance have got to understand very clearly certain basic factors. Now the first factor would be that the East -- thereby Russia -- has not got the slightest intention of attacking the West.

MURROW:

Why do you say that, sir?

MONTGOMERY:

I say that because of the particular position of Russia vis-a-vis the nations on her two flanks. I think that the West has got to understand that Russia is terribly frightened of Germany -- terribly frightened. She know what Germans

did to them in the war, and there are seventy million Germans in Europe, and they know, we all know, what seventy million Germans can do when united under a leader. It was for that reason that Stalin, way back in '39, entered into a -- a non-agression pact with Germany when Ribbentrop went to Moscow, and then he began, while in association with Germany, he began to seize certain territories like a bit of Finland, all the Baltic states, a part of Poland, and so on. Now on the other side of Russia is China -- six hundred million people, and increasing at a tremendous rate - twenty-five, thirty million a year, and in -- in twenty years, there'll be a thousand million Chinese. Now I don't believe that Russia would enter into an all-out nuclear war with the West, and be left devastated and prostrated, with a thousand million Chinese on her Eastern flank. Never!

MURROW:

Field-Marshal, do you see the possibility of ultimate collision between the Soviet Union and Communist China?

MONTGOMERY:

It would depend, I think, on what happens in the next twenty years, and I don't see this thing happening before that time. But I do believe that in about twenty years time, this may become awkward, and if it came to a show-down of military strength, I suppose there would be a nuclear war. I don't think a nuclear war would matter much to the Chinese -- a great, vast country, you see, and I don't think they would -- I don't think they would mind it very much. That's my reason for that. I then believe that the West hasn't the slightest intention of attacking the East - not the slightest. The West democracy woudd never launch a preventive war. Never! Now I think also that it's completely illogical for the West to work on the assumption that united Germany, armed with nuclear weapons, would ever be allowed, by Russia, to be in NATO. She's so frightened, you see, of -- therefore, I think the question of a united Germany, at the moment, must be put right away at the back of the agenda. Well then, I

think that it's quite illogical to think - for the West to think that you can solve the German problem without first solving the European problem.-- the European security problem. The thing -- the thing is involved. It's not -- it's not logical. Then, I think that it's quite illogical for the West to say that the East German government doesn't exist. It does exist, and I would say it's likely to -- to go on existing for some time. That's how I would see it, and it's for those reasons that I think the West has got to make a much more flexible approach.

MURROW:

Well, sir, what do you think must be done in order to satisfy the legitimate fears of the Soviet Union regarding German rearmament?

MONTGOMERY:

Well, I think that I would like to see the West say to the East - we must reduce this tension in Europe. Let us thin out, either nationally or in certain geographical areas. I would say that speaking as a soldier, there's only one think that I'd be frightened of, and that's the Red Army in -- in the nuclear age. I would, therefore, like to see the Red Army back in Russia, and then the Russians would say, all right, we must all -- let us all go back to our own countries. I would say, certainly. The Germans in Germany, the French in France, the Belgiums in Belgium.

MURROW:

And the Americans back to America?

MONTGOMERY:

Now there's -- there's a point about that which I think wants explaining for reasons which I could go into - if you'll draw me out - the Americans and the British are not trusted by the continental nations. Now I know that bec ause I've lived there for ten years. They say, we know you British. Things go wrong in continental Europe, you find a nice port like Dunkirk, out you go.

I would say, yes. I certainly went out, myself, and damn glad I did, too. I just got out in time, you see. Then, they say -"we know you Americans. We know you. On two occasions when the referee blew the whistle for this match to begin, you guys stopped in the pavilion 'til half-time. We know you. We know that you didn't come into the fight for freedom until you, yourselves, were directly attacked. We want you here." And therefore, I think that the West would say - we will -- I would like to see the West say - we will certainly come out of Germany, but we must keep an American corps - two divisions - and a British corps in France. Then I think the Russians would say - well, if you do that, we must keep a Russian corps in Poland, a Russian corps in Czechoslovakia. I would say - certainly. Delighted! That's how I would approach it, you see. And I think that if you approach it that way, I believe you could get this thing right and ease the tension. Well then, they would say -- who would guard the NATO front in Europe? The Germans. Who better? Federal Germans, Federal Germany, Adenauer's Germany. And then they might say, well, I would also go on to say rather - couldn't the United Nations lend a hand - United Nations outfit in Berlin - United Nations along the common front in Europe? That's the sort of way I would approach it.

COLLINGWOOD:

Well, if German troops, as you suggest, are going to hold NATO's front line, does that mean, Field-Marshal, that they'll have to be equipped with nuclear striking power, because the striking power now is in the hands of non-German forces?

MONTGOMERY:

Well, I think the answer to that is, that if you have an army, of whatever nation, it must be equipped with the most up-to-date modern weapons. And I would -- I would maintain that the army of Federal Germany must certainly be equipped with tactical atomic weapons.

COLLINGWOOD:

Well, isn't that just the kind of thing that would increase Russian fears of Germany?

MONTGOMERY:

Not if -- not if Germany is not united. They have half Germany; we have half Germany. Well, it isn't quite half, but it's very nearly, and it is for that reason that they will never allow a united Germany, armed with nuclear weapons, to be included in the Western Alliance. They will equip the East German Army with tactical nuclear weapons, certainly.

COLLINGWOOD:

Well, now, do you think that if an army is equipped with tactical nuclear weapons and uses them, that you would be able to limit any kind of warfare to the tactical use of these weapons?

MONTGOMERY:

Well, I should say that's very doubtful. I should say that once you begin to chuck these things about, there's no knowing where it will end, but I do believe that it is for that reason that we've got to try and end this tension, and I would be quite prepared to see the -- the army of Federal Germany - the armed forces of Federal Germany-armed with tactical nuclear weapons, and then, eventually, we'll all remove ourselves. But I think those tactical nuclear weapons have got to be in the hands of the German Army. I don't think you can go on with the tactical nuclear weapons in a closed cupboard to which the Americans have the key. I don't think so. Now ...

MURROW:

Excuse me, sir.

MONTGOMERY:

That leads on, of course, to a question which has been very much mooted these

days - the question of disengagement. Now would you like me to say something on that?

MURROW:

Please do.

MONTGOMERY:

I don't agree with the -- those Service Chiefs who say that this -- getting back into our own countries - this thinning out in certain geographical areas, which I advocate, is disengagement, because Federal Germany is definitely an integral part of NATO, and I would like to see the forces of Federal Germany holding, guarding, watching the NATO front in Europe. It is not disengagement in any sense of the word. I think we've got to all understand that we belong to an alliance, and if the United States is going to say - "If we come out of Germany, we come out of Europe." - well, what's the good of the whole thing? I think it's a most monstrous philosophy to put over to the peoples of the Western Alliance. Monstrous. That's my view. And if the terms of the Western Alliance -- if the terms of our agreements demand that some American soldiers should be in France - Why not? If there should be a rough-house in Europe, the United States must be in it from the word go - not like's happened in the past. In other words, American blood must be shed the first day. They've often said that to me, and I said - well, I quite agree, and I guarantee that. I'll shoot one myself - shoot one myself. But that's their viewpoint, and it's very important to get that understood. Now, would that be clear, Charles?

COLLINGWOOD:

Well then, do you mean that the real purpose of the American forces in Europe would be to act as hostages to fortune?

MONTGOMERY:

Well, that's a curious expression - hostages.

COLLINGWOOD:

All right. Well then, hostages to the -- to our -- to show our good faith, to --

MONTGOMERY:

Yes. Yes. Yes.

MURROW:

Hostages to hostility.

MONTGOMERY:

To show your good faith and that you are in this game from the word go.

MURROW:

Yes sir, but we weren't late in Korea, were we?

MONTGOMERY:

You were first in that. A very fine -- very fine decision of President Truman, whom, I would say, is going to go down in history as one of your great Presidents. A man of great decision, you see. The first there - out of about four times, of course.

COLLINGWOOD:

What is the real purpose, then, of disengagement if the next war is going to be fought by missiles at great range?

MONTGOMERY:

To reduce the tension, and as long as you have two armed forces close up against each other like that, it must mean tension. You see, you had some - to show you the -- the problem, today, in NATO - how nobody could really give you the answer. You've had the President of the United States, who has quite definitely said that you don't want any more ground forces in Europe. You've had the Supreme Commander, in Europe, who said - "I want more soldiers." Well, I mean, you can't -- you couldn't have two statements which are more directly opposite.

COLLINGWOOD:

Well now, it depends, doesn't it, on what kind of war you think is likely to break out in Europe?

MONTGOMERY:

Well, I don't think,myself, that the war is likely to break out in Europe. I think that the great nuclear sufficiency which you're -- you haven't got at the moment, but in about three years' time you're going to have nuclear sufficiency between East and West. Today, you haven't. Today the situation is that the Western Alliance could devastate Russia in a nuclear war - that is because of the fact that the main agency, today, for delivering nuclear material is the manned bomber, not yet the missile, and the deployment of the delivery system of the Western Alliance is all around the Communist world. So that's the situation there. Now Russia, today, could not -- could devastate Western Europe and the United Kingdown, but Russia, today, could not devastate the United States. Not yet.

COLLINGWOOD:

Well, what the President said was - that it would be illogical to fight a ground war over Berlin, because we'd be outnumbered on the ground.

MONTGOMERY:

Yes. I don't think that I would agree with the President's statement. I mean, it won't be the first time that I've not agreed with it.

COLLINGWOOD:

I understand there've been some ...

MONTGOMERY:

I don't think I would agree with it. I think that if I were the Chief of Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, I would -- and I wished to enforce my will by the use of force, I would certainly use ground forces. I would, and not use nuclear

weapons. I wouldn't on the -- on the plea that if I didn't use nuclear weapons, the other side wouldn't. And I believe that both sides are now going to use their nuclear strength to stop the other side from using it, and therefore, I think that you're not going to have this all-out nuclear war. Now I also believe, very strongly, that a nation which goes in too much for nuclear strength, at the expense of conventional weapons, is playing into the hands of the Eastern bloc, because it is these minor struggles - these cold-war activities, which become hotted-up - which are going to be the thing in the next ten years.

COLLINGWOOD:

Field-Marshal, if you were a Soviet Field-Marshal, would you be concerned by the presence of Western bases all around?

MONTGOMERY:

I think you must, at the moment. Of course, it's a great stretch of imagination to make me say - if you were a Russian Marshal in the Soviet Union - a great stretch of imagination, but I see your point. I would -- I would say, yes, I think I would. I would feel uneasy until I could equal it. You see, this -- this nuclear deployment of the Western world is so deployed that it would really be impossible to knock it out in a surprise attack - not possible. And if you can't knock your enemy completely out in a surprise attack, you'll get it in return. It's no good. That's why I think they must be a little -- a little perturbed.

MURROW:

Well, Field-Marshal, do you see any possibility of real peace and tranquility in Europe so long as there are two Germanies?

MONTGOMERY:

Well, I -- I think that many of our troubles today stem from the fact that there are two Germanies, and to find out why there are two Germanies, I think you've got to go back in -- in history some way. I don't think that this division of

Europe - of the world, in fact, into two, could have been helped. I think it was bound to come, and I think that the only person who really saw it was bound to come was Churchill. I think that Roosevelt always thought that he would handle the Russians and get things right, after we'd won. My view would be, of course, that you want to know what you're going to win, and if you know what you're going to win, you probably won't have to argue about it at all. I think it had to come, but I do think that the Western world, if they'd understood that, could have finished the war with a political balance in Europe, more favorable to us than the one which has emerged. I believe that. In other words, I think that we could have got further East in Europe than we did, and you know that was always my view, and my great - one of my great arguments with -- with Ike was that we must get Berlin. You see, to do what I wanted to do, you- you would have to get possession of the great political centers of Central Europe - Berlin, Prague, Vienna. Now, Vienna became impossible when the -- we made that landing in Provence, in southern France, which I was always against. I opposed it wholeheartedly and so did Churchill. Stalin backed it. He liked it. It meant taking away an effort of twelve to fourteen divisions from the Italian front. That meant we couldn't get to Vienna. Prague -- the American forces could have entered Prague before the Russians, but you know, they were halted, and Georgie Patton halted on the -- on the Western border of Czechoslovakia, and couldn't get to Prague. Berlin -- we could have got -- but to get Berlin you would have had to have made a sound plan after the great victory in Normandy. You would have had to, which I wanted to do, and my strategy for that was very different to Ike's, as you know, and my view would be that I was greatly influenced, always, in my thinking and my reading by the fact that the high direction of war must be in political hands. You go to war only for political reasons, and that when it is quite clear you're going to win, political factors become paramount. And, therefore, you've got to, when it's clear you're going to win the war, you must be absolutely certain that you finish it with a political balance which is favorable to win the peace. Now, I don't think that your American Service Chiefs really worked on that philosophy.

They worked on the philosophy that all military action must be based on purely military decisions, and that you mustn't bother about political repercussions. That, I think, has led to a lot of troubles.

MURROW:

Well sir, I would like to get quite clear on this matter of criticism. It is your contention that one ought to be able to distinguish between criticism of one's personality or one's character, and professional criticism of one's professional acts. Is that right?

MONTGOMERY:

I do. I consider very much that is right, and I think that if you are a professional chief, in any walk of life, you've got to expect criticism on that professional angle. You've got to expect it, and it's no good your -- your disliking it. You are open to criticism on your own profession by another professional in the same line of country. That is quite different from criticism of your personal character - what sort of guy you are - totally different things. I, of course, suffer from both. I don't mind. I'm quite happy. I rather enjoy it, actually.

MURROW:

Well sir, speaking of your old war-time comrades, Eisenhower, Bradley, Gruenther, from whom you have not heard since the publication of your book, do you hold any personal grudge as a result of this lack of communication?

MONTGOMERY:

None. Bradley, I wouldn't expect to hear from. I said nothing, nothing in any way that Bradley could take any exception to in any way at all. I just told the story of the Ardennes - the finish. I didn't say that Bradley had lost control, which one could have said, I suppose. I didn't say that. I left it. Now the other two -- no resentment of any sort but considerable sadness, because I do think that as you get older in this life, you don't want to lose your friends.

I think that -- that the older you get, the more you want your friends to gather around you and to see them. And I like my friends to come here, and so on, and so I feel, with them, a great sadness that -- that they should have taken it in this way. I don't know that Gruenther has taken it this way, because he wasn't sent a copy of the book -- not -- not a personal copy, but I --he -- he being, of course, a tremendous supporter of Ike, he may have felt that any -- any criticism I made against Ike's professional ability as a soldier, damaged - upset him very much, you see, so there is no -- your question was, do I feel any personal animosity ...

MURROW:

Yes, sir.

MONTGOMERY:

None. I feel a great sadness that possibly two friends for whom I have the -- the very highest regard possible should have taken that line about what I said, and in my differences of opinion about the strategical conduct of the war, I merely said that I didn't agree with Eisenhower. I never said Eisenhower was a bad general. Never. You can't find that anywhere in the book. I just said I didn't agree with his way he did his stuff, and I finished up by saying he was a great Supreme Commander.

MURROW:

Well, I think, sir, that you wrote in your book in reporting the battle of Normandy that General Eisenhower did not understand the battle plan that he had approved so enthusiastically?

MONTGOMERY:

I did. And I said - that's one of the mysteries of the war, to me, why it was he didn't understand it. Of course, I wasn't seeing him every day. Bradley, understood it - thoroughly, but I saw him every day. Every day I saw Bradley. We discussed things. We decided what was the answer and so on and so forth.

Not so with Ike. You know that early in 1942, a planning group in Washington, who included Eisenhower, he was in it, worked out a plan for a cross-Channel second front in Europe in 1942. It simply wasn't possible. The British -- the thing was quite different. They said, we must first weaken Germany. We must then knock her ally, Italy, out of the war, and then when Germany is weakened, then we will deal the knock-out blow across the Channel, and it was finally agreed, I think, at the Quebec Conference, in '43, the Cross-Channel Operation should take place in May, 1944. I also think that at Supreme Headquarters was a bunch of senior people who didn't like me - mostly British - didn't like me, because they had been planning the Normandy campaign before I got back to London, and their original Cossak Plan was to break out on the Eastern flank from the Caen area towards Paris. I changed it. I never liked it. And so there was, at Supreme Headquarters, quite a little cell of people who were very antagonistic to me - very. Now the knock-out blow was to be delivered across the Channel in the summer of '44. The knock-out blow was delivered, and Germany was reeling from this -- this battle. The battle of Normandy - terrific, a terrific victory. We -- we drew into the battle, south of the Seine, practically every German division in the West, and defeated them. Hitler made his great mistake of deciding to fight south of the Seine. If he had withdrawn once he saw that he couldn't hold us at Normandy, if he'd drawn back behind the Seine, it wouldn't have been so easy. So that was our opportunity. Well, we -- I, who had fought for a long time to bring about this situation, we said, now is the time to knock this guy out, but to do it, you see, you had to concentrate strength in the right place, And it was that, you see, which is going to be the great argument which is going to develop between historians, and also, I should add, that all the German military opinion, today, is entirely on my side -- that if we had concentrated sufficient strength somewhere - somewhere, we could have knocked this guy out. I said left. People will say you said left because you were there. That's a -- that's a fair accusation, of course. But I also said, and I want -- this must

be very clearly understood. I said, if you don't think it should be on the left, halt me and concentrate on the right. But you must concentrate somewhere and get decisive results, quickly, and knock this guy out. That's what I said. But it wasn't done, and then, you see, we had this business in the Ardennes - what you call the Battle of the Bulge, and I -- I well remember Eisenhower coming to stay with me, up in my sector at the end of November, and I well remember discussing with him the situation on the whole battle front. I wanted to make certain that we had poise and balance on the battle front, which was a great feature of my military creed, of course, so that you could pursue your business whatever the enemy might do. And I said - I don't think, Ike, that the situation down on Bradley's front is terribly good. He's in two main concentrations which are both poised for attack, and in the middle is this tremendous gap of over a hundred miles, in the Ardennes, which is held by four very weak divisions - a corps under Middleton. I don't think it's good. And Ike agreed with me. He said, no, it's not good. And then he went off to see Bradley, and merely told Bradley what I had said. He didn't say it wasn't very good; he just said Monty says this. Bradley wrote to me and said he was quite happy about it. So that finished me, of course. Well, you know what happened, of course. You know what happened - eighty thousand American boys were killed or wounded, and of course, that didn't endear me to the American Generals when what happened was what I saw would happen. They didn't like it.

MURROW:

This conversation with Field-Marshal Montgomery of Alamein will continue at his home at Isington-in-Hampshire immediately after this pause for station identification.

STATION BREAK

ANNOUNCER:

"Montgomery Speaks His Mind" - a conversation between Field-Marshal Montgomery

and Edward R. Murrow and Charles Collingwood, continues.

COLLINGWOOD:

Well now, Field-Marshal, to get back to Germany. However it happened, Germany is now divided. You'd said earlier that a reunited Germany would be such a provocation to Russia because of her fears of Germany, that you doubt if she'll permit it to happen.

MONTGOMERY:

I rather -- I rather now come to the conclusion that if we could solve this European security problem, I think it might be possible, but then, you see, to solve the European problem, you've got to have tremendous guarantees about things. You'd have to enter into a -- a pact with Russia, and all the nations, on this subject, and the pact wouldn't be enough, because we know that people tear up pacts and bits of paper. You'd have to have a very good inspection and controlled organization until people were satisfied, and -- and so on. So, whereas I did say at one time, I don't think you'd ever get a United Germany without fighting, I now think that it could be done.

COLLINGWOOD:

Do you think that if those safeguards were agreed to by the great nations, that the two Germanies could, by beginning to live together side by side, in peace, allow the differences between them to wither away?

MONTGOMERY:

I think it's possible. But mind you, to do that, you've got to have a leadership in the West. Now that is a very difficult question. I know quite a lot about military leadership -- at least, I think I do. I mean perhaps other people would not agree with that. Now in the other game, take NATO for instance, you've got a setup of fifteen - a fifteen nation organization, and imagine the leadership in that. I'ts rather like a -- a conductor trying to conduct an infinity of unharmonious musicians who refuse to play in tune. That's what it is, and it's

very difficult. Now, of course, after the war, the -- the leadership of the free world passed to the United States. Well, I think that history is going to say that the United States' leadership has been very intermittent in its pulsations -- not -- not been as good as it might be. Perhaps there's been a lack of decision in the top level. Anyhow, it's -- I think you've got to admit the fact, rightly or wrongly, that American leadership, of recent years, has been rather suspect, and if -- why it's been rather suspect, you'd probably know better than I would. And I believe that somebody has got to come forward now and supply the consistency - be a sort of moral broker. And that's why I think what Macmillan is doing, and I don't know whether, in your country, what Mr. Macmillan is doing is regarded with suspicion and people thinking that the leadership is passing to the British.

COLLINGWOOD:

But isn't it true that in political life even though people don't have to obey orders, that power and influence and leadership generally goes to the nation which has the most strength, and now the United States has the most strength.

MONTGOMERY:

I wouldn't quite agree with that. You see, I don't agree that power necessarily mounts from counting heads - perhaps not power - wisdom. I don't agree that because there are in the United States a hundred and seventy million people, that you necessarily have more wisdom than you have in the United Kingdom where there are only forty-five million. I'd never agree for a moment. I think that it's a question of wisdom, and you've got to remember that in handling world problems, I think you must remember that the British have the experience of centuries, United States has the experience of decades, and I would say that you have quite a bit to learn. You may not like that, of course, you being an American - quite a bit to learn.

COLLINGWOOD:

Granted that this is true, it's also true that the United States contributes

more to the Alliance - has more at stake than any of the other nations involved.

MONTGOMERY:

Well, I think that the -- it's more likely to have its way in the councils of the West, because you have the dollars, and what people like today is dollars. And if you give people lots of dollars, they -- they like it and are prepared to do what you -- what you want. You're basing your question-- your question on -- your philosophy -- on the question that because the United States has great military power and great economic strength, she has the right to lead the Western world. Now that's what you're saying.

COLLINGWOOD:

Not quite.

MONTGOMERY:

You did say that.

COLLINGWOOD:

No I say that inevitably the preponderant voice must be that of the preponderant power in the Alliance.

MONTGOMERY:

Well, further on in that -- but let me just think that over for a moment. I think, you see, that it's very difficult today to do this stuff, politically, if you aren't very well -- very fit. Now in the United States, my observations would be that the leaders, your leaders over there, are people who are not awfully well. Mr. Dulles, whom I -- Foster Dulles, whom I like very much indeed. I think he's an awfully nice chap; a very decent chap. He's in the hospital with cancer. Your President has had three very serious illnesses - very serious. A heart attack, this Ileitis, and a stroke. The head of your State Department, today, walks about on two crutches. I mean, he can't walk properly - not very good. I know, awfully well, from my life as a military

person, that you can't win battles unless you are feeling very well. It can't be done. If you -- if you have a sort of jaundiced outlook on things because you're not feeling well, because your stomach is upset, or a headache, it's no good, and that's why I think, you see, that it's because of that, I have a feeling that the United States leadership has perhaps slipped a little bit. I think so.

MURROW:

Field-Marshal, I must remind you that Mr. Roosevelt didn't walk very well.

MONTGOMERY:

No. No. But you must remember that towards the end - say at Yalta, I think the judgment of history is going to be that Mr. Roosevelt thought he could handle these Russians, but he couldn't, because when he came to Yalta, he was really dying, wasn't he? He was almost - he was in very bad health, you see, and I'm not certain, you see, that the judgment of history is not going to be that Roosevelt, whom I never met, often wanted to meet him, didn't quite see this problem rightly; whereas Churchill did.

MURROW:

Field-Marshal, do you think any one will persuade any one else at a Summit conference?

MONTGOMERY:

Yes. You see, I'm quite clear, now, that the only person who counts in Russia is Mr. Khrushchev. I don't believe anybody else counts, and I would like to see us go straight to a Summit conference, and I don't think a Foreign Ministers conference will do any good. But if they want to have one, there's no harm. It's all just a little more talk, but in the end, you've got to come down to a Summit conference with the bosses there. Now, I -- I entirely disagree with those people who say - well, if we go to a Summit conference, we must have a proper agenda. We must know exactly what we're going to talk about, and we -- it's been stated in the United States by Ike, I think, that he won't go to a

Summit Conference unless he's quite certain that [redacted] is going to come out of it. I don't agree with that. I think that now we've broken down Mr. Khrushchev's willingness to negotiate, we've got to go and talk, and I would like to say that the first thing on the agenda is what can we do to ease tension in Europe, and from that, I think that other things would emerge, because I think that you people like to be rather exact about these things. I think that we British don't -- we're - we're quite prepared to talk and say - well, the next thing will emerge from our talks, and why not have a Summit conference every six months? Why shouldn't the bosses meet every six months and have a talk? Much better - much better. It is no good saying we stand firm. We are not going to make any concessions from our position. That's no good. I have heard that said by quite high people. It's no good. Both sides must be prepared to make concessions to get this thing sorted out, and if they're not, it is no good going to a Summit Conference. Both must give.

COLLINGWOOD:

You mentioned some suggestions. for the military reorganization of NATO. What do you think should be done to reorganize it politically?

MONTGOMERY:

I believe, you see, that -- that the political and the military bodies of NATO should sit together. I think it's entirely wrong that the military -- the military -- the permanent military body of NATO should be in Washington and the permanent political body of NATO should be in Paris, and indeed, that has resulted in a most curious situation - that the NATO Council in Paris now go for their military advice to the Supreme Commander in Europe, and the Supreme Commander in Europe has become, in many ways, the most powerful personality in the NATO field, and he shouldn't be. The most powerful personality in the NATO field should be the Secretary General, and you've got a military -- a military personality holding powers which he shouldn't hold, and you get the curious situation today, of all the Ambassadors to the NATO Council, in Paris, going

to SHAPE almost daily, to lobby the Supreme Commander and get him to agree with their particular viewpoint and help them in the Council, and so on. It's wrong. It's entirely wrong. That is why I think that the -- the great and dominant personality in NATO should not be the Supreme Commander. He has been given a job to do, which is to defend this area. Oh, naturally, he'd ask for the moon, you see, to defend it, and he's not so interested in what's going on in the rest of the world, you see. And the Secretary General, who is a very skilled politician, Mr. Spaak, I know him very well, indeed, a great friend of mine. I have a very high opinion of him. He's a skilled politician, and he can't get these people to look outwards. These soldiers -- these soldiers are not so hot, you see, when it comes into this political racket. You mustn't misunderstand me when I -- I rather point the finger at United States' leadership, in recent year. I think that in the -- since the war, in NATO, and in the free world, generally, the United States has been a very sure anchor, and of course, without that absolute sure anchor, a lot of things might have happened. On -- on that particular line, you see, I -- in this reorganization game, we want a realignment of jobs. I would like to see the United States entirely responsible for deploying the power of the American continent, in Europe, and in the Far East - entirely. They have the resources. They have the industrial power. I would -- I would make them responsible for it. That means they're responsible for the Atlantic and the Pacific - both. It is their job. I would make the nations of Europe entire -- continental Europe, Western Europe - entirely responsible for holding that bit of country - entirely. I think the Supreme Commander, in Western Europe, should come from continental Europe. Certainly. I'd make him a Frenchman, with a German under him, commanding the land forces. Why not? That wouldn't be popular in the United States because they think they must have it, you see. I don't see why.

COLLINGWOOD:

I would wonder about making a Frenchman the Supreme Commander: since the French

don't want their Mediterranean navy to be in NATO and since most of their ground forces are in Algeria, not on the continent of Europe at all, it would seem an odd choice to me.

MONTGOMERY:

Well, I don't think so. I mean, recently, of course, General DeGaulle has said - that in wartime, the French navy would return to national command. I, personally, see no harm in that. He made a terrific hoo-ha, and everybody said it's the break-up of NATO. I think that's -- it's absolute nonsense. I imagine that General DeGaulle has been having a -- to look at the command setup in the Mediterranean and he can't make head nor tail of it. Neither can I. I think it's a complete dog's breakfast, if you ask me. And I think he said, I'll take my navy back into the National Command until we can get a decent setup. But I would go further than that. I think that the command setup in -- in NATO is -- is bad. It wants complete reorganization. And I would go so far as to say that if -- if we ever had to go to war, with the present command setup in NATO, we would have some pretty good disasters. That's my view. And down in the Mediterranean, you see, you have all sorts of people. You've got the Sixth Fleet running about, and you've got the British Mediterranean Fleet running about, and you've got all these little navies of all the nations, you see. There's not -- there's no -- it's just not good. I would like to see it reorganized. It wants a new look -a new look, and I think that one of the troubles in NATO is that we don't face facts. We don't base our actions on facts, and we don't understand that change is inevitable. We don't understand that progress is not inevitable. Progress depends on courage to face facts and then to take decisions based on those facts. We don't do it. We're awfully inclined to be what I would call, in NATO, sort of mutual congratulations society - it's all wonderful, you see. Well, it isn't all wonderful.

MURROW:

Field-Marshal Montgomery is in Moscow tonight as a private citizen. It's a fair guess that he's telling the Russians many of the same things he told you

tonight. Some of his views may not be any more popular there than they will have been here tonight. He will not care. His concern is not popularity or agreement, but to make people think.

Good night and good luck.

Please note

TEL. BENTLEY 3126

ISINGTON MILL
ALTON.
HANTS.

April 23, 1959

My dear Ed

I have many things to thank you for:

The magnificent books.

The typescript of our interview.

And the 3 gramaphone records.

All have been safely received. Thank you ever so much. I have played over the Churchill record and it is superb; I am so glad to have it.

Yes, call me here on Sunday 3rd May and I will tell you about Moscow.

Yrs ever

Montgomery of Alamein.

April 6, 1959

Dear Field Marshal:

First, permit me to say my thanks for your gracious hospitality and your patience during the filming. As I have cabled you today, the preliminary reconnaissance indicates that the quality of picture, sound and content is superb. We are planning to do a one-hour presentation dealing mainly with the current situation, as soon as the editing can be done. Later, we hope to present another hour which will deal primarily with your reflections.

The transcript of your remarks will be dispatched as soon as available.

I am forwarding to you under separate cover the following material:

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN
BRITANNICA YEARBOOK - 1958
THE PRAIRIE YEARS AND THE WAR YEARS - Sandburg
I CAN HEAR IT NOW - Volume I
WINSTON CHURCHILL - (I CAN HEAR IT NOW) - 2 copies.

A 16 mm. print of the first hour program will be dispatched as soon as available.

You will remember, I trust, that we have designs upon you for a SMALL WORLD program some time at a convenient date in the autumn.

All my colleagues share my enthusiasm about the film we shot at The Mill and we shall edit it with such skill as we possess.

Good hunting in Moscow, and, again, please accept my thanks.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.
Isington Mill
Alton
Hants.

OVERSEAS

April 20, 1959

to: CHARLES COLLINGWOOD
COLUMBIA
LONDON

PRO COLLINGWOOD EX MURROW MONTGOMERY DEFINITELY SET 7:30-8:30 PM APRIL 28. REGARDS.

BURKE

April 15, 1959

Dear Field Marshal:

Herewith the confidential uncorrected typescript of our interview. The editing is a truly formidable task, merely because we have such a wealth of material.

We are shortening some answers and deleting others and are of course obliged to leave out entire sections in this first hour's presentation, but, unless both eye and hand have lost their skill, we shall not distort or take out of context anything you said.

I cabled you yesterday about submitting your remarks on what a father should teach his son to a magazine, because we will not have room for that very eloquent piece of copy in our original hour and I would like to see it get distribution in print.

As you suggested, I shall call you at The Mill on May 3, hoping that we may chat a bit about your journey to Moscow.

Cordially yours,

KRM:skh

enc.

Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.
Isington Mill
Alton
Hants.

TEL. BENTLEY 3126.

ISINGTON MILL,
ALTON,
HANTS.

April 9, 1959

My dear Ed

Thank you for your cable from New York. I am glad you are back there safely.

I note your plans for the one-hour programme and I do hope it will be what you want.

Will you let me know the date and time of the programme — when you have

decided it.

I go to Moscow (from Paris) on 28th April. The polititians are keeping an uneasy eye on me, wondering what I will be up to next!

Yrs. ever

Montgomery of Alamein

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Cowan cc: Mr. Nickelson

from: Edward R. Murrow April 9, 1959

You may care to know

(1) that Field Marshal Montgomery, during our interview, was talking from a Macmillan brief. He had discussed the whole matter with the Prime Minister prior to my arrival.

(2) that Montgomery is going to Moscow as a "private citizen" on April 27, returning to London on May 1.

(3) We have in the film what Montgomery will be saying to the Russians.

(4) Unless this program is presented on or before April 29, much of its impact and newsworthiness will be lost.

E.R.M.

OVERSEAS

April 6, 1959

TO:
COLLINGWOOD
COLUMBIA
LONDON

FRO COLLINGWOOD EX MURROW YOU MONTY SUPERB PLANNING HOUR CONCENTRATING CURRENT SITUATION ABOUT TWO WEEKS HENCE THANKS MUCHLY. REGARDS.

BURKE

514-182-513

OVERSEAS

April 6, 1959

to:

FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY
ISINGTON MILL
ALTON
HAMPSHIRE
ENGLAND

FILM SOUND CONTENT OUR VENTURE EXCELLENT. PLANNING ONE HOUR ABOUT FORTNIGHT HENCE CONCENTRATING ON CURRENT SITUATION. REGARDS.

MURROW

514-182-513

BERLIN

Tuesday, March 31:	2:30 p.m.	Arrive Berlin - AIR FRANCE
Thursday; April 2:	5:50 p.m.	Leave Berlin
	7:30 p.m.	Arrive Frankfurt
	10:15 p.m.	Leave Frankfurt
Friday, April 3:	8:25 a.m.	Arrive New York

MARCH 17, 1959

PRESS
COLUMBIA
LONDON

COLLINGWOOD PROMCCLURE EXMURROW APPRECIATE IF COULDST SHOOT COLLINGWOOD MURROW AGAINST NEUTRAL BACKGROUND PROVIDING POSSIBILITY REDOING SOME QUESTIONS IN CLOSEUP SUBSEQUENTLY IN LONDON REGARDS

BURKE

SMALL WORLD
51475

TO E.R.M.

FROM K.C. 3/17/59

More on London engagements.

R-6

1280

WESTERN UNION

1939 MAR 16 PM

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

Received VIA WESTERN UNION CABLES New York, N. Y. Telephone HAnover 2-2920

R0200 ZL TLX LONDON 48 16 1

LT EDWARD R MURROW COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM 485

MADISON AVENUE NYK=

WOULD WELCOME CHANCE TALK WITH YOU ABOUT LECTURE WHEN YOU COME LONDONWARDS STOP CAN YOU CABLE DATES PLEASE STOP WILL WRITE AT LENGTH IF NECESSARY BUT MUCH EASIER AND PLEASANTER CONVERSE IF YOURE COMING SOON=

=GERALD BARRY.

FFF

CBS RADIO NEWS NY GA PLS

ACR

TWX ACRD17/WCB245

LONDON 89/88 16 531PM

LT CBSINC

NYK

BURKE FOR MURROW YOUR LONDON ENGAGEMENTS AFTER MONTGOMERY AS FOLLOWS COLON THURSDAY LUNCH WITH BBC YOU ARRANGED WITH GILLARD STOP THURSDAY AFTERNOON COCKTAILS WITH ENGINEERS AND OTHERS INVOLVED SMALL WORLD PRODUCTION STOP THURSDAY EVENING DINNER PARTY WITH ME STOP FRIDAY LUNCH WITH BROKEN DOWN EX WAR CORRESPONDENT STOP GERALD

BARRY WANTS TALK BUSINESS SOMETIME FRIDAY PARA WOULD YOU LIKE GET RID OBLIGATIONS DUE SIZEABLE LONDON COLONY ACTUAL PARTICIPANTS SMALL WORLD WITH COCKTAILS SAY WEDNESDAY AFTER MONTGOMERY INTERVIEW KX WHEN WELL NEED DRINK ANYWAY QUERY REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

AM 222A MAR 17

ND, RCVD CB RADIO NEWS NYM

CBS NEWS
London Bureau
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

Charles Collingwood

14 March 1959

Dear Judge:

The latest communique from the Field Marshal is to inform me that, having thought things over, he has now cancelled his appointments on Wednesday the 25th in order to hold himself in readiness in case you want to do more shooting on that day. I told him that while I thought you hoped to do all that would be necessary on Monday and Tuesday, I was sure you would be grateful for the added leeway.

I have laid on a small dinner for you at the house that I think you will enjoy. Hailsham, Kenneth Younger who is now running Chatham House, David Ormsby-Gore from the Foreign Office, and one or two others. That's Thursday evening, the 26th. The 27th turned out to be a bad day because its Good -- Good Friday -- and people disappear. I have also asked some of the old hands -- Middleton, Stoneman, Cook, Harsch etc. to lunch on the following day, Friday. (Like us, they work on Holy Days like any others)

Bill McClure is organizing a cocktail party with BBC engineers and others who have helped Small World on Thursday at 5:30. Cecil McGivern called the office to ask about a luncheon with you also on Thursday. I didn't know about it, but if its on, I'm afraid that that will make a full day for you. But everything except the above dates is clear. Awaiting your pleasure. If there is anyone you want to see or anything that I can arrange, let me know.

I am pooped, but will doubtless have recovered by the time you appear.

As ever,

Charles

CBS NEWS
London Bureau
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

Charles Collingwood

9th March, 1959

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
C.B.S.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Dear Judge,

I have told Monty that there are some people that you will have to see on your arrival in London, and so you will not be able to get down to Hampshire until after lunch. Although reluctant, as always to change his plan of campaign, he rose to the occasion with that gift for improvisation all great commanders are supposed to possess, and said, all right.

I'll have a car to pick you up at the airport, and to take you down to Isington Mill later that day. I think the best thing is to come right to the house where Smitty will give you a cup of coffee or breakfast, or anything else that strikes your fancy. You can telephone, stretch out, read the Sunday papers, unpack, or whatever. I will probably be at the office doing Sunday chores, but will be back about 12.30. Louise will be at home in reasonably enchanting Sunday morning deshabille. You are booked into the Connaught as of the 25th. We are literally less than a hundred yards from that caravanserai and nothing would please us more than to have you stay with us while you are here, but perhaps you would like the extra freedom of action that operating from a hotel gives.

I plan to have some characters around for dinner while you are here - black tie, Louise says - and we'll have a fine nostalgic lunch with brothers Stoneman, Middleton, Harsch and some of the other aged in the wood types here.

Polly and Lou Cowan are in London now, going through the antique shops like Atilla the Hun. His description of the New York scene is reasonably encouraging, but the pleasantest part of our conversations has been his reports of nice things you have said about me, and efforts you have made in my interest. I am grateful.

As ever,

Charles

P.S. Monty wants to take you to dinner Sunday night with people he describes as "very important."

CBS NEWS
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

Small World

WILLIAM K. McCLURE

6th March, 1959.

Dear Ed:

I went along to Islington yesterday. The Field Marshal was in good form and seems eager about the project. He showed me around the Mill and there are, of course, an abundance of backgrounds. The place has already been televised twice (live) so he is completely adaptable to our requirements. From the technical jargon he uses, Monty could switch hats with any TV producer!

He is looking forward to receiving you for lunch on Sunday, March 22nd. Depending upon the hour of your arrival at London Airport, he suggested reaching the Mill at 12:30. He wants to go over the entire agenda and seems to treat our coming as a military engagement. (The crew and I should arrive at 1930 to prepare for Monday's shooting, he said. Personally I hope he doesn't intend zero hour to be 0700.)

The Field Marshal has set aside the third floor as a private apartment for you. This has a large reception room which would be ideal for a "warm up" sequence, if you agree. On the ground floor, the dining room is also well suited for shooting. One wall is fitted with several large portraits of Montgomery, as well as those of other historical figures. In a nearby shed he has stored his wartime caravans, two of which are physically and perhaps editorially interesting. The one used on the desert campaign includes the portraits of the opposing Nazi generals. It would be cramped for a three-way interview, even with the camera in the doorway, but judging from my visit, this caravan sparks off wonderful reminiscences. The other, his mobile "war room" which went from Normandy to the Luneburg Heath, has overlays showing exact allied positions on V-E day. It is much roomier than his travelling quarters, and no technical problem. An exterior setup would give a magnificent backing of Surrey countryside, plus his home which is most attractive.

Whatever location you desire, I'm quite sure there will be few production difficulties. We will bring down from London a full crew and I have arranged quarters at a nearby pub. Monty said the project would take two days and we would be "out of here" Tuesday night!

Continued.....

6th March, 1959.

I'm confident this will be a memorable document, editorially speaking. Technically, I believe there is need for soul searching. To record historic words with our limited single system camera seems a penny-wise pound-foolish economy. Couldn't we utilize the best sound recording system available, i.e. magnetic tape? The insurance plus the added quality would be worth the slight extra cost.

We have taken the liberty of booking rooms at the Connaught Hotel for the time following your visit to Islington.

Best regards,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
CBS News,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

CBS NEWS
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

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Best regards,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
CBS News,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Wing, Willis Kingsley

February 17, 1959

Dear Mr. Wing:

I regret exceedingly the delay in suggesting areas for discussion with Field Marshal Montgomery. In my experience, it is always inadvisable to follow a formal list of questions, since, in the successful interview such questions should flow out of the preceding answer. We shall, of course, draw some of our questions from the Field Marshal's book, but our basic purpose is to answer for present viewers and future generations the question: "What manner of man is this?"

We shall ask for his definition of the quality of leadership in both military and political activities - Generals and Politics - The future re-organization of NATO - What should be the relationship between father and son - Reflections upon the writing of books and the reading of them - Comments on criticism, personal and professional - Recognition of Red China - Possibility of future conflict between Russia and China - Should small emerging nations maintain standing armies?

In substance, conversation is likely to proceed along the lines that will suggest themselves as a result of the Field Marshal's answers.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Willis Kingsley Wing
24 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

mcc

WILLIS KINGSLEY WING
Authors' Representative
24 EAST 38th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

ORegon 9-5650 ▼ Cable Address: Wings, N. Y.

16 February 1959

Dear Mr. Friendly,

It's most embarrasing not to have the list of subjects Mr. Murrow wishes to discuss with Field Marshal Montgomery which the contract required be in hand some time ago.

The Field Marshal is on holiday in Switzerland now and had hoped to consider your list at this time.

Please tell me when I may expect them for I must cable London this information.

Truly,

Willis Kingsley Wing

Fred Friendly, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System

cc: David Klinger
CBS News

Members of the Incorporated Society of Authors' Representatives

OUTLINE FOR DISCUSSION WITH FIELD MARSHAL MONTGOMERY.

7

Definition of the quality of leadership in both military and political activities - Generals and Politics - The future re-organization of NATO - What should be the relationship between father and son - Reflections upon the writing of books and the reading of them - Comments on criticism, personal and professional - Recognition of Red China - Possibility of future conflict between Russia and China - Should small emerging nations maintain standing armies?

PA Flight 100
M 21 8 pm
M 22 do 7:35 am
London airport

M

CBS RADIO NEWS NY GA PLS

TWX/D ACR26 WCC1685/TD102

LONDON 44 5 1242P

PRESS CBSINC

NEWYORK

BURKE FOR MURROW APPRECIATE ARRIVAL AND DURATION LONDON STY SOONS FIRMED FOR HOTEL ETC STOP WILL YOU ~~AN~~ WANT CAR WHILE HERE QUERY ASSUME YOU WANT START FILMING ISINGTON MONDAY 23RD WHEN ILL BE ON DECK STOP MUCH LOOKING FORWARD REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

Friendly yes Collingwood Murrow away until Friday. Will cable then -
Regards
Burke

NG 802A MAR 5 1959

RCVD CBS RADIO NEWS NY

237 x

March 6, 1959

TO: CHARLES COLLINGWOOD
COLUMBIA
LONDON

COLLINGWOOD EX MURROW ARRIVING LONDON PANAM FLIGHT 100 MARCH 22 AT 7:35 AYEM STAYING UNTIL SUNDAY MARCH 29 WHEN LEAVE FOR PARIS. CAR WOULD BE MUCH APPRECIATED. FILMING STARTS MONDAY MARCH 23 AS DISCUSSED. REGARDS.

BURKE

514-70

P.P. has seen

ACR TWX

ACRD8/WCC444

LONDON 24 2 450P

LT CBSINC

NYP

BURKE FOR MURROW GLAD DO WHATEVER CAN TO HELP WITH MONTGOMERY STOP MANY GOOD COMMENTS ON CALLAS SHOW HERE REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

AM 129A FEB 3

READ NYK

January 30, 1959

to: CHARLES COLLINGWOOD - LONDON

COLLINGWOOD EX MURROW HOPE YOU SIT IN ON MONTGOMERY INTERVIEW TWOULD BE HELPFUL US REGARDS.

BURKE

514-75

Gillard

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Head Office: Broadcasting House, London, W.1

Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

14th November 1958

PERSONAL

My dear Ed,

As it happened, Monty was in the office when your letter came in, so I showed it to him.

He said to tell you not to worry. There is no danger that he will turn into a star. You will find him just as he ever was. And so on.

What he has to do, of course, is to learn to shape his stuff, to work under studio conditions, to read from a teleprompter when he needs to, to give his cues properly, and all that sort of thing. He loves the whole business and clearly he revels in the couple of days each week that he spends here with us.

Bill Williams, Charles Collingwood, I and the producer, are spending the weekend with him at Isington Mill. We are going to argue with him about his book, and on Sunday afternoon we shall record a 45-minute radio discussion with him in his own study. I hope we shall provoke him into some lively statements.

Incidentally, for your own ear, he had presentation editions of the book made up for the Queen, for Winston and for Ike. He's had a message that Ike's copy reached the White House safely, but not a word from Ike himself.

See you in January.

Yours,

Frank

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York.

November 7, 1958

Dear Frank:

For God's sake, don't make Monty a "television star". Just let him be natural and he'll be sensational. Looking forward to seeing you in late January.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Frank Gillard
The British Broadcasting Corporation
Broadcasting House
Whiteladies Road
Bristol 8

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Head Office: Broadcasting House, London, W.1

Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

27 October 1958

My dear Ed,

Very many thanks for yours of October 10.

I have Monty on my hands from now until mid-January. He is spending a couple of days a week here, trying to learn how to be a Television star. His series starts on December 7 and runs on to January 18.

My plan is to come over fairly soon after that, and I have booked a seat on a Comet on January 25. I shall be in New York for a few days then, and again at the end of February. I am returning on the Queen Elizabeth on February 28.

It will be grand to see you again and I look forward to our reunion.

Yours as ever,

Frank

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York.

September 11, 1958

My dear Field Marshal:

We are agreed as to dates.

I shall submit in due course a list of general subjects and assume that you do not require detailed specific questions in advance. It has been my experience that interviews of this type are best conducted when the questions follow normally upon the preceding answer.

I understand that our financial people are in touch with your agent regarding the honorarium.

I have received an advance copy of your book and have read large portions of it. You have written with clarity, dignity and great incisiveness, and I hasten to send my congratulations. Being familiar with the postwar writings of military men on both sides of the Atlantic, I feel competent to say that you have added literary lustre to your military stature.

Sincerely yours,

Field Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, D.G.,G.C.B.,D.S.O.
Isington Mill
Alton
Hampshire.

ERM:skh

9 6000

ALLIED POWERS EUROPE
DEPUTY SUPREME COMMANDER

ISINGTON MILL,
Alton,
Hampshire,
England.

8 September 1958.

My dear Murrow

I have your letter of August 28, 1958.

I am delighted to learn that you will come and stay with me at my home in March next year, and that you agree the film can be done there.

I suggest the following dates:

Sunday 22 March 1959	You arrive Isington Mill in the afternoon.
Monday 23 March Tuesday 24 March	The filming is done.
Wednesday 25 March 1959	You depart.

These dates, towards the end of March next year, give me time to consider the whole project after I get back from my holiday in Switzerland. I would like you to let me have in due course a list of the subjects you will want to discuss in front of the cameras - so that I can sort them out in my mind.

Will you please address all future correspondence to my home in England, address as above. I leave NATO Headquarters in Paris for good on the 18 September next.

Yours very sincerely

Montgomery of Alamein

Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

WILLIS KINGSLEY WING
Authors' Representative
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

NOTE: NEW ADDRESS
24 EAST 38TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
PHONE OREGON 9-5650

MUrray Hill 7-4821

Cable Address: Wings, N. Y.

2 September 1958

My dear Mr. Friendly,

Mr. R. P. Watt has sent me a copy of his 22 August letter to you regarding the negotiations with Lord Montgomery for an [redacted] interview to take place in Europe some time next year. This has come in some days before my return from holiday tothe office and if our further discussions can await my return around September 8th I shall be happy to do so then at your convenience. If for any reason this must be further along before that date, my office can give you a telephone number where I can be reached.

However, since my London associates report receiving a number of other inquiries and offers in connection with Lord Montgomery's television and broadcasting in this country and elsewhere, we naturally are eager to see this to an early conclusion - to see these discussions toward an early conclusion.

Faithfully,

Willis Wing/ho

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
CBS New York

Members of the Incorporated Society of Authors' Representatives

August 28, 1958

Dear Sir:

Many thanks for your letter of August 23.

Your suggestion that we film our program at your home in March, 1959 is most agreeable, and I greatly appreciate your invitation to me to stay with you for the two days required for the film. It sounds like an ideal arrangement.

If it were equally convenient to you, I would prefer that we do our work at the beginning of any week in March that you wish to name.

I look forward to hearing from you again.

Sincerely,

Field Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, D.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.
NATO Headquarters
Paris
France

fc

To open cut here

Telephone: Temple Bar 2225
Telegrams: Longevity, Estrand, London
Cables: Longevity, London

A. P. WATT & SON
W. P. WATT
R. P. WATT
A. P. F. WATT
M. I. HORNIMAN

Hastings House,
10, Norfolk Street, Strand,
London, W.C.2.

H.119 M.34/2

26th August, 1958.

Miss Natalie Foster,
Columbia Broadcasting System Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

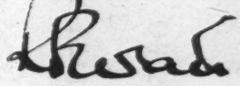
Dear Miss Foster,

Many thanks for your cable reading:

"YOUR LETTER ARRIVED JUST AFTER FRED FRIENDLY CAUGHT PLANE FOR LONDON STOP WILL CONTACT MR WING ACCORDINGLY BUT SHOULD YOU WISH CONTACT FRIENDLY HE REACHEABLE THROUGH CBS LONDON OFFICE 26 HALLAM STREET REGARDS"

I will see if I can get into touch with Mr. Friendly at the address you so kindly gave.

Yours sincerely,



To open cut here

August 26, 1958

Dear Mr. Wing:

We have a letter from Mr. R. P. Watt advising us that you will be contacting Mr. Fred Friendly with regard to the projected film interview with Lord Montgomery.

Mr. Friendly left for London yesterday and will be out of the country for one week to ten days. I have cabled Mr. Watt to this effect, and it may be that they will meet. In any event, I wanted you to know that Mr. Friendly will not be calling you during the next week.

Sincerely yours,

Natalie Foster
Assistant to the Producers

Mr. Willis Kingsley Wing
24 East 38th Street,
New York 16, New York

ALLIED POWERS EUROPE
DEPUTY SUPREME COMMANDER

Isington Mill,
Alton,
Hampshire,
England.

23 August, 1958.

My dear Murrow

I have been thinking over our proposed television programme in March next year. I fear that enormous publicity is going to surround me when I retire from my NATO assignment next month. And this will continue up till February, because I am doing a series of battle programmes on television for the B.B.C. in December and January - describing battles I have personally handled between Alamein and Berlin.

I suggest that for the filming of your programme in March 1959 it would be best for you to come and stay with me at my home in England for two days, and the whole thing could be handled there by your team - who could come down from London every day.

I have plenty of room and you could have a complete suite, with a large sitting room, all to yourself.

I believe this would be the best way to handle the project - since we could discuss in the evenings what to talk about each day.

I would give up two or three whole days to the operation.

My home is in Hampshire, address as above, and is 45 miles by car from London.

Will you let me know what you think of this. And suggest dates; this is rather necessary as I am already getting booked up for next year.

Yrs. sincerely
Montgomery of Alamein

P.S. A Mr. Fred Friendly has written to my literary agents and has suggested that the film be made during a two day period in Switzerland in February, March or April. I would not agree to do the film in Switzerland. I go to that country every February for a holiday and have many commitments there - with the Swiss Government and in the Skiing /World.

Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

World.
I get back to my home in England at the end of February and would be prepared to do the film with you in March.
In your letter to me dated June 26th you said that March would be "altogether agreeable". I reckon that the whole operation is best done at my house in Hampshire as suggested above - and in March 1959. Do you agree?

D of A.

Telephone: Temple Bar 2225
Telegrams: Longevity, Estrand, London
Cables: Longevity, London

A. P. WATT & SON
W. P. WATT
R. P. WATT
A. P. F. WATT
M. I. HORNIMAN

Hastings House,
10, Norfolk Street, Strand,
London, W.C.2.

Conway

H.119 M.34/2

22nd August, 1958.

Fred. Friendly Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Friendly,

Thank you for your letter of August 19. I have asked our New York representative, Mr. Willis Kingsley Wing who is probably already well known to you, to take up with you various points in connection with your proposal that Lord Montgomery should prepare a programme with Mr. Murrow for television and sound broadcasting. I have sent him copies of the folllowing letters:

Mr. Murrow's to Lord Montgomery of June 12,
Mine to Mr. Murrow of 20th June,
Yours to me of August 19. - also a copy of this letter.

In case you have not got it by you when you receive this, Mr. Wing's address is:

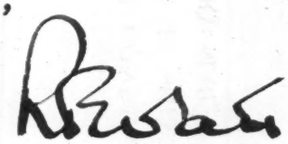
24 East 38th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

and his telephone number is:

ORegon 9-5650

Perhaps you will kindly get into touch with him in this matter if he does not call you first.

Yours sincerely,



T for Sept 10

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1958

August 19, 1958

Dear Mr. Watt:

Ed Murrow and I are delighted that we are going to be able to proceed with the Field Marshal Montgomery project, and if the terms loosely described in this letter are agreeable to you and to Marshal Montgomery, we shall ask the Legal Department here to draw up the necessary papers for the Field Marshal's signature.

1. Field Marshal Montgomery's suggestion to make the film during a two day period in Switzerland during February, March or April is acceptable.

2. The CBS Television network would finance all expenses and pay the Field Marshal the sum of five thousand dollars. In return for this, this Company would consider that it had the exclusive world-wide rights to the film.

3. Because we note from your letter that the Field Marshal will be undertaking a similar project with the BBC, we wonder if it would be possible to stipulate in the contract that the BBC would be limited from distributing the film in the United States until after the Murrow project has been broadcast.

I am sure from your letters and from Marshal Montgomery's that the procedure for the filming of the conversation with Mr. Murrow is understood. It is possible that I shall be in London within the next fortnight, and should you choose to discuss this further, it could be arranged. In the meantime, if there is any additional information you want, or if this arrangement is satisfactory enough

Mr. R. P. Watt August 19, 1958

for the necessary papers to be drawn up, please cable or write to me at this address.

We feel that this project is full of promise, and Ed Murrow and all of us are looking forward to the honor of working with Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein and with you.

Respectfully yours,

Fred Friendly

Mr. R. P. Watt
A. P. Watt & Son
Hastings House
10 Norfolk Street
Strand,
London W.C. 2,
England

FWF/nf

bc: Mr. Klinger

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: MESSRS. KLINGER, HAMILTON cc: Mr. Friendly

from: Mr. Mickelson

August 8, 1958

Fred Friendly will discuss with you a proposed contract with agents for British Field Marshal Montgomery. The Field Marshal would be interviewed on film by Ed Murrow in a program similar to the President Truman interview. The interview would probably be filmed sometime next spring and would be edited into one-hour form for use sometime thereafter.

Mr. Friendly has the correspondence.

fm

Giblin

Accept Regret
Appropriate Action
Background?
FYI FILE
Note & Return
Phone SM
Reply Direct
Return to Sender
Status?
Suggest Reply
To Discuss
Comment or Recommendation
Copy to SM
URGENT

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Sig Mickelson

from: Edward R. Murrow

July 31, 1958

Sig 8/4

Since I have neither authority nor budget in this area, I assume that you will cause someone to propose figures and terms for Field Marshal Montgomery.

Ed

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Paul Rosen

from: Edward R. Murrow

June 26, 1958

This is the letter from Field Marshal Montgomery's Literary Agents about which I told you.

I suggest that we talk further before you do anything about it.

E.R.M.

mcc

Telephone: Temple Bar 2225
Telegrams: Longevity, Estrand, London
Cables: Longevity, London

A. P. WATT & SON
W. P. WATT
R. P. WATT
A. P. F. WATT
M. I. HORNIMAN

Hastings House,
10, Norfolk Street, Strand,
London, W.C.2.

BY AIRMAIL

H.119 M.34/2

1st August, 1958.

Edward R. Murrow Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

As we don't appear to have heard from you in reply to our letter of 23rd July we are afraid that it may perhaps have failed to reach you and we accordingly enclose a copy of it.

We now look forward to receiving a reply to our letter.

With thanks in anticipation,

We are,

Yours faithfully,

Enc. Copy letter.

IMPORTANT—Authors are kindly requested to note that Messrs. A. P. WATT & SON only accept MSS. for negotiation on the understanding that they shall not be held responsible for their accidental loss from fire or any other cause while in their offices in transit or on offer to Publishers or Editors to whom they may have been submitted in the ordinary course of business.

BY AIRMAIL

H. 119 M.34/2 23rd July, 1958.

Edward R. Murrow Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

As I have not heard from you in reply to my letter of 20th June, I am afraid that it may have failed to reach you. I therefore send you the following copy of it:

"My client Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein has sent me a copy of your letter to him of June 12 and a copy of his reply to it dated 19th June, and has asked me to get into touch with you in this matter to arrange terms etc. on his behalf. He has given me no details about his conversation with you at the Union Club to which you refer and I am consequently in the dark as to the exact form of programme you have in mind - how long it would be on the air, its nature, when and over what period and in whatterritory you would wish to have the right to broadcast it and what terms you would be willing to offer him for his work on it. May I hear from you please at your convenience?

"With regard to the date on which the Field Marshal would be willing to do the work which you would like him to do for you, he has written to me:

'I would prefer to do the programme in April next year, 1959. I am very heavily engaged in the autumn of this year, and in the first three months of 1959. Would he agree to April 1959? That would mean that I could work on the programme in Feburary when I am in Switzerland. I could manage a date early in March 1959, if April is too late.'

"I look forward to hearing from you that you can offer me terms and conditions which he will consider satisfactory."

May I now look forward to hearing from you in this matter?

With thanks in anticipation,

I am,

Yours faithfully,

July 31, 1958

Mr. R.P. Watt
A.P. Watt & Son
Hastings House
10 Norfolk Street
Strand
London, W.C. 2,
England.

Dear Mr. Watt:

I must first of all apologize for the delay in answering your previous communication. As you are no doubt aware, the reputation of this country for efficiency is vastly exaggerated. I shall do my best to see to it that a reasonable proposal reaches you within the next two weeks.

Sincerely yours,

KHM:skh

Montgomery, Eng. Bus, Small World

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Sig Mickelson

from: Edward R. Murrow

July 31, 1958

Since I have neither authority nor budget in this area, I assume that you will cause someone to propose figures and terms for Field Marshal Montgomery.

July 31, 1956

Mr. R.P. Watt
A.P. Watt & Son
Hastings House
10 Norfolk Street
Strand
London, W.C. 2,
England.

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Sincerely yours,

(file on this
sent to Mr
Mickelson)

KMM:skh

Telephone: Temple Bar 2225
Telegrams: Longevity, Estrand, London
Cables: Longevity, London

A. P. WATT & SON
W. P. WATT
R. P. WATT
A. P. F. WATT
M. I. HORNIMAN

Hastings House,
10, Norfolk Street, Strand,
London, W.C.2.

BY AIR

H.119 M.34/2

23rd July, 1958.

Edward R. Murrow Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y., U.S.A.

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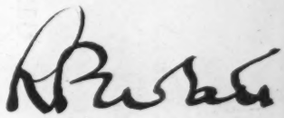
I am,
Yours faithfully,



To open cut here

Field Marshal Montgomery

June 26, 1958

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of June 19th.

It occurs to me that March of next year would be an altogether agreeable time to undertake our television project. Perhaps, we can establish the exact dates later on. Meanwhile, I shall communicate with your Literary Agents.

Sincerely yours,

Field Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.
Isington Mill,
Nr. ALTON,
Hants.

mcc

Telephone: Temple Bar 2225
Telegrams: Longevity, Estrand, London
Cables: Longevity, London

A. P. WATT & SON
W. P. WATT
R. P. WATT
A. P. F. WATT
M. I. HORNIMAN

Hastings House,
10, Norfolk Street, Strand,
London, W.C.2.

BY AIR

H.119 M.34/2

20th June, 1958.

Edward R. Murrow Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

My client Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein has sent me a copy of your letter to him of June 12 and a copy of his reply to it dated 19th June, and has asked me to get into touch with you in this matter, to arrange terms etc. on his behalf. He has given me no details about his conversation with you at the Union Club to which you refer and I am consequently in the dark as to the exact form of programme you have in mind - how long it would be on the air, its nature, when and over what period and in what territory you would wish to have the right to broadcast it and what terms you would be willing to offer him for his work on it. May I hear from you please at your convenience?

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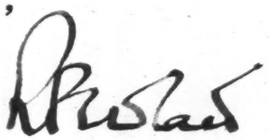

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ALLIED POWERS EUROPE
DEPUTY SUPREME COMMANDER

Isington Mill,
Nr. ALTON,
Hants.

19 June, 1958

Dear Murrow

Thank you for your letter of June 12.
I would be prepared to undertake the programme you suggest. The film could be made at my home and I would give up two whole days to it. My home address in England is as given above and I suggest you use this for all future correspondence.

I withdraw from active employment on the 20th September next and have a heavy programme with the B.B.C. which will keep me very busy until the middle of January 1959. I then go to Switzerland until the end of February.

I could do the programme early in March next year, 1959. I reckon we could make a very fine thing of it.

I have passed your letter to my Literary Agents to arrange details. They are:

A.P.Watt & Son,
10 Norfolk Street,
Strand,
London, W.C.2.

Yours sincerely

Montgomery of Alamein

Edward R.Murrow, Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

June 12, 1958

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to our conversation at the Union Club, permit me to report that my colleagues and myself are most enthusiastic about the possibility of undertaking the television program we discussed.

It is our view that this could be done in the course of about four or five hours of film, the shooting to be done over a period of two days. If this could be done at your home, as you suggested, shortly after your retirement from the NATO Command, that would be excellent.

It is my view that so far as content is concerned, we should deal with the current international situation - military, political and economic - this portion to be developed, edited and presented as promptly as possible, as either a half-hour or a full hour program. In addition to this I entertain the hope that you might be willing to answer questions of a more general nature, perhaps reminisce and philosophize a bit, so that we might end up with a visual document for history, which would be of immense value as an inspirational teaching aid for future generations of students, and not exclusively to students of military science and tactics. Imagine the impact upon present generations had we such a film of Wellington or Drake!

If you will be good enough to indicate your wishes in this matter, I will hold myself entirely at your disposal.

Respectfully yours,

Field Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G.,G.C.B.,D.S.O.
NATO Headquarters
Paris.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Mickelson, Day and Friendly

from: Ed Murrow

June 5, 1958

Two things: 1) Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein told me the other day that he was both willing and eager to do a T.V. interview in depth -"the sort of thing you chaps did with Truman". He retires from NATO September 20, and proposes that it be done from his home in Surrey. I promised to communicate with him in the course of the next couple of weeks. What are your wishes in this matter? I'M FOR IT.

2) Judge Learned Hand is spending August in Maine and is willing to tape a lengthy interview for radio only. He is willing to sound off on the Supreme Court, wire-tapping, anything else. He has obviously reached the age of indiscretion! What do you want to do about this one? GITLIN IS READY TO MOVE.

E.R.M.

6/6

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the dr[illegible]ers is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

DC603 LE561

L.LSA609 LONG NL PD=WUX LOS ANGELES CALIF 30=

:EDWARD R MURROW:

AR =580 PARK AVE NYK:

=DEAR ED: FIELD MARSHALL MONTGOMERY AND I JUST FINISHED LISTENING TO YOUR BROADCAST AND THE TRIBUTE YOU PAID TO CHURCHILL WAS JUST GREAT. I WILL LET THE FIELD MARSHAL TELL YOU HIS OWN REACTION. HERE IT IS QUOTE I BEING A VERY GREAT PERSONAL FRIEND OF WINSTON CHURCHILL FOR MANY YEARS AND ACOMRADE IN ARMS WITH HIM DURING THE DARK ERA OF THE WAR THOUGHT THE TRIBUTE TO HIM BY EDWARD MURROW WAS SUPERB UNQUOTE. COLONEL PAUL WIVLL COMMUNICATE WITH YOU TOMORROW AND ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIELD MARSHAL. WARMEST REGARDS=

=SAM=.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Field Marshall Montgomer

January 10, 1955

Dear Colonel Paul:

My belated thanks for the trouble in sending me the copies of the Field Marshal's speeches.

Sincerely yours,

Colonel L. F. Paul
Office of the Chief of Staff
United States Air Force
Headquarters, USAF
Pentagon
Washington 25, D.C.

rh

ALLIED POWERS EUROPE
DEPUTY SUPREME COMMANDER

Office of the Chief of Staff
United States Air Force
Headquarters, USAF
Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

2 December 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It was very nice meeting you this morning. Attached as promised are copies of the speeches the Field Marshal delivered in Los Angeles.

The speeches he will make tonight are essentially the same as the 30 November speech before the California Club. The only changes are references to the local audience.

When I return to Washington and have a bit more time I will send you a personal and confidential letter amplifying two of the topics discussed by the Field Marshal in your conversation today.

Sincerely,

L. F. Paul

L. F. PAUL
Colonel, USAF
Special Assistant to the
Chief of Staff

REMARKS BY

FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN

Luncheon Address at Los Angeles

Tuesday - 30 November

NATO AND THE DEFENCE OF THE FREE WORLD

NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE: 1230 HOURS PST
30 NOVEMBER 1954

LUNCHEON ADDRESS AT LOS ANGELES

TUESDAY 30 NOVEMBER

NATO AND THE DEFENCE OF THE FREE WORLD

The Object

The world is split by two conflicting ideological doctrines or moral codes: East v. West -- Communist Bloc v. Free Nations. This has led to what is called "the cold war". A better name would be the cold peace.

Our object is PEACE. This can not be stated too clearly or too often.

Because of aggressive Communism, we have had to define this object in greater detail.

Peace through strength

Strength through unity.

Possibility of War

In 1947/1948 war was a probability. Today that is no longer the case. This is due to the Atlantic Pact which was signed in April 1949, by which twelve nations joined together to form a defensive alliance: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, known for short as NATO. Later, in February 1952, Greece and Turkey joined NATO and we became fourteen nations.

When Western Germany becomes a member of NATO, we will be fifteen nations: in 1955, I hope.

War is no longer a probability.

Why is this?

It is due to our growing strength in NATO. I am a great believer in NATO. If NATO had existed earlier, there would have been no second World War.

.../In the strengthening of NATO,

In the strengthening of NATO, politically and militarily, lies the best insurance against a third World War. But we cannot disregard the possibility of war, for two reasons: First. The world is split in two and the aims of the two sides are in direct conflict. In some areas the conflict is violent and actual fighting has broken out: Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, E. Africa.
These conflicts could give rise to explosions which would bring on global war, though neither side wanted it. Thus we could have war by miscalculation.
Second. History records that from time to time that evil men arise, seize power, and exert their will by force. Hitler was such a man. Others may arise.

The deterrent against war

The maintenance of peaceful and stable conditions is a matter for political chiefs and Governments: who must be able to negotiate from strength. As things are today, and until things get sorted out and settled, the best safeguard for peace is the possession of such strong air power that a potential aggressor knows his attack will be returned at once, that he will get back far more than he gives, and that his own country will be destroyed. Our enemy is aggressive Communism. For instance, the best insurance for peace today would be a firm declaration on part of the Western Group of Free Nations that if attacked we will defend ourselves with all means at our disposal. We will never be the aggressor ourselves.
But, if attacked, we will defend ourselves with full weight of our atomic and thermo-nuclear capability. The essential point is that we ourselves should be able to receive a surprise nuclear attack, to absorb it, and to survive to hit back and continue the fight.

.../Extension of this philosophy

Extension of this philosophy to Civil Defence

In Europe, all our plans are based on the above philosophy. We could not defend the territories of the NATO nations in Europe without using nuclear weapons, because otherwise we could not match the strength that could be brought against us. Therefore, we must be ready to use atomic weapons, and we are so ready, and have geared our operations accordingly. If we use atomic weapons we must expect counter-use by the enemy against our Cities.

Therefore, all nations must prepare an effective Civil Defence. This is elementary common sense. The organization must be built up within the limits of financial possibilities.

Without such an organization, the home front would collapse in war time. Great saving of life and property is possible after a nuclear attack, especially on the fringes of the burst: provided there is a good organization to handle such an attack.

The problem today is global

We are trying to build up a secure defence against the forces of aggressive Communism. This defence must be effective against the weapons of cold war, and also against an all-out attack in a hot war. This is clearly a global problem.

Some nations are too inclined to think only of their own national defence. For instance, in the U.S.A. the eastern states might consider the threat from Europe, you in California probably tend to look towards the Pacific and Asia, and all of you look towards the Arctic regions and the threat of air attack from that direction.

.../This is a great mistake

This is a great mistake and could easily lead to our taking wrong decisions. It is vital to consider the problem globally and as one whole, and then to get our priorities right.
But a great handicap is that in the free world we have no global organization to direct political policy or military strategy.
As a result, the dissipation of effort on the part of the free nations in the contest with aggressive Communism, and generally in the cold war, is tremendous.

In my view, one of our greatest needs today is the creation of some organization which would direct our affairs on a global basis.
At present we have only NATO. There is a small beginning in S.E. Asia, in that a Treaty Organization has been signed in that region.

But we still lack the global organization, and we lack an agreed political aim on a global basis which is sufficiently clear to guide military strategy.

An example of defence priorities

Financial limitations make it impossible to do all we would like or have all we want. We must therefore get our defence priorities right.
Let me give you an example. For the first time for many years, the U.S.A. has a home defence problem: air attack over the Arctic. In the last two wars you deployed your great strength overseas. Today we see the U.S.A. and Canada with their forces deployed in peace time in Europe.
Some might think that with the growing threat of air attack you should concentrate on home defence, and live securely with the Atlantic one side and the Pacific on the other side. But you must understand that there is today no sure air defence against modern aircraft or ballistic rockets. You can have a good, early warning system and the best air defence scientists can devise. But it won't give you 100% security.

.../It is like trying to keep tide back

It is like trying to keep tide back on sea shore with a picket fence. A nation must be organized to "take it".
And the best defence is the ability to hit back: the strong deterrent.

If we lose that "chunk" of Europe to the forces of aggressive Communism, that is the end of Western Civilization for many years: and possibly for ever. We would not get back there again, like last time.
Talk of "liberation" is dangerous; there would be nothing to liberate.
Hold; not liberate. You are necessary to Europe for that "holding".
But do not forget that Europe is necessary to you. No one can stand alone these days.

The greatest priority

I am a soldier and the servant of the fourteen Governments of NATO.
Next year, with the Germans, the number will be fifteen.
It has become clear to me since the late war ended that in the ideological conflict which is going on in the world today, the great priority, the greatest priority, which is supreme and unassailable, is the solidarity of the English-speaking peoples. And the hard core of the problem is Anglo-American solidarity. We are a good example of two nations who once fought each other and are now the best of friends. It is vital we should remain so. If we quarrel amongst ourselves, and drift apart, that is the end of both of us.

Past history of where my Regiment fought against you:
at Fort Erie in 1812, and then we burnt Washington and the White House.
My conversation with President Truman on this subject in 1945.

Never know what the lineup will be next time.
Past history in this respect.
British, at various times, had fought with and against every nation that took part in World War II.

.../Do not want a next time.

Do not want a next time.

There need be no "next time" for many years to come so long as Anglo-American solidarity remains the greatest priority, and is regarded as such by us all.

The military situation

When broadcasting to Europe recently General Gruenther said, and I agree with him, that it is a fact that peace in the modern world cannot be assured without military power.

We have tried negotiations from weakness, but without success.

Military strength is necessary, not only to resist aggression if we are attacked, but also to give our political leaders a firm basis from which to negotiate a working arrangement with the Communist world.

General Gruenther went on to say that one thing is certain, and that is that no nation in the world today can stand alone, whether it is powerful United States or little Luxembourg.

A nation must have friends and allies. Aggression will be resisted successfully only by the collective defence measures of the free nations.

Now let us look at the military picture.

Going back to 1948, at that time we had few forces available and, if we had been attacked, the peoples and territories of the West would have been overrun quickly.

Today the picture is very different.

We have considerable military strength at our disposal and an aggressor would not have it entirely his own way. Nor would we. There is still much to be done before we can say we have reached a satisfactory state of preparedness and security, and are able to hold off an

.../aggressor while we mobilize

aggressor while we mobilize our collective strength. We cannot therefore relax until we have reached that desirable state of affairs. We must balance the military effort with practical realities and economic possibilities, and must build up armed forces, and a Civil Defence organization, suitable for modern times.

We are now moving into an age of great scientific progress, and certain changes will be necessary in the structure and organization of national forces.

Absolute security against attack will be impossible in this future age. A deterrent, the means with which to hit back instantly and to give more than you get, is the surest way to make an aggressor think twice before he attacks. The West must build up such a deterrent, delivered by air forces.

Air power is the dominant factor in war today. The Air Force is now the decisive arm in battle. Without strong Air Forces no war can be won. Our goal must be to create great air strength, capable of responding at a moments' notice to the attack of an aggressor. Since we can not predict when an attack might be launched, these air forces must be operationally ready at all times, i.e., in peace as well as in war.

We cannot depend on the mobilization of reserve air units if we are to have an effective deterrent and an efficient air force.

In our defence organization we must be prepared, as in the past, for battle on land.

A surprise attack by air using atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons, would be accompanied by a heavy onslaught on land. In Europe it is vital that we should be able to hold off the enemy land armies long enough to enable the nations to spring to arms and mobilize their collective strength.

.../And we must be able to control

And we must be able to control the seas. If we cannot deploy in Europe the power of the American continent, Europe could fall: and that would be a catastrophe from which it would be difficult to recover.

The Western nations must also retain the ability to absorb atomic and thermo-nuclear attack, and must ensure that their means of instant retaliation is not invalidated by surprise or treachery.

Now, as never before, real preparedness is vital.
The nation that can organize itself properly in peace as regards its manpower, its production, its armed forces, and its Civil Defence, and can turn over easily and quickly from a peace to a war footing, taking the emergency in its stride and riding the storm - that nation will gain the initial advantage, and will win.

It is clear that modern conditions will require a most careful examination of the armed forces of a nation, its manpower structure, its mobilization procedure. In fact, the national war machine may need a different type of gearbox. All this must be examined so that a nation will get the military force adequate for its needs. Amongst all the many essentials, the problem of the organization and training of reserves is one of the most important.
No nation can afford to maintain on an authorized active footing in peace the armed forces necessary in war. This is particularly the case with land forces. It can maintain only a shield; the balance comes into being on mobilization. Unless there is a first-class organization for the production and training of reserves, the nation may not survive. The efficiency of the reserve organization will be stultified unless a proper share of the defence burden is placed on the manpower of the nation after the drafted service is ended.
In other words, service in the reserve organization of a nation and in the Civil Defence organization, combined with adequate periods of

.../training, must be made compulsory

training, must be made compulsory by law for all able-bodied citizens: up to a stated age limit.

The crux of the matter

Let me put to you what I consider to be the crux of the whole matter.

The world is split by two conflicting ideological doctrines or moral codes. We are now living in the presence of two vast concentrations of power.

The Communist bloc is centrally directed from Moscow. The free nations, the West, have no such advantage, as I have already said.

We can offset this disadvantage only by certain other assets. The most important of these are:

Strength	-	political, economic, moral and military.
Unity	-	and with this must go unselfish solidarity.
Leadership	-	from your nation.

I have discussed the factor of strength. Let us take a look at the factors of unity and leadership.

Unity

I have been working for the cause of Western Defence for six years, beginning in 1948 in the Western Union, and from 1951 till today in the North Atlantic Community. And I am still working for the cause.

The progress that has been made since those early days is amazing. And that progress has not been only in the sphere of the physical production of forces. There has been equal progress in co-operation, in mutual sympathy and understanding, in willingness to help each other. Things are agreed and done today that would never have been thought possible five, or even three, years ago.

.../In so far as there may have been

In so far as there may have been any improvement in the international situation, my own judgment is that one of the principal causes has been our growing strength and unity within NATO. The more we can develop that strength and unity, the better will be the chances of peace. And in that collective unity, Anglo-American solidarity is vital, as I have already said.

It follows that the greatest act of folly we could commit would be to drift back into weakness and disunity. Our enemies will seek to divide us; we must never let them do so. If we quarrel amongst ourselves, we will merely expose ourselves afresh to the old dangers.

I am full of hope for the future of the free world so long as we are united and strong. Given united strength and unselfish solidarity we cannot lose. If we drift apart we will disappear one by one.

A great American poet once wrote:

"All your strength is in your union
All your danger is in discord".

(Longfellow)

No truer words were ever written.

Leadership

And now I would like to speak about leadership. I want to put before you the situation as seen by me: an international soldier and the servant of fourteen Governments, one of which is the Government of the U.S.A.

The leadership of the free world lies in the hands of your great nation. You have not always been in this position.

For many years the British supplied world leadership and they have been dealing with world problems for centuries. Your nation has only the experience of decades.

.../But today the leadership is yours,

But today the leadership is yours, and has been yours since 1945. How have you exercised that leadership in the past? And how will you exercise it in the future?

You did well in the immediate post-war years. If it had not been for the U.S.A. and the attitude you adopted in strengthening the free world, first economically and later militarily, I firmly believe we might have been involved in a third World War. Your generosity and your leadership saved us from that catastrophe. Today we find the nations of the West well on the way to regaining their former well-being. In consequence they are becoming more independent; fear of war has receded into the background; sovereignty and national pride are regaining their pre-war positions; the nations are not so easy to handle as formerly; they can still be led, but cannot be coerced; some cannot now be influenced by dollars.

The present is, in fact, a most difficult time; I often think the next five years are going to prove far more difficult than the last five. I see possible changes in the nature of the Western Alliance. The nations of the free world may begin to think they can do without your strong right arm beside them and your support behind them. They cannot possibly do so.

And no more can you do without them, however strong you may be; you want to get that quite clear.

If the Alliance begins to crumble, that is the end for us all. American help and leadership given in the recent past, and indeed at the present time, have been most helpful in settling some of the difficult problems around the world, and give promise of her steadfastness in meeting those problems yet to come. American leadership is discernible in the councils of the world; in Europe, where I am personally best acquainted, she has provided diplomatic and military leaders that have universal respect. All this must be continued: indeed it must grow stronger every day.

~~And no more should you stand aloof and disapprove; that would be most dangerous.~~

~~If you can adopt your leadership to the changing world scene, then you will fulfill the glorious destiny which is yours and will earn the respect and honour of the free world.~~
~~If you cannot do so, the free world will begin to disintegrate and we will all be in grave danger from the onward march of Communism: including the U.S.A.~~

Conclusion

When all is said and done, one essential and unassailable fact remains. It is this. If the nations of the West, the free nations, have so far come safely through some dangerous years, and if we are now in a better situation regarding defence, this is because there has been in Washington what is, substantially speaking, a correct diagnosis of the world situation, followed by a resolute and far-reaching attempt to find a remedy.

In pursuit of the remedy, the U.S.A. has rebuilt her armed forces in a measure unprecedented except in time of war. She has sustained the economy and nourished the military strength of her Allies. She has joined, and, indeed, helped to promote the creation of a grand defensive alliance. And when our defences were dangerously probed, first in Berlin and next in Korea, there was an unhesitating response from Washington.
There has not always been general agreement among the Western nations, and sometimes relations have become strained. But in those very disagreements we have all learnt our lesson.

What then, we may ask ourselves, is the action we must take to deal with the present trouble between the Communist world and the free nations?

.../What is the long-term remedy?

What is the long-term remedy?

It is in calmness and confidence to meet strength with strength, will with will, and faith with faith.

In these circumstances, is what is called "peaceful co-existence" possible? Yes, I think it is; but the term must be rightly understood.

If peace means simply the absence of major war, then "peaceful co-existence" in our time is not only possible but probable, provided - and only provided - the free nations maintain their strength and unity, and the leadership of the U.S.A. is convincing and is exercised with understanding. If, however, peace is something more than the mere absence of total war; if it is understood to mean a positive spirit of harmony and concord, then I consider that "peaceful co-existence" is not to be hoped for. What did LENIN say:

> "The permanent co-existence of the Soviet Republic and the Imperialistic States is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end arrives, a series of terrible collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois nations is inevitable."

We are faced, therefore, with the prospect of a "peaceful co-existence" which means the absence of both peace and war in the full sense of both words, and which may last for years - perhaps even for generations to come. It was well described recently as "co-existence with conflict".

We must expect that the Communist Powers will continue to use every means, short of world war, to penetrate, to disrupt and to dominate the other half of the world, probing the weak spots, and calling off the offensive in any particular place only if strong and effective resistance is offered.

.../This is a grievous prospect.

This is a grievous prospect. But it is not so grievous as total war, and not so grievous as surrender.

It is a prospect which calls for vigilance, steadfastness, and the unremitting maintenance of unity and collective military strength.

And it calls for a continuance of American leadership. You must understand that history will measure your success not so much by the quantity of your dollars as by the quality of your leadership.

END

ADDRESS TO CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

by

FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN

NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE: 1930 Hours, PST
29 November 1954

Field-Marshal Montgomery

Address to California Institute of Technology.

Los Angeles : 29 November 1954.

The possibility of war

The world is split in two and the aims of the two parts, East and West, are in direct conflict. In some areas the conflict is violent and has led to fighting. These local wars are part of what is called the "cold war". A better name would be the cold peace.

History records that from time to time evil men arise, seize power, and attempt to exert their will by force. Hitler was such a man.

Therefore the possibility of the cold war turning to a hot war is always with us, and we must be prepared accordingly.

Both are global, the cold war and the hot war.

In trying to win the cold war one side or the other may miscalculate and bring on a hot war, though neither side wanted it.

So once again, war is always a possibility.

But as we advance further along the road of development of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons, guided missiles, and ballistic rockets, it will become increasingly clear that a hot war will be mutual suicide for the contestants. Therefore the great problem regarding the cold war now in progress is how to win it without precipitating a hot war.

Local wars call for the use of conventional weapons, and for a readiness to use new weapons if the circumstances demand it.

It is obvious that the use of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons is going to have a profound effect on the conduct of war, on weapon systems, on strategical and tactical conceptions, and therefore on the organization of forces.

... I want to make it

I want to make it absolutely clear that we at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers, Europe are basing all our operational planning on using atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons in our defence. With us it is no longer:

"They may possibly be used."

It is very definitely:

"They will be used, if we are attacked."

The reason for this action is that we cannot match the strength that could be brought against us unless we use nuclear weapons; and our political chiefs have never shown any great enthusiasm in giving us the number to be able to do this without using such weapons.

It all calls for a certain reorganisation of our forces, and in our strategy. In fact, we have reached the point of no return as regards the use of nuclear weapons in a hot war.

Now let us consider a future global hot war.

The Future Global War.

In our thinking ahead we need some realistic foundation.

Let us therefore consider a war between two powerful groups of nations, and let us call them EAST and WEST. You can make any grouping within this broad statement that you think suitable. I would suggest we include the NATO nations in the WEST.

We will assume that the WEST has at present a superiority in atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons together with the means of delivery, but that as the years pass that margin superiority is likely to decline.

.../General Approach

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.../General Approach

General Approach

So far as we can see today we are not justified in depending on air bombardment alone, even with nuclear weapons, to bring a world war to a successful conclusion: still less a local war or disturbance. Wars today can be won only by fighting, and, in a hot war, fighting will continue in the air, at sea, and on land until one side loses the will to fight on.

On the other hand, the skilful employment and accurate application of superior nuclear fire-power in combination with the operations of streamlined land forces, can be a decisive factor in the battle on land. The problem will be, how to force the enemy to concentrate his armed forces sufficiently to offer a worth-while nuclear target, without exposing our own forces to destruction by the enemy's nuclear attack.

The deliberately planned world hot war

I suggest that such a war will have three phases.

First Phase : a world wide struggle for mastery in the air and of the oceans. It will be vital during this phase to prevent enemy land forces overrunning and neutralizing Western bases and territories.

Second Phase : The destruction of the remaining enemy land forces.

Third Phase : the bargaining phase, when the enemy's omeland and all it contains is at the mercy of the Western air power. We will then carry the air attack to the point where the enemy accepts our terms.

The second and third phases may be concurrent.

.../Against the

Against the background of this overall strategy, let us consider the war under three headings:

The War in the Air.

The War at Sea.

The War on Land.

The War in the Air.

It is clear from the strategy I have outlined that the dominant factor in future war will be air power. And that is my very firm belief. But like so many things we do we too often pay only lip service to this great truth.

The greatest asset of air power is its flexibility. The main factors in determining the degree of flexibility are the methods of command and control, the range of aircraft and the mobility of supporting equipment.

Flexibility and centralized control of all the air forces in a theatre of war, are vital to success.

But the WEST has sacrificed much of its flexibility by basing the air command organisation on the requirements of "direct support" of the land forces, whereas it should be based on the organisation necessary to gain the greatest measure of control in the air.

Air power is indivisible. If you split it up into compartments you merely pull it to pieces and destroy its greatest asset - its flexibility.

If we lose the war in the air, we lose the whole war and lose it quickly.

We will never win the war in the air with the organisation for air command and control that we have at present. The present organisation is unworthy of a group of nations who claim to have some knowledge of war.

Now let us have a look at the war in the air.

If we can maintain the ability to start a tremendous nuclear bombardment of the EAST the moment we are attacked, they cannot afford to do nothing about it.

.../It must affect

It must affect the employment of their air forces.

It must force them to devote a considerable effort of their long-range air forces and nuclear weapons to attempt to hit our strategical air forces and the installations on which they depend.

It must force them to expend effort on air defence, no easy problem for them.

Against this background, I suggest there are three successive stages to consider in the War in the Air.

The First Stage

This stage would be if war comes in the near future.

In this period, as I see it, both sides will rely principally on piloted aircraft in both the strategical and tactical fields.

I see no sign, within this period, of either side being able to create an air defence system which could greatly affect the present balance in favour of the offensive in the air.

The results of this great battle for mastery in the air will have a tremendous effect on the whole war, and we must win it.

But we cannot afford to rely on air resources which depend on mobilisation. The air forces we need, together with all the means necessary to keep them operational, must exist in peace-time. And by centralizing Air Command on the highest possible level we must restore to the air forces the flexibility they have largely lost.

The Second Stage

In the not too-far distant future, the East may create a sufficient stock of atomic weapons, and the long-range means of delivering them, effective enough for them to strike at the outbreak of war a devastating blow at our means of delivering offensive air power.

At this stage, as far as I can see, both sides will still be relying principally on piloted aircraft, both for offence and defence.

Before this period arrives, it will be of tremendous importance that we should have developed, and have in being , a highly effective global early warning system, together with the best air defence that the scientists can give us; in order to prevent our offensive air power being crippled from the start by a surprise attack, and to minimize the effect of such an attack.

.../The Third Stage

The Third Stage

Later on still the East may have developed means of delivering their weapons with accuracy, both short-range and long-range, which do not rely on piloted aircraft, e.g., the ballistic missile.

Our ability to counter that threat by both offensive and defensive measures will be much reduced, because the targets will be far less vulnerable - whether they are launching sites, or the weapons themselves actually in the air.

We must ask ourselves seriously what, at that stage, are to be the targets of our offensive air power.

Will it then be true that offensive operations by our aircraft or missiles will directly affect the enemy's ability to deliver his weapons against us.

I do not see the aeroplane disappearing altogether.

In the tactical field I am sure that there will always be tasks for piloted aircraft in support of land and naval forces. The enemy's aircraft used for these purposes, and their bases, will remain an important target for our aircraft and missiles.

Conclusions: The War in the Air

What are the conclusions?

Now that we have solved the problem of endurance in the air, and an aircraft can remain in the skies for prolonged periods and in all weathers, air power is becoming the decisive factor in warfare. We must therefore get organised accordingly. What we must do now is to organise the command and control of our air forces so as to retain the greatest degree of flexibility centralizing command in the highest commander who can effectively exercise that command: so that he can wield the available air forces in a theatre if war as one mighty weapon.

If we are attacked, we must set in motion an immediate air offensive on the largest possible scale, directed at the enemy's air forces and at his homeland. The means of delivering an immediate air offensive must exist in peace.

.../We must develop

We must develop an effective, and global, early warning system in order to have some chance of being able to take the offensive in the air should we be attacked. And we must study air defence urgently; I will say something on this subject later on.

It is vital that our air forces should be able to absorb nuclear attack, and survive to strike back. The principle of dispersion must be explored from every angle. We must get away from the enormous concrete runways of today, and develop aircraft which can land and take off from small P.S.P. airstrips dispersed over the countryside. In this respect "vertical lift" aircraft have very great possibilities.

The War at Sea

Now let us discuss the war at sea.

As things stand today, it is my view that the WEST could not win if it lost control of the Atlantic.

If we cannot deploy in Europe the power of the American continent, Europe could fall.

In the open seas the great threats are the submarine and air attack. In the narrow waters, the threat of the mine must be added and attack by aircraft will be more effective.

Naval forces of today require air support in the same way as do land forces. It is essential in the conditions of today, that navies called on to operate in the great oceans should have their own air forces.

The navies of those nations whose work lies entirely in narrow seas such as the Mediterranean, or in European waters, are in a different situation; in my view, such navies do not need their own air forces.

What I have said about the war at sea is applicable only for today and for the next few years. But the more one considers the future, the more the problem of control of the seas becomes difficult to foresee.

The question to be faced, and decided, is:-

> "In the future, will the seas be controlled from the sea or from the air?"

.../When one considers

When one considers the range and power of aircraft of the future, and the progress that is likely in radar and electronics, I am personally forced to the conclusion that the time will come when the major factor in the control of the seas will be air power.

I consider that the day of the large warship on the surface of the sea is over. The emphasis in the future is likely to be on the smaller type of vessel and on underwater craft.

If it is true that the seas will in the future be controlled mainly from the air, then it is for consideration whether this control would not be best exercised by national air forces and not by naval forces. If this is the case, then navies will not in the future require their own air forces. That time has not yet come. But in my view it will come eventually. If this is true, then we should at once stop building any more aircraft carriers: because they are very expensive and will not produce a dividend. What it amounts to is that new weapons have not yet rendered the aircraft-carrier obsolete, but they will do so in the future. And I see control of the seas eventually passing to air forces.

The War on Land

To fight successfully on land we need the following four essestials, as a minimum:-

First — We must have first class forces "in being" in peace time, up to strength and ready at all times to act as our shield without any mobilisation procedure. These forces must be trained and equiped to the highest pitch: mobile, hard-hitting, offensive troops of magnificent morale, very highly disciplined, under young and active commanders. These are the troops and the commanders who have got to stand firm in the face of the horrors and terrors of the opening clashes of an atomic war, and they will stand firm only if they are highly trained and highly disciplined.

Second — We need reserve forces, well organised, capable of

.../being mobilised in

being mobilised in echelons, and each echelon receiving sufficient training in peace to ensure it is fit to fight at the time it is needed.

Third — Our forces, active and reserve, must be backed by a sound logistic and movement organisation, which should exist in peace to the degree necessary to ensure success in the opening weeks of war.

Fourth — We must have a sound Civil Defense organisation in each national territory.

The whole philosophy underlying these needs in land forces is, that the active forces "in being" in peace will make it impossible for the EAST to launch an attack successfully without a preparatory build-up of their forces, which we would know about; it would be difficult for the enemy to surprise us.

Our active forces will prevent the Eastern forces from reaching our vital areas, while we are assembling and moving forward our reserve forces.

Let us have a last look at the war in the air, at sea, and on land.

The War in the Air

We have got to win the war in the air.

We will not win it unless the air forces are allowed to regain their flexibility and unity, and unless air command is organised accordingly. It is vital that this matter be tackled at once on the highest political level.

We must maintain in peace the ability to launch an immediate offensive in the air against anyone who attacks us.

The WEST is vulnerable to nuclear attack. Great offensive power is wasted unless it is married to defensive power and can be launched from a secure base. As time passes and the offensive capability between EAST and WEST levels out, the advantage will go to that side which has the greater defensive strength, which can protect itself against attack, and can survive to strike back.

.../There is at

There is at the present time no sure defence against the aeroplane or ballistic rocket. Indeed, so far as we can see today, trying to get a secure defence against air attack is rather like trying to keep the tide back on the sea shore with a picket fence. This situation must not be allowed to continue.

The best scientific brains we possess should be gathered in to help in the task, working in close co-operation with air forces. I say "air forces" because I hold the view that air defence should be organised and handled by air forces, and that A.A. Commands should be handed over to that Service.

The War at Sea

Today, the navies must handle this war. They must be given the minimum means to ensure control of the seas and of the approaches to essential ports, and no more. It is essential that they should not dissipate those means on tasks which do not affect the war at sea. But we must not be hide-bound by past traditions. I give it as my opinion that the time will come when the seas will be controlled from the air. If this is true, the future must be planned and organised accordingly.

The War on Land

In the organisation of land forces the emphasis must be on strategical and tactical mobility, and on simplicity of weapons systems.

We need Divisions that can be moved rapidly by air; this will necessitate suitable aircraft for the purpose.

To gain full advantage of the immense fire-power that nuclear weapons have provided, and to avoid destruction by enemy nuclear attack, armies must develop a more lively and opportunist type of battle leader than exists at present, in both junior and senior ranks. Such a leader must have the imagination, the daring, and the resource to seize fleeting local opportunities; he must be trained to act independently and immediately within the framework of a general plan, rather than on precise and detailed orders or only after reference to a superior.

.../I should add

I should add that these qualities in a leader apply equally to navies and air forces.

Land forces must become less dependent on roads and more capable of cross-country movement.

The supply system of land armies must be streamlined. They must become much less dependent on fixed lines of supply such as roads and railways, which involve frequent transfers of load.

Armies need a simple line of supply based on an air lift. Today, when supply lines are cut by enemy action, armies cease to operate efficiently. The system of the future should provide air supply to forward maintenance areas from Base Depots many miles to the rear, and well dispersed.

The air lift from Base Depots to forward maintenance areas must be by some type of "vertical lift" aircraft, which can take off and land vertically, and which fly at a fast speed like an ordinary aircraft in level flight. The air supply must be capable of being maintained in all weathers, and by day and night.

I see Base Depots being replenished by large freight-carrying aircraft which can land and take off from P.S.P. air-strips.

There is clearly a tremendous future for "vertical lift" aircraft.

It is my opinion that this vast air organisation for the land armies will be best handled by the air forces, since you cannot separate an air transport system from air operations.

Such a supply organisation would do away with the vast array of units and headquarters which today constitute the enormous "tail" of a modern army. It would be the first step in restoring to armies the "freedom of the countryside", and the tactical mobility, that have so largely disappeared. By simplifying the tail we shall get more bite in the teeth.

The armies of today have to a large extent lost their mobility; they are becoming road bound and are weighed down by a gigantic administrative set-up in and around them. Staffs are far too big; the amount of paper that is required to produce even quite small action is terrific. We seem to have lost the art of command, other than by paper. No ordinary man can read half the paper that is in circulation; I doubt if the other half is worth reading.

.../All this must

All this must be tackled ruthlessly.

The gist of the whole matter

We stand today at the cross roads, not knowing which turning to take.

Absolute defense against air attack will be impossible in the future. A deterrent, the means with which to hit back instantly and to give more than you receive; is the surest way to make an aggressor think twice before he attacks. The WEST must build up such a deterrent, capable of being delivered immediately by air forces which must be "in being" in peace time.

It is then vitally necessary to guard against a surprise attack, and against treachery, and to be able to hold such an attack long enough to enable nations to spring to arms behind the shield and mobilise their collective strength.

The Western nations must also retain the ability to absorb atomic and thermo-nuclear attack, and must ensure that their means of instant retaliation are not compromised by surprise or treachery.

Political, financial, and economic considerations will make it impossible for armed forces to have all they want, or do all they would like. It will become more important than ever to concentrate on essentials and to have our priorities right.

In the scientific age into which we are moving, which is also an age of ever-increasing costs, Governments have got to ensure that their armed forces and security measures are built up within a framework of economic realities and against a background of sound inter-Service responsibilities.

Balance of Forces

If what I say has validity, then the priorities will call for the following:

(a) Bigger air forces.

.../(b) Smaller and more

(b) Smaller and more immediately-ready regular armies with great strategical and tactical mobility. Better organised and more efficient reserve armies.

(c) Smaller navies.

(d) The organisation of the three fighting Services based on more atomic and thermo-nuclear power, and less manpower.

(e) A Civil Defence organisation which exists in peace to the degree necessary to ensure it can operate in top gear in an emergency. It must be understood in this respect that while great destruction may be caused at the point of burst of a nuclear weapon, tremendous saving of life and property will be possible on the fringes.

CONCLUSION

I would like to put some points to you in conclusion.

First

We are living today in an age of great scientific progress. The possibilities that lie ahead are almost limitless. If ever war should come again to this distracted world, which God forbid, the key to our success will lie in your hands. I would put forward the following points for your consideration.

The scientific advances of today in civilian life, and in the realm of defence, are creating a demand for highly trained technicians and engineers in ever-increasing numbers. Most nations are falling behind more and more in the attempt to meet this need.

I have been told that Russia is producing more of these technicians than the United States. It is not important whether you produce more technicians than Russia. It is important that you have enough to meet your

.../needs for defence

needs for defence and to keep ahead in new developments. And your needs are also the needs of the free world.

I believe there is a further problem in the field of science that needs to be watched. Your nation has earned a great reputation as a mass producer and for your ability to take an idea and improve on it. I suggest that you want to have the same reputation in basic research. Basic research has given us some near-miracles in the past, and we want more in the future. I suggest you concentrate on this and lend your assistance, so that you gain for the United States a reputation in basic research that matches your reputation for production and applied techniques. The survival of the free world may well depend on your success in this vital matter.

Second

What is needed today in every nation is a clarion call and a roll of drums. That call must be one to discard out-of-date doctrines and methods of past wars, and to organise our affairs to take full advantage of the progress of science.

We see today the rise of air power and the emergence of the Air Forces as the decisive arm in warfare. We see the big war ship disappearing from the seas.

We see the day of the aircraft carrier approaching its end.

It is no good trying to fight against the inevitable, as some people do. Do not let us be mesmerised by what worked in past wars; it will not work again.

We must take off our hat to the past and roll up our sleeves for the future.

Service chiefs must cooperate closely with the scientist, put their problems clearly and simply to them, and give them all possible help in solving those problems.

.../We require a

We require a fighting machine which is backed by a sound logistic organisation. Both of these, the fighting machine and the logistic organisation, must be planned in full accord with scientific progress.

There will be much opposition.

The citadels of vested interests must be swept away; out-of-date procedures and techniques must be discarded. All this will require courage, and decision.

And the first courageous decision will be to acknowledge the dominance of air power, and to place air forces in the position of being able to play their part as the decisive weapon in future war. This decision must be taken at once; delay will be dangerous.

Third

In the past the defence programme of a nation has often been decided as a result of compromise decisions by Chiefs of Staff. If this practice is followed in the future we shall fail.

The vital thing today is to produce a military weapon which is in all respects adequate for the national needs and for the collective security system of the free world.

In the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force each nation has a team. By themselves the individual members can achieve little. The team can achieve victory if it is properly constituted. The progressof science is likely to change the former responsibilities of the three members in certain directions. Parts of the load are shifting from the shoulders of one Service to the shoulders of another.

In particular, the air is coming to the front as the dominant factor in war and the decisive arm, as I have already said. This is going to introduce difficult problems and in solving them do not let us bother unduly about the colour of our uniform: dark blue, light blue, khaki.

What is vital is to find the right answer and the one which is best for the nation, and to reach that answer without ill-feeling and inter-Service quarrels.

.../Finally. The key

Finally

The key to the future lies in the hands of the scientists, and in Institutes of Technology such as yours. I am confident you will not fail us.

Montgomery of Alamein

FEATURE SERVICE FROM CBS RADIO

Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

May 29, 1959

OF KNOBBY KNEES AND SUMMER BREEZE

The sheeplike conformity displayed by the American male during the summer was viewed with concern by Edward R. Murrow on a recent CBS Radio broadcast. He deplored the unwillingness of what was once known as the stronger sex to revolt against the encroachment upon the male neck by ties and tight collars with these comments on his "Edward R. Murrow With the News":

Conformity has become a nasty word. Writers and speakers deplore it, while continuing to conform. We talk about the dignity, the independence, the freedom of the individual, and yet in hot weather the poor miserable male cannot free his own neck or his knees. In hot weather, in this city of steam, scurry and scamper, he goes about attired in garb that is an offense against nature and logic. He may be a rebel, a dissenter, a spirit soaring free - but he lacks courage, he is a conformist, and his attire proves it.

Have regard for a moment to the neck of the average city dweller in the hot months of summer. It is encased in a shirt; the collar of said shirt generally contains at least four layers of cloth. The neck is further swaddled by a necktie - at least two more layers; then the coat collar, another two or maybe four layers of cloth. What has happened to the American neck? Why is it so delicate as to require such protection in the heat of summer? What price the free, independent, non-conformist nature of the American male, when he submits so tamely to this torture? He is neither free nor enterprising. From head to toe he is a conformist.

Note: See "Correspondence - Personal" letter from Stanley Marcus 7/13/59 and ERM's reply 7/20/59

(More)

No pith helmet, no open-toed sandals; and above the shoes, the garters, which have the effect of contour plowing, namely to absorb or restrain the moisture. Men of mettle should appear on the streets, or in the office, in open-necked shirts and shorts. If the knees are knobby, so be it. If the stomach has undertaken an independent career, wear the shirt on the outside, thereby softening the lines of the contour.

No one has yet contended that it is un-American to be comfortable. We suffer as we do, because of an unwillingness on the part of the individual to break from the herd. We are the victims of a sad tradition, combined with timidity. There is even a possible class angle in this minor tragedy. If you observe taxi drivers, construction workers, farmers, you are not likely to find a buttoned shirt or a necktie in the lot. Those men are doing work no less important, no less dignified, than those office workers who present such a sorry spectacle of saturation as they walk down the street, afraid to break with the sartorial sanctions of the past. What pitiable figures are we all, the victims of our own timidity and conformity, more to be scorned than pitied. Maybe this unnecessary clothing is some sort of protective coloring, which we hope will make us appear more respectable and important than we are. But it isn't comfortable, and I suspect it isn't even as hygienic as an open-necked shirt and shorts.

We deliberately inconvenience ourselves, in an age when it is possible that each one of us may be turned into a radio-active cinder. Humans have devised a method of destroying humanity, but they lack the courage to be comfortable, while waiting to see whether that destruction will be accomplished.

(More)

Someone once said that we are so busy dealing with the urgent that we never get around to the important. It is both urgent and important that something be done to liberate the neck and knees of the American male, but unhappily nothing can be done about it. We lack the courage required to escape this brutal bondage, particularly around the neck. We lack the courage, independence, indifference to custom, which would permit us to free ourselves. This is a shameful admission. It arises from an unwillingness to be different, or to be stared at.

Lest this be regarded as an effort to undermine the flourishing and imaginative necktie industry, permit me to say that I would willingly wear two neckties in the winter-time, if none need be worn in the summertime. After all, nations have been conquered and empires built by men who never knew a necktie; and it's even money that Davy Crockett, in his better days, didn't wear one of the things.

And so, having uttered these futile words in an air-conditioned newsroom, this reporter will now swathe his neck in those ten or twelve layers of cloth, and depart - a beaten man, one of the herd - lacking in courage. Conformity, thy symbol is clothes.

* * *

NEWS FROM CBS RADIO
Press Information Department,
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
Phone: PLaza 1-2345

October 6, 1959

MURROW BREAKS SABBATICAL TO REPORT BRITISH ELECTIONS

Edward R. Murrow, for the first time since he began a year's sabbatical, took time out from his holiday to cover the British elections, which will occur on Thursday, Oct. 8. His analysis of the situation confronting the English politician and voter, presented on a special CBS Radio news program, "How Britain Votes," follows:

This has been a rather demure election campaign. A sort of bread-and-butter affair where domestic issues have dominated. The Conservatives began by contending, "you never had it so good," and "there ain't going to be no war." Well, no one thought there was going to be a war. So foreign policy hasn't played much part in the campaign. Mr. Macmillan has claimed credit for starting the series of talks which led to Khrushchev's visit to the States, and all the good things that are expected from the summit meeting. His supporters say he must speak for Britain at that meeting.

The Labor Party has not made a sustained effort to revive the Suez disaster for which the Conservatives were responsible. There has been some heckling about it at public meetings, but it hasn't been a vital issue. The British don't appear interested in that recent bit of history. It isn't likely to lose the Conservatives very many votes. Labor has concentrated on the bread-and-butter issues, promising larger pensions for the old folks, continuation of rent controls, a closer check on expense accounts, and the institution of a capital gains tax. They say they will nationalize the steel industry if elected, but the expansion of nationalization has clearly lost its political appeal. Labor says it can do all these things without increasing income taxes.

(More)

The Conservatives reply the whole thing's a fraud produced by rubbing some kind of Aladdin's lamp, a shameful bidding for votes and the electors must choose between the road to peace and prosperity and the road to inflation, irresponsibility and ruin. Neither party has yet claimed credit for the driest, sunniest summer in 200 years.

The candidates of the Liberal Party are trying to occupy the middle ground but there isn't much room for them. The two major parties come too close to overlapping; the right wing of one almost touching the left wing of the other, the small gap between being covered by the phrase, "anything you can do, we can do better." There isn't likely to be much room for Liberal members of the House of Commons when votes are counted, maybe six or eight...

All this may sound as though the outcome of this election really doesn't matter very much. In one sense that's true because the argument here is not at all about the direction of change, but rather the rate of change. When the Conservatives came to power, they did not attempt to repeal the social welfare legislation introduced by Labor, just as the Republicans at home didn't try to strike down the laws passed by the New Deal.

For example, if the Labor Party wins this election, British foreign policy won't change very much. It can't for it is determined by the facts of geography, economics, tradition and self-interest. There would be changes in emphasis, but not in direction. Whichever party wins, many of Britain's overseas territories are due to get their independence. They might get it a little sooner under a Labor Government. Indeed, the Conservatives think they might rush things a bit. But here again it's a difference in timing, not in the ultimate objective.

(More)

In this country, it is the duty of the opposition to oppose, and that is done with vigor at times approaching irresponsibility. But this reporter has noticed over the years that when the prospect of assuming power looms on the horizon, the opposition tends to become more restrained, and more responsible. There is agreement here on one thing, and that is the desire for a decisive election. If either party comes to power with the majority of less than 30, it might not last a year. The government here may fall at any moment on a vote of confidence, and a majority of 30 is just about essential if important legislation is to be passed. The British appetite for compromise does not extend to the results of a general election...

For the next couple of days, the job will be to get out the vote and persuade those who say they haven't yet made up their minds. This is the country which turned Winston Churchill out to pasture in 1945. It said its thanks to him by relieving him of political power at the end of a most terrible war. It is politically unpredictable, even for the pollsters, for the British do not always tell you what they think. This time, they're being more than usually reticent.

* * *

"AFTER THE BATTLE"

November 18, 1959

This was a BBC series done in London. Murrow appeared in the first program. Correspondents who had covered the War surveyed the fourteen years since it ended.

SEE FILE #7, DRAWER C, WAR II OMITTED - "BATTLE of BRITAIN" Scripts

Groser, Rev St J.B.

THE ROYAL FOUNDATION OF SAINT KATHARINE.

Patron - HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH, The Queen Mother.

~~Warden~~: Master:
THE REV. ST. J. B. GROSER.

Lay Warden:
MISS E. UPTON.

BUTCHER ROW,
RATCLIFFE, E.14.

STEpney Green 3540

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL.

19th November, 1959.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
B.B.C. T. V. Centre,
Wood Lane,
London, W.12.

Dear Mr.Murrow,

I was very disappointed and not a little annoyed after seeing "After the Battle" last night. Did I answer your questions so badly that you felt bound to cut me so dramatically? If so why did you not tell me so at the time and get somebody else in my place? Or is it that somebody higher up insisted on the deletion of anything controversial in this particular programme? In any case the total result seemed to me to be flat and uninspiring.

After all, the concern for peace, respect for international law and the elementary rights of coloured people under our control are not matters irrelevant to our declared post-war aims.

I realise that in such a programme, where the participants are unable to meet, there must be some editing, and I expected it in matter of detail, but never before have I been the victim of a censorship which completely misrepresented points of view I hold rather strongly.

I think it is only fair to you to add that my previous knowledge of you leads me to suppose that you were the victim of some 'higher strategy'.

Yours sincerely,

St John B. Groser

YEARS OF CRISIS: 1949-1959

As broadcast on the CBS Television Network on
Sunday, December 28, 1958, from 10:00-11:00 p.m. EST

With the following CBS News correspondents:

Edward R. Murrow

Winston Burdett

Charles Collingwood

Richard C. Hottelet

Peter Kalischer

Ernest Leiser

Paul Niven

David Schoenbrun

Eric Sevareid

Produced by

CBS NEWS

From Studio 41

CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York
PLaza 1-2345

4624
57-6-4

KINDLY RETURN TO
RECORDS CENTER

#5613

SMALL WORLD

Guests: Sir Thomas Beecham, Nice, France
Victor Borge, Southbury, Connecticut
Maria Callas, Milan, Italy

Producers: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

as broadcast over the
CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

January 4, 1959 ---------- 6:00 to 6:30 EST

PRIVATE

CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue
New York City 22
New York
PLaza 1-2345

SMALL WORLD

Guests: Edward Crankshaw, from Sandhurst, England
Barbara Ward Jackson, from Honolulu, Hawaii
Adlai Stevenson, from San Francisco, California

Producers: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

as broadcast over the
CBS TELEVISON NETWORK

February 22, 1959 ---------- 6:00 to 6:30 pm EST.

2

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CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue,
New York City
PLaza 1-2345

SMALL WORLD

Guests: Senator John Kennedy, from Atlantic City
Minister V. K. Krishna Menon, from the United Nations
Lord Boothby, from London

Producers: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

as broadcast over the
CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

October 18, 1959 ---------- 6:00 to 6:30 pm EDT

CBS REPORTS

"Biography of a Missile"
as broadcast over the
CBS Television Network
Tuesday, October 27, 1959
10:00-11:00 PM, EST

First program in a special CBS News series
dealing with leading national and international issues

EDITED BY: Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly
REPORTER: Edward R. Murrow
PRODUCER: Palmer Williams
ASSOCIATE PRODUCER: Edward M. Jones
EXECUTIVE PRODUCER, CBS REPORTS: Fred W. Friendly

(ON CAMERA)

MURROW: CBS REPORTS... "Iran... Brittle Ally".. continues after this word from Bell and Howell...

CBS REPORTS... "Iran... Brittle Ally"... continues after this word from B. F. Goodrich...

"Iran... Brittle Ally"... will continue after this word from Bell and Howell...

"Iran... Brittle Ally"... will continue after this word from B. F. Goodrich...

Our report on Iran will continue after this minute with Bell and Howell...

Our report on Iran will continue after this minute with B. F. Goodrich...

CBS TELEVISION FEATURE

CBS Television Network
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

December 31, 1959

CBS NEWS BROADCASTS OF YESTERYEAR TO BE HEARD

ON "THE WEEK THAT SHOOK THE WORLD" JAN. 10, 1960

Eric Sevareid, in Paris: "People are still turning out of the city this morning. There are three distinct groups -- the soldiers who are heading east, and the Paris families who are going to Central and Western France to get away from possible bombs, and the foreigners. There was no general emotion. What there was was strictly private. Sometimes the wives kissed their men on the cheeks over and over and then broke into tears."

Edward R. Murrow, in London: "We describe every day here how calmly the English people are going through this crisis. How ordinary life goes on every hour in family, homes, in the streets, in public places. A neutral observer certainly gets the impression that there is nothing wrong with the people in this country. I have heard stories that those who have much money, big cars, fine paintings, are not standing the strain any too well. I don't know about that. But I do know that that strange individual called the 'common man' shows no symptoms of decadence or decay. They seem to have dug back into their history and come to the conclusion that Britain owes its history to the will to win. There is nothing more to say except good night and good luck."

William L. Shirer, in Berlin: "The situation tonight as seen from here is critical, but not hopeless. Everyone still seems to agree here that as long as the statesmen in Europe keep talking, they won't march. In the meantime, Germany seems already in a complete war footing today."

This is what the American radio audience heard from Europe during the last week of peace the world would know for six years -- the last days of August and first days of September, 1939, the week before the start of World War II.

Tapes of the actual broadcasts beamed to America twenty years ago by CBS Newsmen Edward R. Murrow, Eric Sevareid and William L.

(More)

Shirer will be heard again when "The Twentieth Century" series re-creates those fateful days, "The Week That Shook the World," on Sunday, Jan. 10 (6:30-7:00 PM, EST) on the CBS Television Network.

CBS News Correspondent Walter Cronkite narrates the program, which includes a specially-filmed eyewitness account of "The Week That Shook the World" by Mr. Shirer, the author of the best-selling "Berlin Diary."

* * *

See #7-C-40

October 12, 1958

ANOTHER MURROW-FRIENDLY PRODUCTION WAS "SMALL WORLD", A HALF-HOUR TELEVISION PROGRAM IN WHICH ~~NOTABLES~~ PROMINENT PERSONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES EXCHANGED VIEWS BY SHORT-WAVE. SINCE COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES DID NOT EXIST, PARTICIPANTS IN THESE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS WERE FILMED SEPARATELY. LATER THE SEGMENTS -- RECORDED VOICE AND FILM -- WERE COMBINED AND BROADCAST FROM NEW YORK.

THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE OF THE FIRST BROADCAST IN THIS WEEKLY SERIES, BESIDES MURROW, WERE PRIME MINISTER NEHRU OF INDIA, [redacted] GOVERNOR DEWEY OF NEW YORK AND ALDOUS HUXLEY.

Program Transcripts
SPECIAL PROJECTS DEPARTMENT
CBS News

ANNOUNCER: In response to invitations from the major television networks for interviews India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has consented to hold one impromptu question and answer session with a representative from each network. Here today at the United Nations for this special occasion with Mr. Nehru are, for the American Broadcasting Company John McVane, for the National Broadcasting Company Frank Bourgholtzer, and for the Columbia Broadcasting System Daniel Schorr. Mr. McVane will begin the questioning.

MC VANE: Mr. Prime Minister, on the eve of your return home what impression has these - has this first session of the Assembly made on you? Are we nearer a war or a peace in your opinion, than we were before you came?

NEHRU: I don't think we are right near a war, but undoubtedly we live in a state of continuing crisis, political crisis, and this Assembly, I suppose, has brought it out a little more. It's kind of a stabilized crisis and goes on and on and this may become more acute at any particular moment. The General Assembly - the U. N. - indeed is obviously something that one can't do without. If it wasn't there every crisis would end in an erruption. It's a curious mixture - the General Assembly - of a club where friends meet on a friendly level more or less and with the same slight sense of artificiality, with occasional touches of realism coming in, pushing themselves in, contrary and completely isolated from reality, but nevertheless, it isn't always in touch with reality, if I may say so. I suppose it happens everywhere, so I don't quite know what my final impression is, except that I'm very glad I came here. I understand a little more of the working of the United Nations, and met many important people who make a difference. I think that, and I say it, there is no immediate acute crisis, but the crisis in a sense continues. It doesn't, however, abate or become worse.

BOURGHOLTZER: Mr. Prime Minister, you are one of - you're one of the

leading heads of state and one of many heads of state who've come here to this session, and there's been a good deal of curiosity as to whether the presence of such men as yourself beyond whom there's no appeal for a decision would facilitate or hinder the bargaining and give and take that is supposedly part of the United Nations session. What - what would your finding be?

NEHRU: Not much - what kind of bargaining takes place here? In the draft of the wording of a resolution, something like that.

Bourgholtzer: Well, for example, on - in the case of disarmament which has not reached an actual discussion, but which some of the members would like to have discussed by the heads of state in the United Nations. Would you feel that this would be productive or - or that it might lead to a great many fixed positions harder to change?

NEHRU: We have had discussions of disarmament through officials for a long long time. It hasn't got us very far, and I think a break that - deadlock, it is desirable for the heads of government to meet. I shouldn't think that it's possible for them to go on meeting, discussing everything, but we've arrived at a stage and something has got to be done, not merely talks on and on the subject.

SCHORR: Mr. Prime Minister, you were the floor leader or parliamentary whip, so to speak, for the five nation neutralist resolution as it's called, that asked for renewed contacts between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister or the Chairman of the Council of the Soviet Union that was ultimately withdrawn after a rather bitter parliamentary wrangle. How bitter are you about the way that resolution was defeated and is that likely to cause any permanant harm to relations between the West and the so-called neutral countries?

NEHRU: Well, I wish you wouldn't describe me as a floor leader or anything like that.

SCHORR: Well, you were very prominent in supporting this resolution.

NEHRU: For the simple reason that I put it forward. I was the formal proposer, and therefore I have to speak when it's apprised. What - when I put it forward I really did not consider the resolution as a controversial one accept that there was certainly an element that might be criticized, that we might embarrass President Eisenhower by mentioning his name, of of him as President or Mr. Khrushchev. There was that. But it was not otherwise a controversial one and I almost thought that it might be passed unanimously. We changed the wording slightly, you might remember, instead of the question of hoping that they'd do it. It was an expression of hope. And we never thought that this would lead to serious talks on disarmament or any subject between those two at this stage, that is elections here and all that.

But what we were anxious was rather to prepare the ground for the next stage, whenever it may come, and not to allow this frozen situation to continue which might interfere with even the next stage, was our main purpose. And it was not an idea of keeping out England or other - France, or any countries, because the fact of the matter is, that it's Macmillan who's meeting Mr. Khrushchev all the time, Mr. Khrushchev urging him to meet him. So we put it up thinking that it was almost a non-controversial conclusion. So it came as a surprise to me, some of these reactions. Then of course, amendments were brought with Mr. Menzes amendment, and I expressed myself rather strongly about it, and if I may say so, rather enjoyed myself in the ~~center~~ sense of a - most parliamentary debates. Well, one likes a debate. (laughter) When it came - when it began to be considered a controversial issue then it was - I felt that we are bound to get a majority, as indeed we did, but not a two-thirds majority that was necessary. Well, anyhow - the first fact of putting

in the resolution we thought, made a difference, and drew people's attention, we wanted to, the world's attention. Secondly, even if it doesn't get a two-thirds majority, a majority itself was strong enough indication. After all, it didn't indicate any specific action. It was really more friendly approaches. And you'll remember we deliberately didn't say that they should meet. We said, "renew contacts," which is a vaguer word, so there's nothing very surprising, but we were a little surprised and rather distressed at the manner this got entangled in procedural arguments, and it seemed to us that that method is correct. It can be used at all kinds of occasions that create trouble in the U. N. In arguments any group can hold up things by using their President.

SCHORR: Are you coming to my question, sir? The Soviet block sat on the sidelines while all this went on. The United States and the other Western countries took a rather active part in defeating the resolution. And my question is, wha t will be the lasting effect on countries such as yours of the abstention of the Soviet block and the active opposition of the West?

NEHRU: Well, I suppose that the feeling would be that those Western countries which took a lead in this are not keen on the ice melting, that they prefer things as they are. Maybe Mr. Khrushchev also does that. Anyhow, so far as this particular action is concerned he remained quiet.

SCHORR: Well, now, do you believe that? Do you believe that - that the West doesn't want the ice to melt?

NEHRU: I think there's some truth in that, at the present moment, I mean, not basically and forever, but whatever the reasons may be behind that there is a reluctance to come to grips with the question.

McVANE: What actions, sir, do you think should be taken. Do you

think that this - this idea of a Big Two meeting will be revived after the U. S. elections, or do you think for instance that the idea that Mr. Khrushchev is proposing at the moment , a special General Assembly on disarmament, may take place? What would you recommend as a constructive next step on disarmament?

NEHRU: Well, first of all, we must agree that disarmament is the basic issue, is to come. Secondly, it's an urgent issue. Any proposal to postpone its consideration or adopt any policy which automatically puts it off, would be viewed with great suspicion, and would give the impression that there's no urgency in people's minds. Now, possibly it would be a good thing to have a special session, we're willing to have it of the General Assembly, or of disarmament - full disarmament conference, which is the General Assembly...

~~SPEAKER:~~ McVANE: Which really contains all the members of the United Nations, yes.

NEHRU: It contains all the members, yes. That would, I think, be desirable; it's sort of a convenient time ~~that sort of think in time~~ to have that.

SCHORR: At a top level?

NEHRU: Well, the top level means that top people attend them.

SCHORR: Yes.

NEHRU: It's not just a meeting of the top level only, but rather of the - all of them with some top people present who in - no doubt may be. Because they - the presence of the top level is desirable in the sense that first of all it attracts public attention much more, and things can be done, perhaps, more speedily without frequent references to governments. The average delegate here - to the U. N. - is a senior official; he dare not go outside his brief. He has to refer everything. Because Mr. - Mr. Khrushchev or President Eisenhower or others they all function in different countries, while Mr. Khrushchev can just say what

he likes, you see. President Eisenhower can say a great deal, no doubt, nevertheless he has limitations, constitutional limitations. But anyhow, an official has many limitations. He can't go very far, however good he may be.

~~SPEAKER~~: Bourghoetzer Mr. Prime Minister, on this question of trying to thaw the atmosphere, warm up the Cold War, and your suggestion that this could be done by a renewal of contacts between the chiefs of government of this, of the United States and the Soviet Union - before your resolution came to a vote there were rather clear and forcible statements of position by the two heads of government as to why they couldn't at this point renew contacts. Your pushing for the idea would indicate that you feel the reasons Mr. Khrushchev advanced, that is the U-2 airplane flights and so on, and the reasons President Eisenhower advanced, the other airplane incident and the general lack of initiative from Mr. Khrushchev. This would indicate that you feel these are of no consequence as impediments to such a meeting. Is that - is that a true reading?

NEHRU: Obviously they're of consequence because they come in the way, (laughs) really, but we did feel that the situation demanded - it's important and urgent and dangerous enough - to try to find some way out. We didn't indicate the way out. We didn't even indicate a formal meeting, or discussion, but something to stop this drift and - which becomes more and more - has actually become more and more rigid, and then, which is always a dangerous thing, if these things become connected with national honor, well then everybody is stiff as a poker, and we can't do this. It involves our natinnal honor - to prevent that kind of drift happening going that far go on to something almost, if you like, some casual things to be done without any formalities.

SCHORR: Mr. Prime Minister, Khrushchev has tried to establish the existence of three blocks in the world, what he calls the Socialist

block, a capitalist block and a neutral block. By so doing he has apparently tried to call into being what has not so far existed, a block of neutrals. Is there such a block? Is it likely to come about? Do you favor a block of countries like yours?

NEHRU: If you mean by a block, some kind of organized, almost party functioning, certainly not, no such thing. Nor do I think it is likely to develop in that way. But, there is certain commonness in thinking among these countries which results in their consulting each other from time to time and cooperating wherever possible, in that sense. Of course, we have - we have this group functioning, but very frequently, because the group goes its own way.

SCHORR: Can they, or should they be represented in the United Nations as such, as a neutral group?

NEHRU: Well, as such, I don't know as a group, but I've no doubt that the so-called neutrals, I don't like the word, I've often said they're not neutral. They're not a neutral. I'm an aggressive person. I dislike passivity and neutrality

SCHORR: ~~(inaudible)~~ But pleasantly so.

NEHRU: My whole life is a crusading life. And if - but I think that it can serve a very useful and important purpose, the presence of any such persons in arguments or talks. Just - well to get the others out of rigid attitudes.

~~SPEAKER:~~ McNamee: I think what Dan may have been hinting at, Sir, was the idea of Mr. Khrushchev, that the Secretary General's post be abolished, and be divided into a committee of three, one from the West, one from the Soviet block, and one from the so-called neutrals, and the other day he expressed the idea that influence up and down the United Nations might be divided the same way with the Soviet block having one-third of the influence, the West one-third, and the neutrals one-third. Do you have

opinion on this idea of his, Sir?

NEHRU: Well, yes. I don't see how this kind of thing can function satisfactorily. I don't see how three Secretary Generals with equal authority pulling constantly in different directions would be able to function at all. But the point is that the United Nations right after it was established deliberately took in view, in a sense, the state of affairs in the world, the political state of affairs in the world. There were - not, ~~hot~~ this Cold War of this day, but still the fact was - that ~~they~~ there were groups of countries thinking differently, and therefore they had their - these rules about permanent members of the Security Council and great power unanimity , so that ~~ne~~ in this way no great power could be ~~crossed~~ crossed, because they realized that an attempt to cross a great power meant war. So they made that ~~(indist.)~~ rule which is not logical - it cannot be defended - but nevertheless I think it was right in the circumstances, and even today neither the United States nor the Soviet Union would be prepared to give up that great power unanimity rule or the power to veto, nonetheless, and therefore, logical or not we accept it. It should be there. But all the time ~~when [illegible] come~~ ONE HAS TO KEEP in view that there are these different poles, and the United Nations Secretariat must try to function to the best of its ability in realization of these different poles and not on one poll - one side of the poll, because then immediately the basic difficulty comes up and it won't be able to function because one party won't allow it to function.

Of course, I'm conscious that people's opinions are inclined this way or that way. That's a different matter. You can't get - get rid of your background of your thinking. Therefore what I think is - what these people are doing - I don't think that particular proposal is ~~visible~~ feasible. Mr. Khrushchev said the buttress structure of the U. N. has been the same the last twelve or 14 years while the world has been changing,

Asia, Africa, other things - Cold War - everything happening, and to some extent an attempt should be continuously made to keep in touch with this changing reality. Again, I don't want an attempt being made to change the charter and end it, because that would raise - invite so many controversies that in the interim we'd go into the background. But, as I suggested, some things and much can be done by the Secretary General himself.

McVANE: Well the Western Powers, Sir, have at various - various occasions urged that the Council - the Security Council membership be expanded so that it would better represent Africa and Asia, and also the other councils be expanded. Mr. Khrushchev, or the Soviet Union has opposed this, generally speaking, but now it seems that he wants to - some kind of revisions.

NEHRU: Have they opposed this?

McVANE: They have in past years. They have very strongly opposed any attempt to expand, because it would mean a charter revision, and now he seems to be ready for something of the kind.

SCHORR: I should like to pick you up, Sir, on your last words that something can be done by the Secretary General himself without changing the Charter. Have you something specific in mind?

NEHRU: Well, what I had in mind was that among his advisors in the U. N. he could easily have senior people, people of status and position, and his position would remain where it is, but he'd have the benefit of advice, different points of view which he may not always have otherwise. You'll remember that Trygve Lie's time, had some what were called I think, Deputy Secretaries General,

SCHORR: Yes.

NEHRU: ... Some such thing. I don't exactly remember how they functioned, but anyhow there were some people there and a more or less

senior position under them. Something of that kind might be helpful. Also, these tremendous responsibilities that are coming now like the Congo, and the Congo is not only a present responsibility, but a tremendous in regard to development, and politically we - ~~ikixxmixxfxkx~~ settle the question, but to develop a huge country on behalf of the U. N. is a tremendous job. And fourth, I suppose, disarmament is agreed to. Who's going to take charge of it? Department individual countries? Why I can't imagine one man sitting here and taking charge of the disarmament of the world. You have to create powerful commissions and this and that under or within the United Nations or functioning under it, in this sense a certain diffusion of responsibility, though the Secretary General would remain the highest executive authority of the United Nations.

~~SPEAKER:~~ McVANE: Well, they have in the past, Sir, in various emergencies created various ad hoc bodies for this or that or the other thing, and for instance, UNEF, the emergency force in Egypt, they have an advisory committee which in effect, sets policy for the Secretary General in that line. Schorr: Your thought, Sir, sounds perfectly feasible if only it would be acceptable to the Soviet group.

NEHRU: That I can't see, of course. You see, what I'm troubled with is not actual procedures, although they're important, but the whole atmosphere which makes them feel unhappy. (laughter) That's not the best, certainly, in this conception of going for each other hammer and tongs. It doesn't help.

~~SPEAKER:~~ Bourgholtzer: Mr. Prime Minister, the proposals that Mr. Khrushchev has made for revising the structure of the United Nations has been - as he's expressed it - to reflect the change in the growing power of the Socialist world or the Communist world, and it seems to have come about as a direct consequence of the frustration of that group's desires in the Congo and his particular disenchantment with Mr. Hammarskjold personally.

Do you feel that this is the - is the real motive for such a change and that it's an acceptable motive? When you speak of recognizing the world situation do you include this growth of power of the Communist world about which Mr. Khrushchev has dwelled at such great length?

NEHRU: That has nothing to do with the Congo, that I can see. It's not related directly to this. It's a - you may say it - in the last ten years it has grown. The Soviet Union has grown in power because of various advances in atomic - nuclear forms of energy and all that. That is true. And I'm quite convinced that Mr. Khrushchev wants disarmament - does not want war, wants disarmament, whatever the reasons may be, and I think it is correct to say that he has a feeling of frustration that this matter doesn't go forward, and some people are - some people are obstructing it.

SCHORR: Are you not convinced, Sir, that the Western world wants disarmament?

NEHRU: Yes. Yes. But - how shall I put it - they want it and yet there is a suspicion and a fear of it - in wanting a thing and yet not doing, how to do it without getting entangled in difficulties. Back of all this is, after all, fear and suspicion, complete suspicion and distrust of each other.

~~SPEAKER:~~ McVANES Sir, in other years of the United Nations Assemblies India has invariably been the proposer in the motion to have the Peoples Republic of China represent China in the United Nations. This year India did not make a proposal. The Soviet Union did. Does that change in your action mean that - come from the resentment that the border incidents between yourself and Communist China ...

NEHRU: We are as convinced now as ever that it is necessary from the world's point of view, from the U. N.'s point of view for the Peoples Government Of China to represent China here, and we don't - just

don't see how any really major problem like disarmament can be solved without China coming in. It's quite inevitable. So we have not changed our opinion. But, it is true, that owing to these border incidents there's been a good deal of resentment in India, popular sentiment, and while even that popular sentiment does not say, "Don't have the People's Government in the U. N.," it doesn't, but it does say, "Why should you be always the first person to do it?" - that kind of feeling, to support it in common, certainly,"but you needn't put your nose out too much all the time."

Bourgholtzer: Mr. Prime Minister I'd be curious as to your thinking on a subject which we understand is of great importance as between the Chinese People's Government in China and the government in Moscow, namely the subject of the inevitability of war in the contest between the capitalist world and the Communist world. You are in a position on neither side and I wonder what your view is about whether a war is inevitable in this situation.

NEHRU: How can my view be that - that at the most you may say, is the view of a - some persons who consider themselves orthodox Marxists. It may be, it may not be. It is not for me to say, and in my view, obviously, I don't think war is at any time inevitable, and I think it's - especially in this context now, it's - if I may use the word - faintly absurd and ridiculous to talk about war. To get any objective, it doesn't matter what it is, war is going to destroy everything. It's absurd to talk about it to gain any objectives. My own view partly is that these high principles that religions or creeds lay down sometimes, very aggressive principles religions lay down, but they tone down. They remain in the books, but in practice they tone down and even don't act up to their theory. And, of course, in this tremendous rapid change in the world technology and science and all that makes all these theories quite

out of date - outworn. You have to look at the world as it is today, not think of some pure theoretical application of some 850 years ago of war, in a different world completely. You see, I don't understand this.

SCHORR: I think, Mr. Nehru, the real issue is not whether war is inevitable or not, but the consequences for the Communist block of a struggle over this point which seems to have wider consequences than whether or not there will be the war. It seems to represent a pressure over - over other things. In the old scholastic days in medevial times you would have a religious argument which really masked a power struggle, and the question should really be put as to what you think will be the consequences of this seething which is now going on within the Communist block, the two poles instead of the one former pole of Moscow alone.

NEHRU: Well, so far as my personal views or sympathies are concerned, they're obviously against this view of war being inevitable, because if it was inevitable then - ah - and that inevitability leads to another inevitable thing that is complete disaster. What exactly does one work for? I don't - life becomes rather pointless. You see, the Soviet Union has gone a very long way towards normality. It's passed - it's passed through its era of evolutionary period, and - and achieved success according to its own standards, and their material well being is increasing. Power they have. It would be exceeding folly on their part to indulge in adventures when they can see a greater measure of material success standards coming to them by - in normal processes. And also, one gets tired of living at the high pitch of revolution. The people do. No one - no revolution lasts forever.

So by maintaining their basic policy - economic policy, I mean, their foreign affairs and in their internal affairs they relax and they become more normal and want to lead a normal life. I'm quite sure the Russians want to lead a normal life after having worked

very hard under difficult conditions beyond the good things of life, and so on. China, on the other hand, is in the middle of it's fierce revolutionary period. How long it will last I don't know, and therefore they're at different poles, one toward normality and much greater pull towards peace in the Soviet Union, and the other still in its hot youth.

SCHORR: The implication, Sir, of what you say, is that the Soviet Union has a healthy influence in restraining the impetuous youth of China and that perhaps in some way we should support the Soviet Union or (inter.) ...

NEHRU: I don't ... yes, yes. Supporting the Soviet Union, I don't know how you support it in this particular matter, but it is - does mean, as I say, the sooner one comes to - one puts an end to the Cold War with the Soviet Union the better it is from any point of view, short term or long term.

~~SPEAKER:~~ McVANE: Sir, you have had a great opportunity and you've taken advantage of that opportunity to meet various world leaders here in New York privately. Can you give us any clear impression of the value of these private meetings that you've had? Have you found anything that you didn't expect? Have you found any common ground between East and West that you think might be cultivated in the future?

NEHRU: Well, the only thing - I did not expect when I came here this bitterness, this Cold War bitterness I found here that exists. Basic, of course, basic differences, conflicts, I knew, and I've been distressed by that. The other attitudes more or less I knew of individuals or nations. I was interested in the new African countries that have come in. They are new in the U. N., and they will no doubt, some of them - some have played some part ~~(indist.)~~ previously. Others are quite new and will no doubt mature after a while. It's interesting to see two things. One is when the growth of what has ~~been~~ sometimes been called the African

personality - I don't think there's any precisely definite thing like that, but still there is a broad state, you might call it broadly a European personality or - in spite of differences there, and that is likely to grow. On the other hand, different poles and different pressures upon them, Cold War pressures on both sides, tends to pull them this way or that way which, if I may say so with the greatest respect, these attempts to pull et cetera, seem rather crude to me, because they - it doesn't - these external things do not effect basic feelings or causes deeper down. And it's always good to be polite, but the politeness doesn't solve the problem if it has to be solved by other ways.

And you see that conflict in the African mind and their differences, and yet a certain unanimity in certain matters. And you'll see African leaders will broadly be termed conservatives, in his political outlook. Yet, when a pure African question comes up, he's not conservative. You see.

~~SPEAKER:~~ Bourgholtzer Mr. Primer Minister, you have frequently made your position known on one of the issues here at the U. N. That is the issue of colonialism, and I think some of the bitterness with which you've spoken as it's reflected on the Western side, the United States side, is an inability of the Western statesmen to put across the point of view that's held in this country that colonialism is something that's practiced quite actively today also by the Soviet side, as for example, Cuba, and the Congo. I know that the American view has been stated on the floor, that the Soviets had a colonialist interest in the Congo. Do you, as a general rule, discount any colonial type activity on the part of the Soviet Union?

NEHRU: I think the use of the word colonial in this context is wrong. After all, words have certain definite meanings. You may say if you like that the Soviet Union is controlling and even, if you like, to some extent exploiting a certain situation in a certain country to its own

advantage or advantageous policy, but the word colonial has a certain political and economic meaning, and that word does not apply. I don't know exactly what has happened in Cuba except that, no doubt, the Soviet Union would like to increase its influence there. The Soviet Union is not going to look after - going to profit economically from Cuba. That's quite certain in my mind. In fact, broadly speaking, their structure - economic structure is such that they cannot profit in that way. Political profit they may gain in the larger context of Cold War and other things. That is possible, And you may say that in some - some of the East European countries, make gains in economic profit, too. Even there, however, it was not in the normal way of exploitation of colonial countries. So, the word in that application is not right. But it would be completely right to say the desire to pull these countries in its own political sphere, that would be correct.

MCNANE: Well, Sir, some diplomats seem to think that when Mr. Khrushchev attacked what he called colonislists as strongly as he did, that he was attacking, either a dead horse or a straw man, that he said that colonialism after all is quite dead now and Mr. Macmillan said, "Look around the hall, and here are the representatives of 500-odd million people who have attained independence in the last 15 years or so, independence through France or through Britain. What do you think about the present day colonialism, Sir, is it still an important issue, or as important an issue as Mr. Khrushchev is making it?

NEHRU: It is a far smaller issue than it was previously, obviously, and it is bound to lessen and disappear, but it is there, not there so much, to some extent, politically. In Africa there are wide areas still where colonialism flourishes in its most extreme form. I don't wish to distinguish, but it's so. Let us take the Portugese part of Africa. Insofar as I know we might be in the 17th Century there or the 18th Century. It hasn't come out of that. It's the worst form of it.

But apart from that the political part of coloring the map as part of an empire is over more or less. But the economic part still continues in many ways, economic arrangements between two countries which may be, which are usually to the great advantage of the metropolitan country. But it is obviously a receding thing on this.

SCHORR: Mr. Prime Minister, to change the subject rather sharply. You disclosed a while ago that you had seen some of the Nixon-Kennedy television debates, and while I caution you about how you give your answer, I feel obliged for the sake of the public that is interested - in asking you how you reacted to that debate, and purely from the point of view of debating techniques, who you thought did better.

NEHRU: Well, (laughs) surely you know very well what my answer is going to be.

SCHORR: I'm afraid I do.

NEHRU: (laughs) It's that I'm not going to give any opinion, any judgment of these debating techniques, and that honestly I'm not in a position to do so, even if I wanted to give it, but I'm not. My hearing for half an hour, or seeing the television, then give an opinion about two prominent and eminent personalities as to how they talk or debate, and it would not be proper.

SCHORR: Well, then, let me merely ask you what you think of the usefulness of having such a debate seen simultaneously by virtually the whole country? Do you think it tends to bring out the best in candidates? I advise you that's a safer question.

NEHRU: Yes, it is safer, and yet difficult. I can't say. I'm not used - I'm not used to television in my country. But, I suppose it is inevitable, this development. If you have television you must have this. You can't help it, really. You have to put up with it, it's advantages and disadvantages.

SCHORR: You speak without enthusiasm, I think. You speak about this without enthusiasm. I don't think you welcome the invasion of television.

NEHRU: We have not encouraged television in our country, knowing full well that sometime or other it will come, but we thought that we can - we have - we can apply our resources to better ends at the present moment rather than to put our money in this.

McVANE: Sir, I'd like to ask you a question which has to do with India and its most important near neighbor, Pakistan. For many years now you've been in total disagreement on the subject of Kashmir. Recently you and General Ayub came to an agreement on the distribution of the water between the two countries which seemed to make everybody fairly happy. Does this indicate that there is now some possibility of agreement on the main points still in dispute between the two countries? Kashmir?

NEHRU: We are very glad that this canal waters issue is solved, settled, relieve us with a headache. But so far as the Kashmir matter is concerned, it stands on a completely different footing. You see, according to us, the trouble is that Pakistan has invaded part of our territory and is sitting there. According to them it's different. Now, we accepted a certain position, a cease fire line, and all that, and for the last 12 years we have lived like that. And all kinds of things have happened in these twelve years, and all that. On our side in Kashmir two general elections have been held, and it's very important, adult suffrage and all that. An assembly with very considerable powers, complete internal powers, functions there, makes laws and does everything that a Parliament does except some all India subjects which only a central government - central Parliament can deal with.

We have a rule - part of our constitution that we cannot touch Kashmir without the consent of the Kashmir elected assembly.

And all these things - it's frightfully difficult to live in an unrealistic atmosphere and talk about things which have no relation to the present situation and accept the present situation, and we have actually accepted it, not in theory, but practically we accept it. The moment you touch it it's like opening Pandora's box, you don't know what things will come out of it all over and upset things everywhere and migrations and whatnot.

McVANE: Well, I just wondered whether the - the new friendliness if I may say so, between Pakistan and India, the need that seems to be felt in both countries for closer relations might not of in some way changed the rigidity of the position on Kashmir.

NEHRU: That kind of development always softens the situation. So far as I know - so far as the public's concerned on both sides they've forgotten the question, they're very friendly with each other and they don't shout about it, and purely in the political level that comes up from time to time.

SCHORR: Mr. Prime Minister, when you first came to New York there was an impression that you were coming rather reluctantly, with misgivings, like a school boy unwillingly to New York. At least you indicated that you had other things you'd rather do. Now it seems that you find it quite useful to have this sort of meeting. Have you changed your mind about the usefulness of large gatherings of important people?

NEHRU: Oh well obviously in this age they perform an essential role whether you like it or not. It's not a question - I didn't want to come not only because we have big internal problems and my mind is full of them, and I didn't wish to go away for several weeks, but always I thought that's there's also some advantage in coming too, the balancing of the two.

BOURGHOLTZER: Mr. Prime Minister, what have you found the effect

on you, not as a person, but as a head of state, his - and I wonder if you've noticed anything about the other heads of state or heads of government, used as you are to being the predominant figure in any gathering at home, to come to a hall like this where you walk through the door and you are just one of several hundred persons. Is there any - is this a good effect or bad effect, or do you notice any change in your attitude toward others and theirs toward you?

NEHRU: I don't think you are quite - you know, our ~~Council~~ function in India has these many years - I do not deny that I'm a prominent figure in India (laughter), but I'm constantly walking through big gatherings and peoples, and there is not - I'm talking about general atmosphere there - of a person being treated as if he was above the common herd, and one mustn't criticize him. I get more criticism, I imagine, in India, our newspapers, others, opposition in our Parliament, than in possibly any government anywhere. I have to put up with it. I'm used to it. No, I mean, not that. In fact, I find it slightly irritating, this - if any people or group behave differently to me, try to push me forward in that way. The one grave disadvantage to my position in India is that I haven't got that - quite that freedom which I had, just to run about anywhere I like in India, mix with the crowds and things, but ...

SCHORR: When I was in India, Sir, I saw you doing still some running about and mixing. I don't think you've been quite all that inhibited.

NEHRU: Well, I try to, but ...

~~SPEAKER:~~ Bercholtzer: Mr. Nehru, on the subject of colonialism again. Mr. Khrushchev has suggested among other things that all areas of the world which are not at the moment independent should instantly achieve and acquire independence. Others have thought that the Congo is an

illustration of independence perhaps coming a little too fast, or at least not having been adequately prepared before it was granted. Do you have any feeling as to whether there is a preparatory process that's required before new nations are born?

NEHRU: It's rather a general question, but in the way that it's normally put, the preparatory process, I do not agree. But of course, if the preparatory process is in the right line it's always good. It helps, you know. Now, all the 75 years or 80 years of Belgian rule in the Congo didn't help in the slightest, I think, or nothing, and of course ...

SCHORR: But take Nigeria.

NEHRU: Pardon.

SCHORR: But take Nigeria.

NEHRU: Take Nigeria?

SCHORR: The latest member of the United Nations.

NEHRU: Yes. I see some process, their education, and then training people. After all, it's the human element that counts, is not helpful that is done. But the very essence of colonial - colonialism is not to do that, except in its changing phases, then they do it. If a principle is accepted, as it should be, I think, that all the colonial territories must become independent or be left to decide their own future that can be done immediately. After that the processes can be easily considered, discussed, it may take a little time. I don't mind if not too long, but it may take a year or two years, three years. I don't mind, but they will indicate it - that they are going in a certain direction.

McVANE: Well, do you feel that the United Nations, Sir, can become a kind of third force in - an influence in helping these new countries raise their living standards, come into the 20th Century, learn the techniques of civilization, that is in training them, in helping them as perhaps the European countries used to do, or the United

States or other big powers?

NEHRU: Well, of course the United Nations can do a great deal, providing opportunities for trading more than anything, sometimes supplying technicians, etc. at times.

SCHORR: Mr. Prime Minister, clear to me, Sir, whether in expressing the general idea that colonial countries should be free soon whether you specifically support the Soviet proposal for an immediate declaration of independence for all these countries.

NEHRU: Well, that is a vague kind of proposal. I would support a proposal that the right to independence of every country is recognized. What - how to give effect to it would have to be worked out. You can't suddenly overnight do something which required - some political preparation apart from human training.

Bourghofer: Mr. Nehru, on the - in the specific case of the Congo, you proposed that a solution might be to immediately turn over the political power to the Parliament in the Congo. However, the chief of government of Nigeria in his speech suggested that that Parliament in the Congo might not be truly representative of the people of the Congo. Would you have any - any point of view as to how one can go about making sure that such a Parliament is representative, or if this is vitally important in such a case?

NEHRU: The Prime Minister of Nigeria suggested fresh elections. Certainly, but the point at present is, what is to do today and tomorrow. Elections and the outcome will take some time, months, whatever the period may be. In regard to that, as I understood him, there's no disagreement. You have to hold on to some legal entity there. The only legal thing is the Parliament there, and those that Parliament appointed, as President, as Prime Minister. If a third party comes in with 50 soldiers or arms and tries to make a coup d'etat, well, he doesn't

count. I don't see how the United Nations can deal with him, look at him, or have anything to do with him. It should be the function of the United Nations to deal with the parliament however bad it is, then to encourage it - to meet and decide and let them break each others' heads in parliament, It's much better than the streets, and come to some decision. That is, the decision may not be a very happy one, but that can only be - that only can be the right course because if odd elements are brought together by persuasion or pressure they'll get apart tomorrow, something else happens. Therefore, till a new election is held, and certainly have a new election, the present parliament must be encouraged to meet, and bring pressure on its own leaders to come to terms or find out something.

You see, the absurd situation one hears about suddenly, some university students or high school students being asked to form the government. It's quite unique in history, its kind. Now, is the U. N. going to rush about those student leaders and say what is your opinion now, and any person who appears in the seat of the U. N. - the United Nations - goes and brings it in its embrace and wants everybody to pull together and It puts the U. N. - it's likely to put it in a very embarrassing position all the time, and the alternative would be for the U. N. itself becomes a governing power, for the time being. Possibly that would be dangerous too. Certainly no African country is going to put up with it. Even the most conservative of them will not. That might - can be an advisory power, helping power, but the only basis at the present - legal basis - is the constitution which was made by Belgium and for which elections were held and a parliament was formed. Let new elections take place. Let parliament change its leaders or change its constitution. I don't see any other way.

SPEAKER: Bourguiba Jr. Well basically you would say as a general rule when the U. N. goes into a situation of that sort its mission should be to

preserve the status quo, to ...

NEHRU: No.

~~SPEAKER:~~ Burgholtzer: ... to side with the ...

NEHRU: No. It's mission - it cannot change it, but the formal processes, only here is a - here is a constitution, here is a legally elected parliament. It can't be bypassed except by some change in its ...

~~SPEAKER:~~ Schorr: Well, it's more complicated that that, I would submit. You have, for example, provinces like Katanga trying to secede for one reason or another. Would you say that the U. N. has the duty to support the central government in stopping rebellions, revolutions, ~~would~~ must they freeze whatever has happened?

NEHRU: Katanga is represented in the Central Parliament. Let Parliament deal with Katanga's men and other men, but deal with it there. Any attitude that the - any attitude that the U. N. can take other than this leaving it to Central Parliament would be wrong because they have gone at the request of the central government, not of Katanga. They can't do that. And let the - let people deal with Katanga. They can't support Katnaga's going out of it. Not the Belgian people are (Indistr) Congolese are ~~here~~.

~~SPEAKER:~~ McVane: During your stay here you've seen Premier Khrushchev in action in both public and private. Would you say that he has been able to impress his ideas on many of the Asian or Africans and their representatives here?

NEHRU: That I find very difficult to answer. He's met them privately, in groups, ...

~~SPEAKER:~~ McVane: I wondered about the impact of his dealings with them.

NEHRU: He's a forceful personality and certainly in keeping ...

~~SPEAKER~~: McVANE That, to put it mildly.

SCHORR: What do you think will happen next, Sir. Will you attend a session on disarmament if it is held out of the Assembly?

NEHRU: How can I say now. It will depend on many circumstances internal and external. I would certainly if it is held - I would certainly prefer it to be held in Geneva.

SCHORR: Geneva rather than Moscow or Leningrad?

NEHRU: Moscow and Leningrad are not feasible obviously, and Mr. Khrushchev himself confessed that Moscow and Leningrad are not feasible, at least they're not prepared to have it. He realizes that. I prefer - it's more convenient, easier for us to get there and get back, and perhaps Moscow, I mean not Moscow, Geneva has the air of a quiet provincial city compared with this super-heated atmosphere of New York. (laughter)

~~SPEAKER~~: McVANE Well, Sir, now that you're leaving New York may I thank you very much on our behalf for this extremely interesting session with you, and wish you a very pleasant voyage home.

NEHRU: Thank you.

SCHORR: And assuming that the microphones have been cut, I look forward to seeing you in Geneva.

NEHRU: Thanks. (laughs)

ANNOUNCER: Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India has been interviewed by Frank Bourgholtzer of NBC, Daniel Schorr of CBS and John McVane of ABC. This program was pre-recorded on videotape from the United Nations and produced through the facilities of U. N. Television.

CBS REPORTS

"THE YEAR OF THE POLARIS"

October 11, 1960

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK NEWS

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

October 5, 1960

MARLBORO CIGARETTES SIGNS FOR FULL SPONSORSHIP
OF "CBS REPORTS" PROGRAM, "YEAR OF THE POLARIS"

Marlboro Cigarettes has signed for full sponsorship of "The Year of the Polaris," premiere program of the 1960-61 season of the "CBS Reports" series, which will be presented on the CBS Television Network, Tuesday, Oct. 11 (8:00-9:00 PM, EDT), it was announced today by William H. Hylan, CBS Television Network Vice President of Sales Administration.

"The Year of the Polaris," with Edward R. Murrow as the reporter, tells the life story of this country's newest and potentially most effective deterrent weapon -- a hydrogen-headed ballistic missile using an atomic-powered submarine as its launching pad.

Fred W. Friendly is executive producer of "CBS Reports," the multi-award winning series which is being presented on a twice-monthly basis this season.

Agency for the sponsor is Leo Burnett Co., Inc., New York.

* * *

CBS REPORTS

"Harvest of Shame"

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Friday, November 25, 1960

9:30 - 10:30 PM, EST

A special CBS News series dealing with leading national and international issues

Sponsored by Philip Morris, Inc.

REPORTER: Edward R. Murrow

PRODUCER: David Lowe

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Fred W. Friendly

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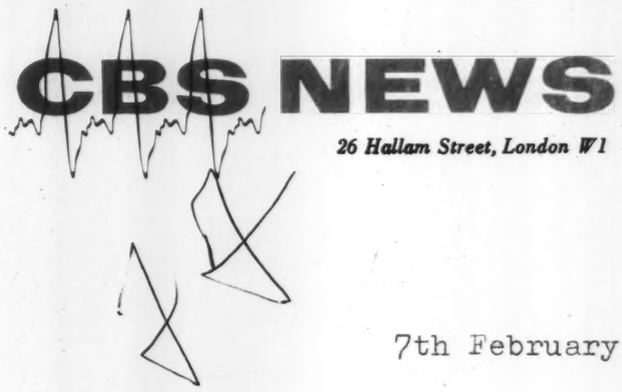
Wm McClure



26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

CBS Reports

WILLIAM K. McCLURE

7th February, 1961.

Dear Ed:

This is only to report on your "last" journalistic appearance on the BBC. The Monty piece looked very good indeed. Michael Bowen did a first class job of editing and I think you would have been satisfied. There was not an enormous splash in the press but the GUARDIAN offered the attached notice -- a little rough on the Field Marshal. The BBC used a fair amount of footage on you and in view of your new job your dialog was most appropriate. Bowen said yesterday he was shipping a 90-minute uncut print of the Field Marshal direct to you.

In addition to thousands of other congratulatory messages, I'd like to add those of the CBSR staff in London. We'll look forward to USIA encounters futurely! But I don't know how the television documentary will fare during your absence. However, if any of us can be of service, please cable.

Best regards,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
580 Park Avenue,
New York City, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

TELEVISION

Guardian 7.2.61.

by W. J. Weatherby

FIELD-MARSHAL Montgomery beamed like a Cheshire cat in the film shown on BBC Television on Sunday. Frequently he giggled as Ed Murrow showed some scepticism about his generalisations—particularly about China. The wartime general has relaxed since his retirement and now behaves—or tries to—not like a military man but like an apprentice philosopher. His new book, often referred to in the interview, deals not with battles and strategy but with leadership; not even leadership in battle but leadership in life between nations.

To Ed Murrow, he gave his views as flatly and as dogmatically as ever, like a field-marshal giving his orders of the day; there was not a hint of the humility, the tentativeness, we might have expected from a fledgling philosopher. He talked about ideas as if they were places on a map in front of him and the interview soon deteriorated into generalisations. Mao Tse-tung was "utterly sincere," a most attractive person, and when Murrow raised the question of the industrialisation of China at the cost of millions of lives, the Field-Marshal pointed out that millions would benefit and referred to the killing off of the American Indians during the expansion westwards in American history. Murrow looked justifiably sceptical and suggested a little later that perhaps his definition of leadership put too much stress on decisiveness.

The Field-Marshal was certainly decisive himself in firing off his ideas—China would inevitably dominate Asia; the West ought to give massive aid to India; Western leadership was constipated (though he had high hopes for President Kennedy); we must keep the nuclear deterrent because that stopped a war; we should end the military occupation of Europe; the United Nations Organisation was unbalanced; African boundaries should be reconsidered. . . .

He was ready for anything.

Coming at last to NATO, Murrow said, "There you are an authentic expert," as if he had found some of the rest too glib. The Field-Marshal giggled and said NATO should put more stress on the political and economic side and down-grade the military side—whatever the generals said. He said the West was in need of a great leader but with all his apprentice philosophising the Field-Marshal did not give us much help in being able to recognise a great leader. His generalisations were in fact disarming, making him seem too innocent for any leadership more subtle than being in one of the armed forces. And yet, like an innocent child in a room full of cynical adults, he sometimes hit on the truth in a sentence. Voters as well as viewers would no doubt be struck by his remark that the West had some smart politicians but no great leaders.

6-B-11 Monty

February 17, 1961

My dear Field Marshal:

Very many thanks for your letter of January 17.

The film has not yet arrived here or, if it has, I have not been so advised.

Things are somewhat disorganized in this office due to the fact that I have entered government service, and am spending most of my time in Washington.

I will let you know at the earliest possible time about the film.

As ever yours,

Field Marshal the Viscount
Montgomery of Alamein, K.G. etc.
Isington Mill
Alton, Hants.

TEL. BENTLEY 3126

ISINGTON MILL,
ALTON,
HANTS.

January 17, 1961

My dear Ed

Thank you for your cable; I am so glad you have laid the "invitation seeds".

I have been sent by the BBC the tapes of our leadership conversation, and have just played the whole of our talk on my Grundig.

I think it is a really first class presentation of the problem confronting Western leadership today. It is being shown on BBC Television on Sunday night, the 5th February. There is enough material for two programmes and there will be a second part later in that week.

I reckon it is essential it should be shown in the U.S.A. What are you doing about that?

Yrs ever

Montgomery of Alamein.

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8
TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

18th January 1961

My dear Ed,

I am sending you a transcript of your conversation with Monty. Our final plan is to produce a 50-minute version, for screening on the evening of the 5th February. (The book comes out on the 6th). You can imagine what has been involved in breaking the news to the F.M. that some of his priceless utterances are being cut! He laid down the law that the sequences on Europe, Africa, Asia, UNO, NATO and Kennedy must stay in, as well as the peroration. As we intended to use just those bits, agreement was possible. We hope also to put out a 60-minute radio version, from the soundtrack, in the Home Service network on the evening of the 19th February. I take some comfort in the thought that the old man is off to Switzerland at the end of the week. The daily deluge of letters and phone calls is now bound to ease off.

You wanted a print of the whole interview, and, the BBC being what it is, I have been battling with various purse-holders to find the cash to pay for it. Victory is, I think, in sight. But tell me this - do you want prints of the output of both cameras, or is a print of Monty alone sufficient?

I'm also arranging for some of our wild life and nature film to get into your hands, and about this I'll write again later.

I hope you had a comfortable flight back and that you did not find the whole expedition too tiresome. It was good of you to come, and we greatly appreciated your visit and all you did for us while you were here. Nobody else would have done half the job.

Yours as ever,

Zach

P.S. Butterfat - currently 4.2% but normally around 3.8. Sorry.

Z

Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

Telediphoned
script.

"LEADERSHIP"

Conversation between Ed Murrow and Field Marshal Montgomery, filmed at the Field Marshal's home on Thursday, 5th January, 1961.

TRANSMISSION: SUNDAY 5th FEBRUARY, 1961: NETWORK.

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MURROW We're here in Field Marshal Montgomery's home and we're going to discuss his new book "The Path to Leadership" and then we're also going to discuss some of the broader aspects of leadership.

Field Marshal I must begin by thanking you for an excellent lunch.

MONTGOMERY: Delighted.

MURROW Very pleasant to be in your home again. Tell me Sir, why did you choose to write this book.

MONTGOMERY: Well, I wrote it because I thought that a book of this sort was needed. In the present day when there's a definite lack of leadership. So I thought I would analyse the leadership as a quality and then name certain leaders that I thought possessed these qualities to a great degree. I realise of course that I would be turning my coat agood bit and putting flies in certain places that I thought that people would rise up perhaps you see. I don't mind that.

MURROW: Did you write it yourself?

MONTGOMERY: Every word. Every single word. I wrote myself. And I always have. Beginning in pencil on foolscap.

MURROW: Well Sir, in the course of this book you study a number of leaders starting with Moses and through to Churchhill, but of the contemporary leaders you choose four. Mao Tse Tung of China, De Gaulle, Tito and Nehru. What do those four have in common?

MONTGOMERY: Well, first of all I chose those four because I do happen to know them all quite well. Mao Tse Tung of course, not perhaps quite well, but I know him, I've been to see him and I came to the conclusion that these four were really great men. All different and all got to their present positions by totally different ways. Now, although that's the case, and they're different, I came to the conclusion that they have all four, certain things in common. They have, tobegin with, deep conviction - that is to say, they really do believe in what they're trying to achieve. Secondly, I think they have absolute sincerity. I don't think that any of those four men would be insincere in any way. Thirdly, they have the ability and the power to decide and I think that this quality of decision is very lacking today in a great many so called leaders. Then they have, fourthly, they have courage. I mean moral courage. That is to say that. having taken a decision they have the courage to act on it and do something. And I think highly - and this mind you that this is a quality that any leader must have - they have a genuine interest in humanity and human nature and a liking for it and are able to speak to their followers in language they can understand and not just a lot of meaningless platitudes and that - the other word you could say there - they're articulate to any level - any level of people they're speaking to. Very important wouldn't you thinkthat's right?

MURROW: I would think so. But let's start with Mae - Now - what manner of man is Mae?

MONTGOMERY: Mae - I found him a most attractive person. If you look at his picture which he gave me - you see a very strong face and I think a very kind face. He's a very easy conversationalist - no difficulty whatever in talking to him - and when you ask him a question he - he will think a bit before answering rather more than some others will - and you really do get the answer. Great sense of humour. (Interruption) Laughs like anything. Of course you know he hates the Americans

MURROW Yes.

MONTGOMERY; You know that.
When I sat down to dinner with him he said to me "What will you drink" and, wanting to pull his leg, I said "Have you got any Coco Cola"

MURROW: Are you sure you weren't pulling the Americans' leg.

MONTGOMERY: He was frightfully amused. He laughed like anything at the idea of Coco Cola in China.

MURROW You were speaking of his ability to articulate - to communicate

MONTGOMERY: Yes

MURROW: And you obviously admire his leadership ability.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: Is it an essential part of leadership to condem to death millions of Chinese in an effort to industrialise the country under forced graft.

MONTGOMERY: Well, I think you've got to understand what was his problem. I knew the old China - the China of the Manchu Emperors and the War Lords and the absentee landlords and the foreign - the foreigners who exploited China what we call the foreign devils. I knew that. Now, Mao Tse Tung decided that all must go and he had to sweep the whole thing away which he did. He couldn't do that without a certain number of people suffering and I've no doubt that in the revolution millions of people died -

MONTGOMERY but thousands of millions benifited and don't forget that other people have done much the same thing in their movements - I mean your own case in the United States when you were expanding westwards you killed off all the Indians - the whole lot - is that right?

MURROW; Not all of them.

MONTGOMERY (Laughter) Perhaps you left a few.

MURROW: Well, Field Marshal, let us turn now to General de Gaulle

MONTGOMERY; Yes.

MURROW: It seems to me that he is a sort of 15th century character who is talking about a France that hasn't existed for 200 years and isn't likely to exist again. (Laughter) What qualities about him do you admire?

MONTGOMERY: Well, I - I've heard de Gaulle described by one person in France - said that de Gaulle was a person who thought that at one moment he was Joan of Arc and the next moment he was Louis Quattorzeor something. (Laughter) I don't agree with that. I know de Gaulle pretty well and there's no doubt that in the War he was difficult. So were a great many other people with much less right than him.

MURROW Yes. So I've heard.

MONTGOMERY: But I think de Gaulle is a difficult person to get to know. He's not the cold aloof person that some people think he is. When you get to know him he's very warm hearted person. Very, and he's got all those qualities these convictions , absolute sincerity, decision, courage and he's articulate. Now he will speak to the people of France in language they can understand on the air. And I believe a great leader has got to do that. And I think that de Gaulle has got a -- has done a tremendous job. He's given France back her soul. She lost her soul in 1940 - don't you think so?

MURROW: Yes

MONTGOMERY: He's given it back and no other person could have done it and I don't think that any other person could put France back on the map to be a leading nation in the way he thinks she should be. I think he's going to do it He's got a difficult problem in Algeria - difficult problem - he's got to stamp out some of the Generals you see - who are a bit ?bothery - of course Generals are rather (indistinct) sometimes. I think he'll do it I'm very fond of him. I'm going actually to see him privately - again very soon and I always enjoy my talks with him. I think he's a great man. A great leader.

MURROW Now, Marshal Tito. He's always impressed me as what I would call afull throttle man, he drives a car very fast, speed boats fast. What's your impression?

MONTGOMERY Well, I got to know Tito after the War and again I've got a photograph of Tito which shows a very fine and strong face and determined jaw. He's a person who has those qualities too. I can't speak his language of course. and I had to deal with him and Mao Tse Tung through an interpreter. I would again say that he has risen to his present heights from very humble beginnings like Mao Tse Tung did - as you know he was an electrician and then he was a sergeant in the Austrian Army and he was captured by the Russians in the First World War and taken off to Moscow, became a communist, came back headed the revolution against a very corrupt regime and rose to his present heights and I always enjoy seeing him. I agree with you he's a full throttle man, but he's articulate. Tito can speak to a crowd of half a million people in the Square at Zagreb in their own simple language - that is one of the tests of a leader. Now, I'll tell you another leader who can do that and that's Nasser in Egypt. He can speak to the people in their simple language - no platitudes at all. Straight stuff.

MURROW And they re-act very favourably but it's unhealthy to boo.

(Laughter)

MONTGOMERY You see - in a country where it's more or less a dictatorship you mustn't - you mustn't criticise a regime. You mustn't do it. I know that when I went to Rome in 19... in some of my visits to see the last Pope. He always said to me "You're going to see Tito next week will you ask him not to persecute the Church in Yugoslavia." I talked about this to Tito and he said "I don't persecute the Church in Yugoslavia at all. The Bishops can do what they like must they mustn't from the pulpit criticise the regime. If they do that that's The finish".

MURROW Well, now let's turn for a moment to your fourth candidate for leadership - Nehru.

MONTGOMERY Nehru was quite different from any of the others in that he was a rich man. He was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Very rich family and had the best education money could provide - private tutors, Harrow, Cambridge and so on - became a lawyer. Now he rose to his present leadership of four hundred million people in a very different way. He was a disciple of Ghandi. I always regret that I never met Ghandi. I think Ghandi was a great man and a bit of a saint and then when he died - when he was murdered - Nehru took over his mantle and today he is worshipped by the four hundred million people of India. He again has those qualities - he - he can speak to the people in their own language and they - and tell them the simple things that he's trying to do. I think that he's got a difficult job in Asia. I think he'll do it and I put him in the category of great men. You see the great men I name they've all done something for their country, their people and I think that must be one of the qualities that decides you to place a man in the top

category. He must have done something .

MURROW That is quite true. But also may I point out that of he four men you have named, three of them wield practically dictatorial powers.

MONTGOMERY Yes.

MURROW Nehru has his power as a result of inheritance.

MONTGOMERY Yes. From Ghandi.

MURROW Yes. Are there no leaders in the West? ?de Gaulle.

Unintelligible

MONTGOMERY No I would say that today I - casting my eye round the Western world I can't see any man or woman b- we'll come on to women later - I can't see any man that I would regard as a great leader. I think there are some very clever politicians - very clever - but that's a very different thing. You see the arts of politics are pretty pretty tricky as you know and a very clever politician isn't necessarily a great leader. I would - I don't think you've got in the United States any great leader today. I think a man of great decision who has some of these qualities was Truman - he was very good Truman - great decision - you see and the courage to make decisions and to act on them. I think in the last 8 years perhaps you've not had that since

MURROW I think you've made that clear (laughter) unintelligible.

MONTGOMERY Any way.....you sent them out of business. We haven't in this country.

No.

MONTGOMERY Of course, mind you I'm not including Churchill

MURROW: Yes.

MONTGOMERY Churchill reached the pinnacle of his fame as a great war leader in a crisis - pinnacle of fame but his day is finished so I don't count him now.

MURROW I wonder Field Marshal if your definition of Leadership isn't perhaps tied a little too much to decisiveness, the ability to get things done

MURROW (cont'd.) - you mention Mr. Truman: At the end of his term when it appeared that General Eisenhower would be elected - Mr. Truman said "poor old Ike - he'll sit there and he'll tap the desk and say 'do this', do that'- and nothing will happen (laughter) - and he'll be very frustrated" - and indeed he was. Mr. Truman's ability and indeed the ability of any successful American president is the power to persuasade, and also the instinctive ability to select men who will do his will to accomplish what he wants to get done. But I have a feeling that at least three of your leaders are able to act not because they are necessarily persuasive but because they have so much power in their own hands and that doesn't apply in Britain or the United States.

MONTGOMERY No, of course in a democracy I think the leadership, as I explained in this book, is much more difficult. You've got to have the tactics of leadership in a democracy would be persuasion, and could choose

people avoiding 'yes-men', 'yesmen', you know what I mean by 'yes-man'?

MURROW I do indeed! (?) Barrie's wonderful phrase that no man could argue on his knees (laughter) and it seems to me that a great many people who have power, although people do not physically curry them on their knees, nevertheless they are surrounded by an aura that impresses the individual more than it should.

MONTGOMERY: That's right. Now, I think also you see that in a democracy you are faced with this terrific publicity - it's terrific - and whatever you do you have the press around, and the television and all you sort of people, you see (laughter) you can't, you can't get away from the publicity; and it's difficult for a national leader, therefore he's got to have this courage. Courage, and he must be completely selfless and not sacrifice his principles for power, for office. That I think is a tremendous test of a, of a national leader - will he sacrifice his principles in order to keep in office. That's the test. Wouldn't you agree on that?

MURROW; Yes. ... I think you quote Nehru within your book as saying that power should be pursued without any thought of profit, personal profit or agrandisement.

MONTGOMERY: Self-agrandisment.

MURROW: Now can that in fact be done? Doesn't leadership confer upon any leader a certain degree of power and agrandisement? In your case for example, did not your leadership secure for you certain aggrandisements, certain powers?

MONTGOMERY: Well, er ...

MURROW: The fact that you are known, that your words are listened to.

MONTGOMERY: I sometimes wish they weren't! (laughter) I sometimes wish they weren't. But now let me explain. Er... I did discuss this very subject with Nehru whom I think is a very wise person and he pointed out to me that a leader has got to build himself up in the sight of his followers in order that his leadership may be accepted and that people will trust and the fact that he builds himself up will cause people to think that he's after self-aggrandisment.

MURROW: Yes.

MONTGOMERY: It isn't really so. At least it shouldn't be so. I mean I ... you, you quoted me. I don't like bringing personal things in - I had to build myself up in the eyes of the soldiers who were not regular soldiers, they were a nation in arms. I - I - I built myself up to - to - to them to have confidence in me; but I didn't have any feeling that I myself was going to get anything out of it. I mean, I'm not certain I did. (laughter) I lost everything I possessed in the war; I got high rank, yes. So I think it is rather different. I don't know whether you would agree with that. I mean take, in your country, Roosevelt, who was a very successful leader of your nation in war-time, wasn't he?

MURROW: Yes he was indeed.

MONTGOMERY: Now I wouldn't ... I don't whether Roosevelt could have any, had any idea of self-aggrandisement in the fact that he led the American nation.

MONTGOMERY: (cont.) He tried very hard to get them into the war. I often wonder myself whether he would have succeeded in getting the American people into the war if the Japanese hadn't attacked Pearl Harbour - what about that?

MURROW: I think had the Japanese not attacked Pearl Harbour we might well still be sitting there arguing whether our national interest was really involved in the war I thinkthat ...

MONTGOMERY: Now would you also agree that it's easier to be a great national leader in war-time when the people are frightened?

MURROW: Ah yes, but again I come back to what I might call your military attitude that in war-time the leader has the power .. (indistinct).. is not so much required to persuade, to persuade people to do what he wants them to do while convincing them that that is what they themselves ought to do in the national interest.

MONTGOMERY: Well it's rather different, you see, in my case., er.. I being a commander (?) not sheep in the field, I could, of course, I always thought it was a good thing to persuade the soldiers that what I was doing was right, but in the upshot I could order them to to it...

MURROW: Yes.

MONTGOMERY: ... and they had to obey. Now Churchill, who was a great war leader, he - he tried to persuade the people of England, but he couldn't order them. In the end, you see, you've - you've got to persuade people and I don't think a great leader can take action beyond which the people will follow him, will take.

MURROW: Of course, you were speaking a moment ago about the mass medium, of the necessity to communicate broadly.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: Do you think this has changed at all the requirements for leadership? For example, could a man like Lincoln now become President of the United States? I doubt that he could myself.

MONTGOMERY: I should say that if Lincoln ran in the ... as the American... he was a Republican wasn't he?

MURROW: Yes.

MONTGOMERY: I doubt whether he'd get the Republican ? today. He wouldn't understand the techniques of modern politics at all. But today, you see, the modern leader, because of education and the progress of science, he finds that people are much better educated than they were before and he's got the radio and the television. I'm always rather doubtful myself as to whether the television can be an asset or a bit of a problem and I think that when using either of these modern aids to leadership you've got to be completely sincere. I think that if you appear on the television to speak to your followers, the slightest sign of insincerity - I think you're done. And of course insincerity can be very apparent on the television. If you are a bit hardened to the television, you'd much better keep to sound! I would have thought so. Would you think that's about right?

MURROW: Yes. I would like to raise a question in connection with Mr. Churchill's leadership.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: I doubt very much that television would have aided him greatly...

MONTGOMERY: No.

MURROW: ... because I have the feeling that in a way, you know, he sounded heroic, he sounded more than life-size...

MONTGOMERY: That's right.

MURROW: ... and had there been television as well, he perhaps would not have appeared so heroic.

MONTGOMERY: Well I'm not certain that he would have been a very good subject for the television and, er, you see he spoke to the people about this country, in fact the people of the west, didn't he, because you had it over there too, in language and words that sounded like the psalms, you see, and people said 'By Jove!' you see, 'That's us! That's us! We'll follow this man!' I don't think it would have been the same on television. I don't think so. However, that's an interesting point because you're a television man, aren't you? (indistinct) (laughter) I'm not you see. I've done both, and, er, this television technique can let you down. I wonder whether, whether in your recent election, whether Nixon wasn't seen off on the television by Kennedy, who rather ... was he wise, Nixon, to go on television, with the limited time you had to answer these questions. was he wise?

MURROW: Well I think the Kennedy people would tell you that his victory was due to a considerable extent to the joint television appearances

MONTGOMERY: Kennedy was (indistinct)

MURROW: That is because Kennedy acquired a larger audience than had he been appearing solo, so to speak. The debates themselves, I think, demonstrated very little because in fact they weren't debates; they consisted of little homogeonised, capsulised, two-minute answers to great sweeping questions, and this contributed very little to the knowledge of the electorate.

MONTGOMERY: Oh you think so.

MURROW: I noticed, Field-Marshal, in your book that you mention nothing about women in connection with leadership.

MONTGOMERY: Ah! Now that isn't because I don't like women. I have many very great friends of the opposite sex. I should think one of my greatest friends, whom I intensely admire, is Lady Churchill.

MURROW: So do I.

MONTGOMERY: But there are many others too. Well, I don't think you see that women are suitable for national or political leadership. Now you might say, why is that, and the reason would be that - I hope I'm not going to offend any lady who may be listening to this - but I don't think a woman is capable of a completely impartial approach to a problem. That's why they're so nice! You see (laughter) they're always influenced by sentiment in the end and I think that if you had a woman - supposing you had a woman Minister of Defence - well, what's going to happen if you're at war and she's going to have a baby or something - it's very awkward, isn't it? (laughter) Now I once said this to some lady, that a woman is incapable of a completely inpartial approach to a problem, and she said 'So are a lot of men!', which is true.

MURROW: Of course it is.

MONTGOMERY: It's true.

MURROW: Of course it is.

MONTGOMERY: But I think the great asset of the woman is that the leader has got to choose his wife likely(?) because if she can't make for him a solid base in the home, he'll find his leadership very difficult to carry out. Would that be right?

MURROW: Oh, this may indeed be the major contribution to leadership, though.

MONTGOMERY: It may be. Yes I quite agree.

MURROW: Would, would ... Mr. Chruchill have been as great a leader as he was without Mrs. Churchill? I doubt it very much.

MONTGOMERY: I - I think - I think that she nourished and sustained him in the very difficult times in the war. Sometimes, you know, he wasn't too well, he got quite ill sometimes and she was always at his side, she could put everything of her own aside and devoted herself to that man; and I think Winston himself would admit that without Clennie's utter devotion he mightn't have come through.

MURROW: I think this was equally true of Mr. Trueman. I am not sure that Mrs. Trueman was not a better man than Mr. Trueman. (laughter) Mrs. Roosevelt as well.

MONTGOMERY: Was she? I didn't know.

MURROW: I think that the contribution of women, as you say, to sustaining leadership...

Yes. I think thats - that's the right way to put it. I wouldn't put a woman as a great national leader.

MURROW: Field-Marshal, you've spent time with Kruschev and with Mao Tse Tung...

MONTGOMERY: uh...

MURROW: ... and you say in your book that if you had to go into the jungle, you would prefer to go with Mao rather than Kruschev. Why?

MONTGOMERY: Well, er, of course they are two very different people and I think that Kruschev in his international conferences and deliberations has shown that he's a very... a rather violent man. I think I would describe him as a - a knock-about politician, perhaps - you know what I mean by that?

MURROW: Yes.

MONTGOMERY: Whereas Mao is not. I think Mao is utterly and completely sincere and whereas Kruschev is a very clever politician...

MURROW; A bit of a twister, would you say?

MONTGOMERY: Well, I - I (laughter) some people might say so! Some people might say so! ... a very clever politician, I do think that Mao is not a clever politician, he's a great leader. Now I think in getting that right, I think we've got to understand how they organised their rise to power. You see, in Russia you have a - a movement which was really based on killing people off, Tosky, Lenin, Stalin, Kruschev, and aided by a sort of secret police, a sort of Gestapo, who forced their will on the people of the country who weren't necessarily willing. Mao was different. Mao organised his movement on the people and it was the people who put him up where he is now. The people. So I think they exercise their leaderships in two different ways.

MONTGOMERY: (cont.) Whereas I think that Kruschev has possibly not got all the people with him, I think Mao has, quite definitely.

MURROW: But you're not suggesting that Mao doesn't have a secret police, and that there is suppression in China, are you?

MONTGOMERY: I am suggesting that with having created this great movement of 650 million people, increasing at the rate of 15 million a year, or maybe 20 million, you've got to have a great centralisation and power to get that country moving, and that's what Mao's done. And although he may be pretty ruthless with people who - er - don't line up to the regime, criticise it, don't forget that he is worshipped by at least 600 million. I asked Mao, I said 'Can I assume that the who population of China is with you in this business?' and he said 'Well, ninety per cent.' Right, the other ten per cent. would be fifty million.

MURROW: Well, of course if you put that question to Kruschev he'd probably say ninety-nine per cent.

MONTGOMERY: Yes. I don't think it'd be true. (laughter) That's why I would - I'd sooner go in the jungle with Mao than I would with Kruschev.

MURROW: Well, you also say in your book that you are completely convinced that Kruschev will not attack the West.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: If you were a political leader in the West would you proceed on that assumption.

MONTGOMERY: Well, that raises very big issues. My own view is that Kruschev is right , and I think he's right -

MONTGOMERY: (cont.) mind you I discussed this with him in the Kremlin - I think he is sincere on that particular issue, where he may not be sincere in other issues. But on that issue he's sincere not because he things that war is wrong or evil but beacuse he knows it would destroy his country. And when I discussed with him the effects of nuclear power and fall-out and so on he didn't seem to understand it, but he did when I'd finished with him, and I think that that's the case with him: he knows that if he goes to war, that is the end of Russia, and he's got to develop that country, great mineral wealth and the economy of it, and he can't do it if you have war. So I'm absolutely convinced he's right. I am also convinced, of course, that we in the West would never dream of starting what you might call a preventative war - attacking the East first. Never. Therefore, you've got the situation where the two sides, East and West, have no intention of attacking each other, both keep up huge armaments because they each think the other is going to attack. In other words, I think the West, the leaders of the West, are suffering from what I would call 'mental constipation' on this particular issue.

MURROW: It's an example of what you were talking about earlier with that phrase that if the ability to communicate is lost, people ... (indistinct)

MONTGOMERY: I think so.

MURROW: Well now, assuming that is true, what about Mao? There is a school of thought, as you know, that maintains that as a result of forty years of maturity...

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: ... the Russians are unlikely to go adventuring.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW; But that the Chinese, on the other hand, still having this dynamism...

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: ... still requiring the impact of outside forces, particularly the United States, in order to maintain their solidarity, are likely to go adventuring. What is your view on that?

MONTGOMERY: Well my view on that is this: that I talked at great length with Mao Tse Tung and Tcho En Lai, his Prime Minister, and many other leaders in that country, and I think you must realise, you do realise of course, that I am the only personality from the West who's done so.

MURROW: Yes.

MONTGOMERY: No American could possibly go there, even if he took a - a - some Parker pens with him, or a Coco Cola; he wouldn't be allowed to! And no leader from my country could go there. I mean, Mr. Macmillan, if he went there the Americans would be upset. I can go. Now in my long talks with these people I came to the conclusion that the same thing applies there. They'd got twenty, thirty, forty years hard work to get that country right - great food problem, growing population, great irrigation problems, reconstruction of the industry and so on, and it's my view that within that time, say twenty, or thirty or forty years, that nation will be a great nation and that's what they want to be; and they know that they can't have it if they have war. And that nation will dominate Asia.

MONTGOMERY: (cont.) I think it's - it's inevitable. And I don't think it's any good the West trying to imagine that they won't. They want to dominate Asia, but I don't think they want to do it by warlike means. They want - I think Mao Tse Tung wants - to have round the frontiers of China a sort of 'cordon sanitaire' of neutral states who will look to Peking, like they used to - for instance, Burma has already gone, Cambodia has gone, I think it's inevitable that North Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam and Korea, they'll all eventually go.

MURROW: And India?

MONTGOMERY: er - er - no. ?? I was just coming to India then. I'll say no for the moment. India's part of the British Empire, the Commonwealth - I call it Empire, I'm old-fashioned, you see. Now they want to do that, and I don't think that they have any idea of conquest outside Asia, not for fifty years. To dominate Asia, yes (unintelligible) absolutely inevitable. You see in ten or twenty years' time they will be a nation of a thousand million people, they'll have nuclear weapons in three years without a doubt, and they have a growing economy growing in strength, and you can't stop that nation dominating Asia. Now I don't think they want to do that and to get these nations looking to Peking because of further conquest outside Asia. I don't think so. Mind you, that brings in the question of Formosa. You see, I don't think they want Formosa to use it as a base for further agression. Tehy're not a sea-faring people and I don't think they would have the slightest wish to -

MONTGOMERY: (cont.) to get mixed up in the Philippines or in Okinawa or any of these places. They just want to have their own country to themselves. That's what I believe. Now India - no. I think that what we in the West have got to be sensible about is to understand that and make certain that supposing the Chinese leaders change their viewpoint and a new lot grow up, as is bound to happen as in ten years' time this lot will be out - and I discussed that with Mao Tse Tung and he said 'Of course that's my policy; I can't say what will be the policy of the people who succede us; we'll all be gone. But as long as I'm alive, that's my policy.' Now you've got to be careful if new leaders arise in China who plan further aggression. And that's why I think that the Indian sub-continent - that's India and Pakistan...

MURROW: Yes.

MONTGOMERY: ... are very important. Very, very important. And I would like to see the western nations, headed by the United States, give ... aid to India and Pakistan and build them up and then you - if you look at the map you'll see you've got a - a good block there in case future Chinese leaders should want to aggress westwards. That's what I would like to see and - er - I don't think arms to Pakistan; I can see no point. The Indians ... (indistinguishable) I wouldn't give arms to these people. Take Laos for example. If you have a right-wing government in Laos, the United States will give them weapons. They get turned out and you get a left-wing government. You can't then blame the Russians for giving that government weapons.

MONTGOMERY: (cont.) I'm against giving weapons to people; I'd give them aid. I'm entirely opposed to the thinking of Foster Dulles. I knew Foster Dulles, of course not as well as you, and I used to argue with Foster Dulles against his philosophy that a neutral nation is really eventually a communist nation. I don't agree; nor do I think it's been proved by what's happened. Egypt, you see - Foster Dulles said Egypt would go communist - it's not. Neutral ?? Neutral, not communist. And I don't agree with the American system that these governments must be pro-American and they must - people must adopt the American way of life. Well people don't all like the American way of life. I mean, do you all like it yourself? I mean, I don't know?

MURROW: No, no, there is a difference of opinion, but on the matter of neutralism, Field-Marshal, there is occurring in the United States a change in attitude there. We no longer believe, most of us I think, that neutralism is somehow immoral...

MONTGOMERY: Oh, that's ...

MURROW: those who are not entirely for it must be entirely against it.

MONTGOMERY: Well, that's good.

MURROW: And that, I think, is the result of recent history.

MONTGOMERY: That's er...

MURROW: The usefulness of neutrals has been demonstrated, I would ... say.

MONTGOMERY: Yes. Now Foster Dulles didn't think that.

MURROW: That's right.

MONTGOMERY: But since he died, you mean? Since a new lot have come in?

MURROW: It is not so much a change in philosophy as a change in experience. (laughter) Of course this has been demonstrated in the Congo, for example.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: That neutrals are in fact useful. If everyone had been frozen into one block or the other, then collision would have been inevitable.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: As it is, the neutrals give a degree of flexibility.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: And manoeuvrability.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: But I would like to return for a moment, Field-Marshal, to the business of China and Russia on the one hand and the West on the other.

MONTGOMERY: Uh-huh.

MURROW: We are engaged in a competition that is not only economic but ideological.

MONTGOMERY: Uh-huh.

MURROW: It is going to continue for as long as man can foresee. You have the feeling, I gather, that the Western leadership in this competition is inadequate.

MONTGOMERY: Constipated.

MURROW: All right. (Laughter) What shall we do to relieve the situation?

MONTGOMERY: (laughing) I don't know whether ... Well I think the Western leaders have got to see the global picture and NATO, the Western alliance, which must survive - it's a great thing: you see the Almighty had a hand in it too - it must survive.

MONTGOMERY: (cont.) So I would - I made clear what I would do in Asia. You've got to realise there are Chinese. I would then have this - I'd give massive aid to the Indian sub-continent. I would then be greatly in favour of a neutral Arab block in the Middle East - completely neutral. Now in the West - I think in the West, in Europe, Western Europe, you've got to remove first of all the fear and suspicion which exist between the two blocks, East and West. And that fear and suspicion must go before you can discuss anything like disarmament or the future of Germany, or the future of Berlin. You see I did hear it said the other day that we should now have disarmament - a committee to discuss disarmament. It is useless to discuss disarmament without - until you have first of all got rid of this fear and this suspicion. How are you going to do it? Well my view would be that you do it by ending the military occupation of Europe. I think the military occupation of Europe has gone on quite long enough; it's gone on since 1945 - it's now '61 - sixteen years. I would like to see the armed forces of the two blocks withdraw from Europe to their own territories. That is to say, I would like to see the armed forces of Russia back in Russia.

MURROW: And out of Poland, out of Hungary.

MONTGOMERY: Certainly - Russia proper. Russia proper. Right back, a thousand miles away. I would then like to see the armed forces of the United States back in the United States and the British Armed forces back in their own territories, which are not only the U.K. - I mean it's Commonwealth, Hong Kong, and all these places, Malta, and the Canadians back in Canada.

MONTGOMERY: (cont.) Now that, - I believe that if that was mooted - put on the table to Kruschev, he would agree. Because I think the continued presence of Russian armed forces in satellite countries may not be very popular in those countries as time goes on. I think he'd be quite prepared to get his armed forces back - he'd probably leave the communist-dominated governments there. That would immediately end the suspicion. Now why can't that be done? It is because the lack of unit and leadership in the West. People talk of ...

MURROW: No!

MONTGOMERY: You mean you're in favour of disengagement? It's not disengagement. We're all a great alliance; we've all signed treaties that will come in the moment somebody attacks. You've got fifty million Germans, forty-five million Frenchmen and fifty million Italians and all of the Dutch and the ... Scandinavian people. That's enough. And then if you're frightened of - of aggression, you must so organise your armed forces that you can get back there very quickly and the United States - what they want to have - the United States, is ten or twelve divisions with a tremendous transport - air transport - command. They can be sent anywhere at twelve hours notice. You see when you Americans really get busy you fairly step on the gas. By Jove you do! I saw you in the Ardennes battle when you got a bit frightened - you had some reason to be - you fairly stepped on the gas. That's what I would like to see. And why are we in Europe?

MONTGOMERY: (cont.)

It's really - one of the reasons is confidence. Because the Ameri... - the nations of Europe don't quite trust the United States to come in on the word 'go'. You see in two world wars they stopped in the pavilion till half-time - didn't come in when the referee blew the whistle for the game to start. They don't quite trust 'em. And I discussed this with de Gaulle once and de Gaulle made that point and - er - he said 'Well, I would like to see them leave something there. Couldn't you leave, say, a company of Americans in Strasbourg?' So I said 'Well, ..(indistinct)..a company; you might leave a regiment, or a division, something like that.' Only as a token, that's all that's wanted. You're not going to save Berlin by having five thousand troops there. If the Russians want to pinch Berlin it can be pinched Monday morning. I mean. But they won't do it - it means war. That's the point you see. And in this withdrawal the last thing that you give up until peace is absolute and agreed and there's no question about it, you hang on to your nuclear delivery capability - your nuclear strength. That's what stops war and of course they like being in Europe because of the range problem. Well I should think that the - you must spend the next few years in developing accurate long-range weapons from the home country. It's quite a simple thing to do. That's how I would like to see it done. Now you couldn't do that all at once. It's impossible. I'd like to see it agreed that 'en principe' - in principle - we'll agree on that and within the next ten years we'll gradually go back - gradually.

MONTGOMERY: And withdrawal must be simultaneous on both sides with proper control and inspection by the United Nations - must be.

MURROW: Well Field-Marshal, assuming that the policy you have outlined...

MONTGOMERY: They won't do it of course.

MURROW: ... is wise.

MONTGOMERY: Yes, wise.

MURROW: We're agreed on that, they won't do it. Where do you see the leadership that could possibly persuade the sovereign nations to give up the degree of sovereignty upon which they now exist?

MONTGOMERY: Well I have - mind you, today I don't see the leader in sight, not yet - I have great faith in the fact, well I have a great belief in the fact, put that first, that the leadership of the West must be in the hands of the United States - you are the most powerful nation in the western alliance, we - we've always looked to you for that leadership. Now, in the last ei ht years I don't think - I think the West has rather looked to the United States in vain for that leadership. I have very great faith in this man Kennedy. I've never met him. Nixon I knew well. I have great faith in Kennedy. Now I've been ... I read of course, and listen to what he says; he's young; he's energetic; he's got the power of decision; and I think he'll do something - something positive, and not just give off meaningless platitudes. I'd very much like to meet him and have a talk with him. I think he ought to read this book! That's what he ought to do!

MURROW: Why don't you go over and talk to him?

MONTGOMERY: Well I would - once he gets in the saddle I'd be quite prepared to. I'd have to ask myself, I suppose; he's probably never heard of me - well, he may have heard of me.

MURROW: Oh yes, I think he's heard of you.

MONTGOMERY: I should ... (laughter) ... I think he's the man. You see, the - you've got to get rid of all the old gang. Out. Well they're ?shoved out by your own people. The whole of the Eisenhower administration out. You put in a new lot of young people who want to get something positive done and not just sit on the status quo. That's what I think. And I think Jack Kennedy is the hope. He's going to get together with de Gaulle and try and get this right.

MURROW: Well one of his first problems, of course, is going to revolve around Africa and specifically the Congo.

MONTGOMERY: Yes.

MURROW: What kind of leadership is going to be required to solve that?

MONTGOMERY: Well, now you read a great deal in the paper these days about Africa, and I'm not certain that the peoples have got this African thing right, and I think you've got to go back a little bit in history. In the 19th century as you know there was a scramble for territory in Africa by the European powers - the British, the Germans, the French the Belgians and leter on the Italians. They were all scrambling for territory. Now theygot most of the territory - they pinched the bits they

MONTGOMERY: liked, and then the boundaries - these powers drew up boundaries or frontiers between their territories, and those boundaries - those frontiers colonial frontiers were drawn up mainly for strategic or commercial reasons, and they - in many cases they cut clean across tribal boundaries and existing unities of race and Religion and language, However, it worked and the powers - the Colonial powers of Europe built up armed forces and the white man ruled, and I think you can say that by and large the black man propsered - I think he did. Now, after the second World War the European powers thats. Hitlers war the European powers began to evacuate Africa. The Italians - the Germans had been evacuated and pushed out in the First War, the Italians were ejected, the French are on the way out, we British are on the way out the Belgian - the Belgian rule - the Congo collapsed overnight, and we're going. Now when that - when we're all gone are those frontiers going to remain? If not, who's going to redraw. . them, and I maintain that they'll have to be redrawn - redrawn, by the Africans, they must be, and if the white rule - the white man, pulls out of Africa, and leaves a vacuum with no viable structure of Government to carry on, there will be tribal fighting - there's bound to be for certain, and the signs today are that the black man is not going to be allowed to redraw these frontiers - you see this vacuum was created in the Congo - the Congo is half the size of Europe, and the people of Katanga for instance

MONTGOMERY: have nothing whatever in common with the people of Leopoldville, nothing and the Belgians didn't prepare the people of Congo for Independence. They said "We want Independence", and the Belgians said "alright, you can have it on Monday morning." Well that's no good d'you see? Now the British I think that the people who have behaved properly about this are the British - we spent oh, seven, eight, ten years preparing Nigeria for Independence, and I think Nigeria will remain. You see what I mean, this African problem - someone's got to get down to it, and if the West doesn't guide the Africans wisely about this boundary question, I think the Russians will step in and exploit - that's how I see Africa.

MURROW: Field Marshal, couldn't it be done through the United Nations?

MONTGOMERY: It could, it could if the United Nations is properly organised, you see, there's come about a great change in United Nations - cut -

CUT.

Leadership roll three, channels F and G.

MURROW: Well Sir, couldn't this be done by United Nations?

MONTGOMERY: That is a very big problem. Of course, you will understand that I'm a soldier - I don't look like it, but that's what I am, and my whole upbringing and teaching and philosophy is based on having a sound organisation with focal points

MONTGOMERY: of decision, and then flexibility which will enable you to adjust your organisation to developing situations. Now the United Nations was born in San Francisco - I think in 1946, with 52 members, and as the Colonial Powers handed over their responsibilities to Independence, the number rose and today I think its 99. Now you've got an unbalance on United Nations, you've got - you probably know that about seven per cent of the population of the World is coloured Black. I'm not talking about Brown, like the Indians - Black, and that seven per cent of the Worlds population - Black, seven per cent controls about 28 percent of the votes in the Assembly of the United Nations. You have a little Nation like Ma. ... - which has about four hundred thousand people - that's .... - anyhow under half a million - one vote. You have a great nation like the United States one hundred and eighty million people - one vote, and I think something is wrong there. Now also in United Nations they've rather taken on the responsibility of becoming a sort of Military Power - that is to say, that when there's a bit of a 'who-har' somewhere, the Secretary General assembles Companies and Platoons and soldiers from all over the place - a proper mixed bag - or what I would call a 'Dogs Breakfast' - they then select a General from somewhere, a Swede or somebody, and they say 'You go off and command all this outfit.'

MONTGOMERY: And then the Swede doesn't do so well, and now they have sent an Irish man. Ah thats much better. (laughter) I think that most of the best people come from Ireland. Theres some pretty good Irish men in the States aren't there?

MURROW: Yes

MONTGOMERY: Rather troublesome sometimes. Well now the great thing about the Irish is that they like fighting. If they can't find anyone to fight, they'll fight each other, thats the great thing about them. Well now in the United Nations, I believe that apart from getting themselves a bit organised, which Kruschev suggested, I don't say that his suggestion of having three chaps in the was mostly a good one, anyhow he made a suggestion.. Nobody else has made one. I think they want a little permanent military set up, and Hammershjold, and the Secretary General, or it could be a General with two or three staff officers, no more.

who study the problem always, and the moment theres a hoo-ha, somewhere, Hammersjold sends this General with a staff officer straight to the place, and he is there before any of these sub-units begin to arrive, and he gets the show properly organised and he's got proper terms of reference, and his responsibility is defined and so on. Thats what you want. I do believe the United Nations Organisation is not united, then its not organised. Its called the United Nations Organisation. Perhaps it wants a new word. Something wants to be done to it.

MURROW: Well now, Field Marshall, the objective of the United Nations I take it in Africa now, is to try to isolate Africa from the cold war, (yes) that seems to me to be an admirable objective.

MONTGOMERY: Admirable.

MURROW: As you said earlier, if the Africans themselves re-draw the frontiers, its going to be a pretty bloody business.

MONTGOMERY: I don't think, I think it would be a pretty bloody business if they are not re-drawn. If the map of Africa is not re-drawn, I think, and the white man comes out and leaves a political vacuum without a viable structure to take its place, there will be blood. There'll be fighting.

MURROW: If the United Nations doesn't do it, who is to do it?

MONTGOMERY: Well I think that the leaders must get together like Kennedy and the Prime Minister of my country, and De Gaulle and people, and see... and try and fix up that the Africans do this. Now I think that would go down in the Assembly of the United Nations. You see.you've got, originally in the United Nations you have the two great power blocks from the East and the West. You've got a third one now, a neutral block, very powerful with great voting power. Its so powerful that I think if the Laos situation was taken to the United Nations, I think that the United States would lose, because of the voting power of the Asian block, so I would like to see somebody table this in the United Nations like Kennedy, you've got Adelai Stevenson there now, haven't you? (yes) he's the chap, to say that now just put forward

MONTGOMERY: the day that someones got to re-draw the map of Africa, giving the reasons, which I just gave, which I have never seen given before, never. I'd like to see someone study it. I'd like to see the United Nations poll a Secretary General to study this problem, and as the white man pulls out, to study the question of whether the map should be re-drawn, and who should do it, and let the West guide the Africans with wisdom for doing it.

MURROW: Doesn't this bring us back to the problem we were discussing earlier, the unwillingness to sacrifice sovereignty, any real degree of sovereignty on the part of the various nations?

MONTGOMERY: I think so, but I don't think thats going to apply now, they are all coming out anyhow. The only people who are not coming out, are the Portugese.

MURROW: Of course, one of the difficulties of the United Nations is encountered in the Congo particularly, is that your friend, Kruschev appears to be determined to destroy the United Nations unless he has his way.

MONTGOMERY: I don't think he should be allowed to. I think that the United Nations is quite powerful enough to see him off, and, of course, that became quite apparent when he went to the Assembly, you see. I don't fear that at all. I think that if the United Nations would have courage. Courage is whats necessary. Courage you see, and wisdom, but wisdom without courage, no. Courage and wisdom now could get this Africa thing right, and make certain that as the white man comes out

MONTGOMERY: Africa remains a neutral country. I think it can be done.

MURROW: But collective courage is difficult to come by isn't it? particularly when a nations on a perimeter of Russia that is subject to black mail and threat.

MONTGOMERY: Very difficult, collective courage, because there is no leader. The other side, you see, is much easier. In the West there is no man, no acceptable leader. That is to say a man with such wisdom, and courage, and sincerity, that they will all accept his advice. We haven't got it.

MURROW: You are putting a great burden on this young Irishman Kennedy, it seems.

MONTGOMERY: Yes, I am. And I don't know him, I've only seen his pictures, and I've heard him on the television, but I am very impressed. I think that he looks to me to be a good guide. The fact that he's young, I'm all for it. I mean he's much younger than me, and you too.

MURROW: Yes he is.

MONTGOMERY: I mean by the time he's had a couple of periods as President, he will still be younger than you. (thats true) thats as you are now.(thats right) He's the chap. I want to go and see him.

MURROW: Well now, Sir, lets turn to Nato, for a minute, (yes) / there you were an authentic expert. What kind of leadership is required in Nato now?

MONTGOMERY: When you call me an authentic expert, I just want to be careful that I'm not treading on somebody's toes. (talking together) I was taken away from serving the British Government in 1948, when I was Chief of Staff for the British army, and sent to this international set up before Nato was ever formed. 1948 and the Western Union, and Nato didn't come into being until 1949, so I've been in this game on Western defence a very long time. Now Nato was formed for a very definite purpose. That purpose was to hault Russian aggression in Europe. That was the purpose. It was achieved. I think Nato has done a terrific job. It achieved its task, and today you can say with absolute certainty that Western Europe is safe - with no danger As far as any armed aggression is concerned. The danger of armed aggression against Nato Europe in my judgement can be ruled out. Now there is going to be, when the armed thing is off, that will now be the ideological graduations of pressure are in the West next thing. Ideological pressure in graduations. I believe that Nato, which was designed for a certain task, which has been forfilled, has now got to adjust this organisation to a new task. Its got to look outwards, and the emphasis on the next task must be placed in the right way. The emphasis today is on armed forces. I don't think that the problems of Asia, can be solved by armed force, and the problems of Europe either. The emphasis now, should be on education, standard of living, propaganda, those sort of things. I think Nato must look outwards, and I suppose in the United States, it would be correct to say that half the budget of the United States is spent on armaments

MONTGOMERY: and armed forces, (more than a half) More than a half Its wrong, you see, there is no threat of war. I proved that to my own satisfaction in Asia and in Europe, now we must direct the emphasis in the right direction. I think Nato in doing this terrific job, had to do it rather quickly, and it meant that it built up very quickly an organisation for war, with tremendous headquarters. I mean there is a big one in Paris Huge headquarters at North Europe, at Oslo, Central Europe Command Fontainbleau, and South Europe Command in Naples. Very big headquarters, organised for war, but there's not going to be a war. I would like to see that downgraded, and I would like to see it agreed that the political side of Nato must come up, and the economic side must come up, and the military side must be down graded, because you have to fight the Generals over this. The Generals won't like to see their Empires disappearing, but I'm sure it's got to be done, and there again, you see, you've got a good deal in Nato of what I call mental constipation, its got to go, and they have got to see the thing in the new light and people get back their own countries and get flexibility and the emphasis in the right place. Now the grumpies ? will do that.

MURROW: [illegible]

Field Marshall you have said twice that you are sure there will be no war. (yes) I don't quite understand why you are so sure. Would you amplify that a little?

MONTGOMERY: You can never be certain of anything. Thats the trouble you see. The only thing you can be certain about in this

MONTGOMERY: life is that everything will be uncertain. Thats all you can be certain about, and I'm basing my conclusion on the talks I've had with various people. I am so glad you are having another glass of claret. Its very good claret that.

MURROW: I was toasting your conclusions, there will be no war. (laughter)It is excellent claret.

MONTGOMERY: Its a good toast

MURROW: Its good for my cough. You should try it occasionally.

MONTGOMERY: I think alcohol clouds the brain.

MURROW: You are probably right.

MONTGOMERY: Now I arrived at my conclusions after I had visited the leaders of the Eastern world and talked to them alone. Absolutely alone. Nobody was with me. I didn't even take an interpreter. I went alone, and I talked to Kruschev in the Kremlin. He was there, I was here and the interpreter. And I think that if you do that you get inside a man's skin. I did the same exactly with M and when you talk alone with them for a long time, and you get them to explain their philosophy Its clear to me that a war would destroy those people, and therefore, the last thing they can have, and indeed when I talked to the Russian Chief of Staff in Moscow, which no-one has done. No military Chief, Service Chief from the West has ever sat down with the Russian Chiefs of Staff and talked to them. I sat down with the Chinese Chiefs of Staff and talked to them, and the Russian Chiefs of Staff were absolutely insistant that you simply can't have a war. Its not to be. We on our side, we would never initiate a war, you'd

MONTGOMERY: agree with that (yes) Therefore I conclude its off, but because you can never be certain of anything in this life, I maintain that until we have got all this thing sorted out to the complete satisfaction to both sides, East and West, West must maintain its nuclear deterrent. Its nuclear . capablity? That is what stops war. War is not stopped by having twenty divisions employed in Europe. Its not stopped by having five thousand troops in Berlin. Its stopped by the nuclear terror. Therefore, we must keep that until the whole thing becomes clearer. Thats my reaon. Would that be clear to you?

MURROW: It is indeed.

MONTGOMERY: You need not agree.?

MURROW: No, I do agree.

MONTGOMERY: You agree.

MURROW: I'm not quite certain though on the matter of the withdrawal from Europe, because if we come out of Europe for example, we are three thousand miles away, if the Russians come out of East Germany and Poland they are a few hundred miles away with easy access.

MONTGOMERY: But thats.... the loss of range in the nuclear weapons, the short range nuclear weapons. At the moment, you see, the Russians ....If you think the Russians are going to make war, I don't, but some people do. My answer to them would be that the Russians then are back in Russia and their launching sites, they've got to go for long range weapons. Well the Americans and the British have lost the advantage of range in Europe. They must spend the next ten years in developing accurate long range weapons from their

MONTGOMERY: home country. I think it is totally wrong with the fear and suspicion you've got today, to establish, to instal on the main land of Europe, American nuclear weapons. I think its absolutely wrong, Its folly, because of the hatred, and suspicion on the other side of the United States. I think that if the nations of Western Europe want to have nuclear weapons in their armed forces, which some quite rightly do, they should be manned by Frenchmen and Germans and so on and they should be their own. The moment you get Americans employed in Western Europe, the other side becomes frightened, and the fear and suspicion is increased, and I entirely disagree with Norstadt, who is a great friend of mine, and I think he is a fine guy, I entirely disagree with him on this issue.

MURROW: Do you want to see the Americans pull out of Britain as well?

MONTGOMERY: That may be our last battle, but we have (laughter) I think their dollars are quite useful. Its the main land of Europe, I don't mind this island, you see. Thats quite alright. You can have them here, but on the main land of Europe, no. Thats the danger and thats the irritant of the other side. You see my point.

MURROW: I do.

Field Marshall you have said quite catagorically that there isn't going to be a war (yes) You have also indicated that there will be continuing competition between the two power blocks in the area of economics and ideas (yes) My question now is this. How can our

MURROW: so called free enterprise system compete effectively with the massive trade monoply such as the Russians have? Where they can operate in a given area, at an economic loss for political purposes.

MONTGOMERY: Well that is a very direct question and I suppose it calls for a direct answer. You say, how can they. My short answer would be. They can't, and you mention the Russians with their terrific centralisation of industry all pulling on the same rope, what about the Chinese?

MURROW: Well I'd include them, of course,

MONTGOMERY: Yes, when they are a thousand million people. Very strong economy, and you will get the commonest world in fact, based on State control. Terrific centralisation, and tremendous output. I don't believe the Western block can survive in due course. Now does that mean that the system of free enterprise has got to go? I wouldn't know that, of course. I'm a soldier, I wouldn't really know, but I do think that in industry, there has got to be a decision as to whether industry is to continue for private good, private profit, or public good. Now I also think that we can't get this quite right unless there is some discipline in industry, and one of the things which interest me very much in my lifetime has been the swing. I m talking about my own country. The swing of the loyalty of the worker from his employer who is in a position to pay him good wages, and the only person who is. The swing from the employer to

MONTGOMERY: the Trade Unions, and then you see you find that there is in-discipline there, because the workers name their representatives, their bosses, their representatives rather, and then won't obey them, so that I think there are grave problems there. Now how all thats to be solved, I don't know, because in Europe, in Western Europe, in the Western world, not only do we lack political unity, but it does look to me as if we lack economic unity, and in the nations of Europe, you have got a lot of little economics, right across the board, all very jealous of each other, and in Europe you've got the common market six and the outer seven, and I don't think its good. Then the short answer to your question is. I don't think they can survive, over the years. Would you think thats about right?

MURROW: Well I'm not sure. Are you suggesting that the free enterprise system is somehow going to be eroded as a result of Communist competition.

MONTGOMERY: No, I'm not suggesting that, but I'm suggesting that it wants looking at and possibly adjusting. Now I also have a feeling, I don't know whether this would be right, but in some nations, if you get ..really solve this disarmanent problem, and lasting peace is in sight, I'm not sure how that is going to be accepted by certain sections of industry. I have heard it said by friends of mine in the United States, that a lot of opposition would be brought to bear by great firms like the steel industry, if you don't build any more battle ships, or the aircraft industry if you let up on that. Would that be true?

MURROW: Well there are some people in my country who believe that things are in the saddle and ride mankind, but I do not myself believe that this would present a serious problem, should peace suddenly break out, because after all at the end of the war of the late war, we went from an expenditure of about 80 billions a year for military purposes down to about 18 (yes) and the economy did not stagger, it was able to absorb it. I do agree with you on one point, and that is that if peace should suddenly break out, and the armaments industries be rapidly reduced, both in this country and in Britain, then comes a real test of leadership (yes) because then the leaders must determine how to maintain a stable economy without basing it so much on the armaments.

MONTGOMERY: On the armaments, well, therefore, it really looks then as if this whole problem of industry with the pressure on the East, and mind you it is not only Russia and China, its Japan, with a hundred million people, very low standard of living who can turn out things very cheaply. So I think the economy of the West has got to be looked at to see if we can't have some unity of thought about it, otherwise they will go under in face of this trouble from the East.

MURROW: Well Field Marshall Montgomery during this whole conversation, you have put great emphasis on youth.

MONTGOMERY: I am a great believer in youth.

MURROW: On your hopes for youth. How do you regard the present status of youth in the Western world?

MONTGOMERY: Well, of course, in my military life, in the Western world of ten years, I got to know very well the young people of all the nations. The , what we in this country would call the National Service boys, and what you would call, the Drafted Men. I think that the present day youth are first class. Absolutely first class, and I think you could do anything with them, given good leadership, but I also think that they have a much more difficult time to live a proper life and to rise up, than, for instance, I had. I was born when Queen Victoria was alive, and those days were days of large families and in our family we were resourceful amongst ourselves. We didn't depend upon any outside influences, We were a family of nine, and the home was all we wanted, and we did our own stuff with our friends. There was no cinema, you see, there was no cinema.

MURROW: And you got on quite happily?

MONTGOMERY: Quite happily. There was no radio, there was no television, there was nothing, and I was brought up to have resource within myself and to count my blessings. The present boy isn't like that.

MURROW: If you were 14 or 15 now, do you think you would have an equal chance of rising to a position of leadership?

MONTGOMERY: I think it would be more difficult. You see the home has rather gone, and when the boy, the young boy, anyhow in my country, when the young boy gets about 15 or 16, he goes out. He goes to the cinema and he takes his girl friend out, and its different, and, of course, the creation of the welfare state in my country has made things difficult I think for young people. I think, mind you that its

MONTGOMERY: probably a very good thing to have this welfare state, but it has its dangers. Everything is done for you. I mean you are brought into this world. When you get old, you are given a good pension. I draw an old age pension myself - delighted to have it - 50/- a week every Monday morning, and finally you are buried. It has its dangers. You see the present....the young chap he knows that he needn't bother. He needn't bother. When he gets old he will be looked after and he needn't bother, thats bad. I had to struggle.

MURROW: This rather reduces the pursuit of excellence for the very sake of excellence, doesn't it? The security that is built in?

MONTGOMERY: Yes, thats a very good way of putting it. The ambition is not so much there, and therefore, your question as to whether, if I were aged 14 today, should I find it more difficult to rise to the top of my profession, which I did do, perhaps by luck. The answer would be "Yes", because of all these outside influences, and because I would find it more difficult to have resource within myself, and therefore, the power of decision, and therefore, not so willing to count my blessings.

MURROW: Of course, successful leadership in any area depends to a considerable extent on luck, doesn't it?

MONTGOMERY: Yes, but you see you must be prepared to seize that luck with both hands and turn it to account. I mean you might say that I was very lucky in this war, Hitler's war to be suddendly sent to the command of

MONTGOMERY: the 8th army, and I hadn't been chosen for it originally (I remember) the man who was chosen for it was shot down and killed, I then went, and that was my opportunity, and I seized it with both hands, but I was ready, I think thats the point, I was ready for it. I'd tried to master my profession. I was ready for it, the opportunity came, I seized it, I got on with it.

MURROW: Then it is not only a matter of being in the right place at the right time, but being ready. The three R's.

MONTGOMERY: You must be ready. That means, you see that a young boy today, he never knows when the opportunity will come. He must be ready. And whatever he has made of his profession, even a doctor or an architect or a dentist or a lawyer, he must master that profession and be ready. Don't you think so?

MURROW: I think so indeed. Field Marshall I enjoyed reading your book enormously. I doubt that the reviewers will regard it as deathless prose. I think it will start a lot of argument, and I imagine thats one reason you wrote....

MONTGOMERY: That was one of the reasons, you see, to put a lot of arguments on the map and get them aired.

MURROW: Why didn't you put an index in it?

MONTGOMERY: Ah, now thats interesting. My experience is, that when somebody sent a book, which is indexed, and is about public life and people, he immediately turns to the index. Thats the first thing he does. He goes in

MONTGOMERY: the book index, and he looks up whats been said about himself. He turns to those pages, he reads it, he puts the book down, and has no further interest in it. Thats not the way to read this book. Never, you've got to read the whole of it, and then you will find out, if you've been mentioned, you'll find it. Some people, of course, will perhaps look it up to see if they are not mentioned.

MURROW: Yes, I think that is true too. How would you sum it all up.

MONTGOMERY: Well, you mean sum up what we've been talking about - which is linked to the whole problem of leadership ?

MURROW: Precisely

MONTGOMERY: Well, I would sum it up in this way. We live in a split world. A world divided by two confliding faiths, or ideologies, and two conflicting social systems. The world is split, and I don't see how quite, at the moment, we going to get that right. Its split, and in between the splits, East and West there is the worst possible relationship between the two sides and between the leaders. Thats the trouble. Now, we have, of course, discussed the problem that that raises in Europe, in Asia and Africa, we have discussed that in our conversation. Now when I look at these two sides, East and West, which I like to do, and ponder over it, what do I see. I see in the East, the Eastern block, thats the commonest world, I see a very definite ideology or faith. I see strong discipline, and I see very determined leadership, thats what I see on the other side. I then look at our own side, and I find that we haven't

MONTGOMERY: got those things. We haven't got a strong faith, that everyone will accept and believe in. We haven't got unity, and we haven't got the strong leadership. I then come to the conclusion that if the West is going to survive over the years, politically and economically against the ideological graduations of pressure which will come, not necessary armed aggression but ideological pressure, I come to the conclusion that we must have in the West a leader who will guide us to these things. What we want is a man of noble character, of moral stature, of wisdom and courage, who because of those qualities will commend himself to all the other nations in our group, and will do something.

MURROW: And is able to articulate what we all believe?

MONTGOMERY: Yes, he must be able to articulate what we all believe, and make us think its right. Make us think its right, and do something. Something positive and not just sit about giving off a lot of meaningless platitudes. Now if we don't find that leader, we shall drift along, and we could drift into war. We could. That would be frightful. Both sides would then destroy each other, and civilisation as we know it today would disappear. Now the other night in bed, I was reading my bible, which I often do, very good book the bible, I read it quite a lot, I came across a passage which I'd like to read to you and its in Deuteronomy it's in Deuteronomy, chapter 30 verse 19 and I read this :- I'll read the actual passage from the bible:- "I call Heaven and Earth to record this day against you that I have set before you

MONTGOMERY: life and death. Blessing and cursing. Therefore choose life that both thou and I see may live. Therefore choose life".

Now thats what I think has got to be done.

MURROW: Is that the book you carried with you during your campaign?

MONTGOMERY: Actually, its rather interesting you should say, this was the actual bible, and I've written here in the front of it, I've said, "This bible was the one used by me during the campaign in North West Europe, from Normandy in June 1944 to Luneberge Heath in May 1945. This was the actual bible. Now you may say, or perhaps you may not say, but some people may say, Whats all this got to do with us. We aren't in the position to be able to make decisions. We can't influence action, which is going to solve our problems in the war. We can't do it. I think thats wrong. I would not agree with that approach to this problem, and I'll tell you why. In two great world wars in both of which I took part, the Kaiser's war 14-18 and Hitler's war 39-45, a very great many of the men of our nations, both your nation and mine, and women too, they died, they gave their lives in order that we might have the freedom we now enjoy, and live in a better world, they died. Now you can't have a better world, without better men and women, and I think that this freedom has got to be understood. We talk about freedom from fear, freedom from want, I call them negative freedoms, and the only positive freedom in my view is the freedom to choose between good and evil. Thats positive, and the best definition

of that freedom I take from the Prayer Book - whose service is - perfect freedom. Now what can we do about it? Well, I think we've got to ask ourselves, you and I and the mass of the people - we're not political leaders we're just the mass of the people - I think we've got to say to ourselves - Well - these people who died they gave everything for me. Three questions then arise 1 Am I worth it? That's a nasty one.

MURROW Yes it is

MONTGOMERY Am I worth it? 2. If I am worth it what am I doing about it? That's a nasty one too. And 3 Our generation, that's the generation of us today, we owe a very great deal to the past - what are you and I doing to make sure that the future will owe something to us? Now, those you might say - very difficult questions. They certainly are.

MURROW They are indeed.

MONTGOMERY And the answer to those questions I maintain depends whether we can surmount the problems that lie in front f us in this troubled world. And that is what this book's all about. That's what it's about.

MURROW Field Marshal I thank you again for your hospitality, for this discussion and I toast the success of the book in your excellent claret.

MONTGOMERY Better I hope than your Coca-Cola. (Laughter)

MURROW It is indeed.

MONTGOMERY I accept your toast.

Yes, well of course it's good claret and better than the Coke.

Dennis Scuse.
6-B-23

January 18, 1961

Dear Mr. Scuse:

Your letter of January 17th arrived just as Mr. Murrow was about to leave for Washington to cover the Inauguration.

He has signed the agreement concerning his fee for the program with Montgomery, and would like to have the money paid to his account at the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company in London at the Berkeley Square branch.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Kay Campbell
Executive Assistant

Mr. Dennis Scuse
The British Broadcasting Corporation
630 Fifth Avenue
New York 20, New York

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, D. C. NEWS OFFICE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
TELEPHONE EXECUTIVE 3-1465
CABLES: NEWSCASTS, WASHINGTON

NEW YORK OFFICE
TELEPHONE CIRCLE 7-0656
CABLES: BROADCASTS, NEW YORK

January 17, 1961

Mr. Ed Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

My London office have sent me the enclosed for your signature and return. As the transmission date has now been set for February 5th and "time is getting on", they would be grateful if you could do this as soon as possible.

Some other small points:

(1) Could you please say whether you would like the fee paid to your English account or to your American account or,

(2) If you wish the fee to be donated to charity, would you sign the "waiver" and nominate the charity who will then be paid direct. I am asked incidentally to say that in spite of the wording of the waiver - your nominated charity will receive the money.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Dennis Scuse

Dennis Scuse

Enclosures

EDWARD MURROW
TELEVISION FILM (TALKS)

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Head Office: BROADCASTING HOUSE, LONDON, W.1

TELEVISION CENTRE, WOOD LANE, LONDON, W.12

TELEPHONE: SHEPHERDS BUSH 8000. TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, TELEX, LONDON

Our Reference: 35/BB

13th January, 1961

DEAR Sir,

We have pleasure in offering you an engagement to take part in a BBC Television Film, the details of which are given below. If you wish to accept this offer, which is subject to the conditions overleaf, please sign and return the attached acceptance-form as soon as possible (see Condition 1 overleaf).

Title MONTGOMERY ON "LEADERSHIP"

Date(s) of filming or recording 5th January

Time(s) of filming or recording ———

Location(s) Alton, Hampshire.

Producer

REHEARSALS

January 5th. As arranged.

Fee £300 (Three hundred pounds).

For discussion with Field Marshal Lord Montgomery on "Leadership".

Letters addressed to you c/o the BBC will be forwarded, but unless you notify us of any objection, letters not marked "Personal" may be opened for statistical purposes before being forwarded.

Yours faithfully,
THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Name Mr. Edward Murrow

Address

Head of Artists' Bookings

P/1133/P. 3.60 A.E.B.

Field Marshal Montgomery

PERSONAL LEADERSHIP

Leadership may be good or bad.

What qualities did Cromwell, Lincoln, Nehru, DeGaulle, Churchill and Nuffield have in common?

You say leadership is based on truth and character. How is character and respect for truth formed?

Is it not true that political leadership and to a lesser extent military leadership depend upon the power of persuasion?

In military leadership, what about conflict between leadership, truth, character and superior orders?

Could Lincoln become a leader in today's society?

You quote Nehru as saying, "The true leader must have no thought of personal gain or aggrandizement." Do you think this is possible of achievement and doesn't it depend on what is meant by gain or aggrandizement? Specifically, didn't your leadership result in gain and aggrandizement of a certain special character?

The importance of tolerance - in Paget's phrase, "No man can argue on his knees."

The art of leadership is to induce men to believe that what the leader wants of them is what their own appraisal of their own responsibilities requires them to do in their interest not his.

In a free society, is not the power of persuasion equally important to the power of decision?

Qualities required for leadership of youth (attitude towards consumer advertising).

What about leadership for the aged?

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

What produces it - money - history - character - military power?

"Americans generally reckon they can buy anything with dollars."

What qualities of leadership will be required to lead western nations away from their present rigid attitude of sovereignty?

Russian leadership - what is its basic appeal?

Chinese leadership - how would you contrast?

The role of former colonial powers whose power has diminished.

You say "Russia hasn't the slightest intention of attacking the West." Would a prudent leader proceed upon that assumption?

GROUP LEADERSHIP

How characterize Russian leaders and leadership?

How characterize Chinese leaders and leadership?

Who is to lead towards a solution of Berlin - Israel - Laos?

You say if you had to go into the jungle with Mao or Khrushchev, you would prefer Mao. Why?

You list 4 great national leaders; DeGaulle, Tito, Nehru and Mao Tse-tung. What do they have in common?

FIELD MARSHAL MONTGOMERY
ISINGTON MILL
ALTON, HANTS
ENGLAND

GREETINGS STOP BOOKS DELIVERED STOP INVITATIONAL SEEDS PLANTED

REGARDS

ED MURROW

514-70
gw
1-13-61

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

21st December 1960

My dear Ed,

Monty tells me that lunch on the 5th is out. He suggests I should lay on dinner that evening in London, but unfortunately I can't oblige because at that hour I must dine the aristocracy of Southampton who will earlier have attended the opening of our new studio.

But I shall be in London on January 6th, and I wonder if you are free for dinner that evening? Monty will presumably have returned to Isington, but I should be delighted if you and I could get together.

Don't bother to reply. You can let me know the answer when we meet at London Airport on the 4th.

Yours ever,

Frank

Mr. Ed Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York,
U.S.A.

Frank Gillard

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

14th December 1960

My dear Ed.,

Many thanks for the copy of yours to Monty. It's fine.

As is customary, he has now taken over all the arrangements, and simply issues battle orders to me! The arrangements are:-

(a) I meet you at London Airport on the 4th. The producer (Michael Bowen) will be with me. We breakfast together and I send the two of you off to Isington (he instructs me to lay on a decent car!).

Incidentally, things are a bit bedevilled for me because I have to be in London all that day for a highly important conference with Hugh Carleton Greene, the Director-General. But perhaps it will be just as well to let you and the F.M. go ahead on the job alone, with the producer sitting in.

(b) You stay the night at Isington.

(c) The conversation will be filmed on the following morning, 5th January, at Isington. I hope to be around. (You will note that Bristol is now eliminated from the picture altogether.)

I hope that Monty will let me lunch you, and himself, afterwards, either at Alton or Farnham.

(d) In the afternoon you go up to London with him in the Rolls Royce. I leave for Southampton, which is one of the main centres of my Region, where Hugh Greene is that evening opening a new Television studio for us.

(continued)

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

Please let me know if there is anything at all we can do for you in London between the 5th and 7th January.

I do hope you are feeling really fit again. It is jolly good of you to take the job on for us.

Yours as ever,

Rauh.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
N.Y.

Frank Gillard

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

1st December 1960

My dear Ed.,

Thanks so much for your cable and the good news in it. We shall now push ahead with the contractual and administrative arrangements and I shall be writing again very shortly.

I do hope you are well again. It was very bad luck indeed to be laid out at such a moment.

See you shortly.

Yours ever,

Frank

Mr. Ed. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York.

Frank Gillard

NOVEMBER 30, 1960

FRANK GILLARD
BROADCASTING HOUSE
WHITELADIES ROAD
BRISTOL (ENGLAND)

OKAY LEADERSHIP FIRST WEEK JANUARY PLANNING ARRIVE LONDON EIGHT AYEM WEDNESDAY JANUARY FOURTH WILL GLADLY STAY OVERNIGHT ISINGTON MILL AS SUGGESTED THEN TAPE INTERVIEW BRISTOL JANUARY FIFTH STOP EXBRISTOL PROCEEDING LONDONWARD FOR ONE DAY NEW YORKWARDING MORNING FLIGHT SATURDAY JANUARY SEVENTH STOP LETTER FOLLOWS REGARDS

ED MURROW

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Frank Gillard

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LT

MURROW 485 MADISONAVENUE NEWYORK22

MONTY ANXIOUS SETTLE JANUARY DATES OFFERING

ANYTIME FIRST WEEK OR BETWEEN 13TH 18TH

REGARDS

GILLARD

COL 485 NYK22 13TH 18TH

NOVEMBER 25, 1960.

LT.

FRANK GILLARD
BROADCASTING HOUSE
WHITELADIES ROAD
BRISTOL (ENGLAND)

MURROW UNAVAILABLE UNTIL MONDAY HOPE GET DECISION MONTY DATES THEN

REGARDS

CAMPBELL

514-70

Frank Gillard

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

24th November 1960

My dear Ed,

Leadership

I do hope you are getting over the pneumonia. It was bad luck to be struck down at that particular moment. The Field Marshal was ill at the same time, but he is better again now and was able to record yesterday a programme he is doing for us on Christmas Day.

He suggests that the arrangements for your visit should be as follows: From London Airport you would go down to stay the night with him at Isington Mill, and from there you would both come to Bristol on the following day to tape the interview. He would be glad to put you up for the second night, on the assumption that you would be catching the morning flight back to New York on the third day.

What we are most anxious to settle, of course, is the business of dates. The Field Marshal can offer any time in the first week of January, or between the 13th and the 18th of that month. He leaves for Switzerland on the 20th. Could you send me a very speedy word to let me know how you are fixed? I do hope you will be able to manage the trip within one or other of the suggested periods.

Warmest regards,

Yours as ever,

Frank

P.S. I am sending a copy of this to the Field Marshal.

F

Mr. Ed Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York.

Frank Gillard

NOVEMBER 4, 1960.

LT.

FRANK GILLARD
BROADCASTING HOUSE
WHITELADIES ROAD
BRISTOL (ENGLAND)

THANKS YOUR CONFIDENTIAL REGARDING LEADERSHIP STOP AM CERTAINLY DISPOSED UNDERTAKE IT IF WE CAN AGREE SUITABLE TIME REGARDS

ED MURROW

514-70

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, 8

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS: BRISTOL 33052

27th October 1960

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Ed.,

Monty is bringing out a book on Leadership next March, to be published by Collins. A first proof copy has just reached me. He gives Nehru, Mao, Tito and de Gaulle as the four outstanding leaders of this century, and writes at length about each.

He has given us the first refusal of a Television programme based on the book, and has himself suggested that he would like it to take the form of a conversation between himself and you. This would probably have to be taped in January because, as usual, he is off to Switzerland for the month of February and the programme would have to go on the air early in March.

Is there any chance that you might be able to fly over in January for a day, or a couple of days? If so, I will get Ronnie Waldman on to the project at once so that a firm proposal can be worked out. I am sure there is material here for an outstanding programme of very wide interest on both sides of the Atlantic, and I do hope you will be able to come in on it.

This particular proposal comes from me because Monty does all his TV work here, for old times' sake and all that. He knows (or he thinks!) that he can boss me around, and he's not so sure about the boys in London!

Warmest regards,

Yours ever,

Frank

(Frank Gillard)

Mr. Ed. Murrow.

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Gaby Wachsner

Thurs.
11-3

Mr. Derek Russell, the representative of the B.B.C. here called to say that your prompt attention would be appreciated due to Monty's plans.

Field Marshal Montgomery

FIELD MARSHAL VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN
ISINGTON MILL
ALTON HANTS
ENGLAND

ACKNOWLEDGING YOURS DECEMBER 9TH DELIGHTED WE WORK AGAIN

AT THE MILL

REGARDS

MURROW

514-70
gw
12-13-60

TEL. BENTLEY 3126

ISINGTON MILL.
ALTON.
HANTS.

December 9, 1960

My dear Ed

I have now agreed with the BBC that our discussion on "leadership" will be filmed here, in my dining room — which you know well, and where you and Charles Collingwood performed with me in April 1959. The BBC reckon it will have more appeal to the public if done in my home.

So we will not now have to make the long journey by car to Bristol — which is good.

The room will be prepared, cameras installed, etc, on Wednesday January 4. The discussion will be recorded on the morning of Thursday January 5. And you will be able to get up to London comfortably on the afternoon of January 5.

The producer of the programme, Richard Bowen,

together with Frank Gillard, will meet you at London Airport on the morning of Wednesday January 4th and will motor you here in their BBC car. I will await you here and you will be installed in your old quarters in the top flat.

I greatly look forward to your visit.

Yrs. very sincerely

Montgomery of Alamein

Field M. Montgomery

TEL. BENTLEY 3126

ISINGTON MILL,
ALTON,
HANTS.

December 13, 1960

Dear Ed

I have your letter of December 9. I agree with your three areas of leadership and will give much thought to them.

I note your time of arrival at London Airport — 8 A.M. on Wednesday January 4th.

The whole discussion is now to be filmed here, in this house. The BBC engineers will be here all that day, setting up their box of tricks; I must be here, and so must my chauffeur.

The BBC (Frank Gillard, and the producer Michael Bowen) will meet you at London Airport, give you breakfast there, and then drive you here in a BBC car.

The discussion will be filmed on the morning of the 5th January; after lunch

That day we will drive up to London together in the Rolls-Royce.

We will most certainly

"unscrew the inscrutable"

Yrs ever

Montgomery of Alamein.

Field M. Montgomery

December 9, 1960

Dear Field Marshal:

I have finished the book. It is both stimulating and provocative and will, I should imagine, cause many readers to cast up their own estimates of the qualities required for leadership. I am of course most eager to engage you in conversation on this subject both in private and before the cameras.

As you know, I am opposed to submitting detailed questions in advance. Such practice tends to reduce spontaneity. However, I would suggest that the conversation should deal with three areas of leadership.

1. Personal leadership - Here you have really produced a mixed bag, and I would wish to interrogate you on the qualities these men have in common and would hope for a few more details as to your reasons for selecting De Gaulle, this not alone because of my personal interest, but because he is bound to be high in the news when the program is presented, and it will add timeliness to the discourse.

2. National leadership

cc: Frank Gilliard

3. Collective leadership - In this last category which I regard as being of the greatest importance, I would wish to question you in some detail as to your views on NATO, Sino-Russian relations now and in the future, and perhaps even the possibility of neutralizing Africa.

Now as to plans, I am scheduled to arrive at London Airport on Wednesday, January 4th at 8:00 AM, BOAC Flight 684. Your Rolls-Royce is one of my favorite methods of transportation, and if it is convenient, I should be delighted to be met by your capable driver. The plans outlined in yours of December 2nd are altogether agreeable. I would prefer to drive with you direct from Bristol to London on the evening of January 5th since I must meet a few engagements there and leave on the afternoon of the 7th.

There exists a bare possibility that news developments here in connection with the new administration may force me to plead for a postponement to one of the later dates mentioned in your original letter. However, I am reasonably confident that I can meet the schedule as outlined above.

I am greatly looking forward to this venture. Maybe, to quote one of my favorite phrases from Carl Sandburg, "We will unscrew the inscrutable."

Sincerely yours,

Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery
of Alamein, K.G. etc.

Isington Mill
Alton
Hants

ERM:gw
cc: FRANK GILLARD

FROM : FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN,
K.G., ~~G.C.B., D.S.O.~~
ETC.

TEL.: BENTLEY 3126.

[redacted]

ISINGTON MILL.
ALTON.
HANTS.

December 2, 1960

My Dear Ed

I received your telegram on December 1st, and am delighted that you will come over here and do the television discussion with me about my book, and on leadership generally. There is no doubt that the discussion will create an enormous sensation.

Please arrive at London Airport early on Wednesday January 4, and come direct here. Will you have a car from your people in London; or would you like me to send my Rolls-Royce to collect you ?

We must spend the afternoon and evening of January 4 working out how we will conduct the discussion, and what subjects we will discuss.

Then on Thursday January 5 we will motor to Bristol, where Frank Gillard is in charge, and record the discussion after lunch in the Bristol studio - which is very good. It was from Bristol that I made the " Command in Battle " series.

After the recording, we will drive back here for the night. Or would you prefer to go direct to London from Bristol, and stay the night in London ? Please let me know this.

I have a very important meeting in London on Friday 6. January, at 12 noon, and we could drive

FROM : FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN,
K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.

TEL.: BENTLEY 3126.

ISINGTON MILL.
ALTON.
HANTS.

to London from Bristol on the evening of January 5.

It would be a great help to me if you will send me by air mail your first thoughts on the sort of questions you will want to ask me. Can you do this ?

Yours ever

Montgomery of Alamein

Ed. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22

New York

4B

FM Montgomery

NOVEMBER 30, 1960

FIELD MARSHAL VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN
ISINGTON MILL
ALTON HANTS (ENGLAND)

HAVE ADVISED GILLARD WILL ARRIVE LONDON WEDNESDAY

JANUARY FOURTH GLADLY ACCEPT YOUR KIND INVITATION STAY

OVERNIGHT ISINGTON MILL STOP HAVE READ HALF YOUR BOOK

AND HAVE HOURS OF QUESTIONS STOP EAGERLY ANTICIPATING

THIS PROJECT REGARDS

ED MURROW

514-70

F.M. Montgomery

FROM: FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN,
K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O.

TEL.: BENTLEY 3126.

[redacted]

ISINGTON MILL.
ALTON.
HANTS.

25 November 1960

My dear Ed

Frank Gillard of the BBC has written you about doing a 45 minute T.V. talk with me on my book "The Path to Leadership". The book will be published by Collins on the 13th February 1961. It deals with all categories of leadership, including Western leadership and Communist leadership — and I am the only Western personality who has had long talks with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. I give what I reckon is the answer in the present conflict between East and West.

The book will create a great sensation. So will a T.V. discussion about it. I told the BBC that I would have a T.V. discussion only with somebody who really did know about leadership,

and had studied it — and that person was you. So please come here and do it. It can be recorded, and put over very soon after the 13th February 1961 — the publication date in the U.K.

I go to Switzerland on the 20th January 1961. It could be done (recorded) at Bristol in January — any time between the 2nd and 6th, or between the 13th and 18th. I will be in Paris between 9th and 11th January, seeing de Gaulle.

Alternately, it could be recorded in Switzerland. Gstaad would be a good place; I will be there from 31 January until 12 February.

Let me know what you think. But please come over and do it.

Yrs ever

Montgomery of Alamein.

43

Earl Mountbatten

August 17, 1960

My dear Dickie:

Thank you for your two letters regarding "Sink the Bismarck". It was a pleasure to work with Brabourne and his colleagues and I am of course entirely satisfied with the disposition you have made of the honorarium.

Since the conclusion of our political conventions, I have been shooting much film on Polaris and hope to have an hour's program on it ready for early October. I fear that many of my fellow-countrymen who are given to sudden enthusiasms are inclined to regard Polaris as the ultimate weapon, but it is good that Arleigh Burke and Red Rayborn so far at least are not making exaggerated claims for it.

I was distressed not to have the chance to see you at the Tattoo at Madison Square Garden, but will hope to see you either here or in London before long.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

Admiral of the Fleet the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, K.G., P.C.,
G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., D.S.O.
British Commonwealth Ex-Services League
92 New Bond Street
London W. 1

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"Lest We Forget" Diary

92 NEW BOND STREET
LONDON, W.1

Our Ref. *Your Ref.*

30th June 1960

My dear Ed,

I have been presiding at the Biennial Conference of the British Commonwealth Ex-Services League in London.

Eighty delegates from Thirty-two countries attended. When I informed them that you had very generously given your fee of £10000 for taking part in "Sink the Bismarck" to the King George's Fund for Sailors, with the request that the sum of £1000 be passed on to the B.C.E.L. there was great applause. I asked whether the Conference wished me to send you their official thanks and there was further great applause.

I am, therefore, very happy to send you the deep appreciation and gratitude of the co-ordinating body of all the ex-servicemen in the British Commonwealth.

Incidentally, I have now seen the film three times and consider that your performance makes a vast difference to the film and is one of the main reasons why it has turned out to be such an outstanding success.

Yours ever

Dickie Mountbatten

THE SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE SECTION

'MONTY' IN CHINA—1

My talks with Mao

By Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery,

whose visit to China, just ended, has aroused the curiosity of the whole world.

IN April, 1959, I visited Moscow to have talks with the Soviet leader, Mr. Khrushchev, to try to discover his views on the conflict between East and West. In particular I wanted to learn his views on the possibility, or otherwise, of the conflict leading to war between the two blocs, and how he viewed the German problem. The results of my talks with Mr. Khrushchev were published in The Sunday Times of May 10 and 17, 1959.

From certain remarks made by the Soviet leader, I decided that it would be necessary to visit the Chinese leaders in Peking. The conflict between East and West is not one which can be confined to the N.A.T.O. area, as too many seem to think; it is a global conflict, and it cannot be solved satisfactorily so long as the West refuses to discuss its many problems with the biggest nation in the world. I therefore asked Mao Tse-tung if I could visit him in Peking in May, 1960; a reply came immediately to say I would be very welcome.

I left London on May 18 and flew direct to Hongkong, going on by train on May 23 to Canton. The next morning I flew to Peking in a special aircraft placed at my disposal by the Chinese Government. Thus began my first visit to the People's Republic of China. In this first article I will describe my impressions of the Chinese people and of their new leaders.

THE two men who count most in China are Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. The Head of State is Liu Shao-chi, who is sixty-two; he is Chairman of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of all the armed forces; he is the first Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party in China, the second Vice-Chairman being Chou En-lai. I am sorry not to have met Liu Shao-chi, because he is the natural successor to Mao Tse-tung if anything should happen to him; I was told this by Mao himself. I missed Liu by one day in Shanghai.

Mao Tse-tung is the real ruler of the new China; Chou En-lai is the executive agent, who carries out the policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—of which Mao is the Chairman.

What sort of man is Mao Tse-tung? He was the last of the leaders I met; initially I had hoped to meet him first, but I think now the Chinese were right to put him last because it enabled me to confirm many points discussed with Chou En-lai, and to cross-examine in some. Mao was in Shanghai; and I flew there on May 27, spent the afternoon seeing a rural Commune, and then went to have dinner with him. We talked for four hours in all, the only other person present being Ko Ching-shi, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Mayor of Shanghai.

Mao's Youth

MAO is a most attractive person. His father was a farm labourer, a poor peasant, who by intelligent saving managed to deal successfully in corn and eventually became prosperous. Mao was interesting about his youth; the family was poor and the only way he could educate himself was to gain admission to a school in which he could receive not only free education but also free lodging and food—and this he managed to do. Like all sons of the soil he is a genuine democrat; one can detect no snobbishness, and if any does exist it is purely ideological.

In his speech he is slow and deliberate, choosing his words carefully and speaking in short sentences. He occasionally used an English word, perhaps as a compliment to me, but not pronouncing it very well!

He is sixty-seven. At first it seemed to me he showed his age, and this need surprise nobody when one considers the hard life he led when young, and the trials of the long war against the Japanese which began in 1937, and then the civil war which ended in the final overthrow of Nationalist China under Chiang Kai-shek. But as our conversation progressed my opinion began to change; although he is heavily built and walks slowly, he appeared to me to be very fit; his chief form of exercise is swimming and he has had many notable contests in the Yangtse river.

Mao is highly intelligent, and intensely practical in his approach to a problem. He may be slow in speech but he is not slow in thought; he will answer your question at once, leaving no room for doubt about what he thinks. And he is a very shrewd judge of people, as I quickly discovered. In our conversation the names of political leaders in the Western world frequently cropped up, men whom I know well, and I asked him what he thought about certain of them.

Now Mao has never been outside China except to visit Moscow; but he keeps in the closest touch with what is going on in the Western world, his knowledge about it being amazing. His comments and judgments on certain political leaders whose names were mentioned were highly illuminating and very accurate—at any rate in my opinion!

He has a tremendous sense of humour. Early in our conversation he remarked:

I suppose you know you are talking to an aggressor. I have been branded as such in the United Nations. Do you mind talking with an aggressor?

It was said with a twinkle in his eyes. And when I replied that certain nations in the Western world in past history had not been altogether blameless in this respect, he exploded with laughter.

'Enlightened'

LATER, after dinner I think, we got on to the subject of revolutions; this began when, to my surprise, he mentioned something about Cromwell. I said that if it hadn't been for Cromwell the England we know today would be a very different place. I went on to say that revolutions are not, in themselves, necessarily bad; for instance, the American revolution forced the United Empire Loyalists to go north and to create the Canada we have today. Then the French revolution resulted in a better France. And finally the revolution in China, in which he himself took a prominent part, swept away a great deal of external aggression, feudal oppression and corruption.

He listened to all this with tremendous interest, and silently. He then looked at me with a smile and said:

"You seem to be very enlightened."

That remark was a constant source of amusement for the rest of the evening, because I kept asking him why he was surprised that I appeared "enlightened." He finally admitted that he was wrong to have been surprised.

All-in-all, Mao Tse-tung is a very delightful person to meet and to talk with. He may be a Communist; that is his business. But he didn't give me any indication that he is planning to force his ideology down the throats of any other nation or that he plans to communise the world; as he himself kept saying, China has far too much on her own plate to want to expand outwards, either physically or ideologically.

Chou En-lai is Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China. He is a very different person from Mao, being highly born, the son of a Mandarin. One can see from his face that he is intellectual and very clever; indeed, I would describe his brain-power as brilliant. He is a quick and clear thinker, very lucid in his speech, with a most pleasing personality and a nice sense of humour. Altogether he is a very intelligent and likeable man, with charming manners.

In Shanghai: Field-Marshal Montgomery with Mao Tse-tung (right) and Ko Ching-shi, Mayor of the city and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

I liked him so much that I invited him to come and stay with me in my home in England as my private guest, and he said he would like to do so. Such a visit could do nothing but good.

Need for Peace

WE talked a great deal about his own problems in China and also, of course, about the foreign policy of his Government. He said the foreign policy of China is based fundamentally on the domestic issue. He explained that the country is poor and backward; there are tremendous problems of industrialisation, housing, food supply, irrigation, harnessing the great rivers for electrical power and to prevent disastrous floods (the Yellow River floods of some years ago killed two million people), and the overall general problems of reconstruction. He said that to put all these things right may well take fifty years, during which period China needs peace; one has only to spend a few days in the country to realise that another world war would be disastrous and would put the nation back fifty years or more.

Chou emphasised again and again that China must have peace, although she will always fight to resist aggression against her own territory—and Mao repeated the same policy. To this end, China is engaged in forming non-aggression pacts with neighbouring nations—as far afield as Burma and Cambodia, and recently Mongolia.

He explained to me the problem of food supply. The birth-rate is going up, about 2.4 per cent. annually—giving an increase of fifteen million a year. In ten years the increase would be 23 per cent., the present population being 650 million. The death rate is going down, due to vaccination, medicine, antibiotics, etc., and to education generally. The production of food in the past two years has increased by 10 per cent., and today there is enough—but it will be another ten years before there is plenty, and this was reaffirmed by Mao.

China is a huge country and only one-ninth of the land is under cultivation at present; some of the remaining eight-ninths will be suitable for food production, but not all by any means. All in all, both Mao and Chou were satisfied that the available living space and food would prove ample for the growing population; in this respect the Communes would play a notable part, as I will explain later.

Three Treasures

CHOU EN-LAI explained that his Government had laid down certain guiding principles which are to form the basis of the national effort. These he called "The Three Treasures" and they are known as such by the people. They are:

1. The general line for Socialist construction. This is to go all out; to aim high; to achieve greater and better results more quickly. In fact, to achieve economic strength, and raise the standard of living of the people of China as quickly as possible.
2. This to be done by a great "Leap Forward" in every field.
3. The People's Communes. Only by the formation of these can China achieve the concentrated effort needed to build up quickly the economic strength and moral fibre of the nation.

These "Treasures" have been accepted by the whole nation and I saw many practical examples of how they are being implemented.

In all, I talked with Chou En-lai for seven hours, which I was told was a record for any interview given by him. I enjoyed every minute of it and so, I fancy, did he; he said he had never before met and talked with a military figure from the Western world.

There were some others with whom I talked—notably Marshal Chen Yi, the Foreign Minister, and Marshal Ho Lung, a Vice-Premier. Both of these were real fighting soldiers who had played a notable part in the wars against Japan and against Chiang Kai-shek.

On the night before I left Peking, Chou En-lai gave a banquet for me in the great dining hall of the People's Congress Hall—a huge building which was erected by the Chinese in eight months. He had assembled many of the leading Chinese actors, singers, dancers and musicians, and these gave a fine performance during dinner. It was stated by some that the banquet was a unique gathering in the history of the present regime; it was certainly a spectacular climax to my stay in Peking.

Present at the banquet were many whom I had met during my three days in Peking, including some soldiers, and also the non-regular group of young men and girls who had carried out for me a parachute demonstration—which was quite first-class. Also present was the last Emperor of the Manchu dynasty—Henry Pu Yi, who is now a gardener in Peking. I asked him if he was happy; he replied that he had never been so contented; he reckoned it was far better to be a gardener with freedom to do what he liked than to sit on the Imperial Throne in the Forbidden City—when he had no freedom and could never do as he liked!

Freed Generals

I ALSO met at the banquet some generals who had fought on the side of Chiang Kai-shek, had been captured, and recently set free. One of them had commanded the Nationalist army in the last decisive battle of the civil war and had been heavily defeated by the Communists, the Communist army being commanded by Marshal Chen Yi—now Foreign Minister. I asked him how many soldiers he had in his army at that battle, and he said one million. I remarked that with an army of one million men he ought not to have been beaten. He replied that Marshal Chen Yi had two million men! Chen Yi was listening to this conversation, and we all had a good laugh about it.

Chou En-lai used two interpreters during the whole of our conversation, and he sent them both with me to Shanghai for my talk with Mao Tse-tung. The chief one was his personal private secretary, Dr. Pu—a very clever young man who had been educated in the United States and had a degree of Harvard University. Dr. Pu spoke excellent English, and so did his assistant. Both took down what we said; the actual interpretation, in English or in Chinese, was done by Dr. Pu—the assistant following carefully and intervening if a correction seemed necessary.

This method of interpretation, the use of two interpreters, interested me and I had not seen it before; it certainly proved effective and lessened the possibility of misunderstanding.

Before proceeding further I would like to analyse what Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and other revolutionary leaders have achieved. I was last in China over thirty years ago; those were the days of the old China. For very many years that old China had suffered severely from two troubles—external aggression in which perhaps we British were not altogether blameless, and internal oppression of a feudal nature. The country was poor and backward, and remained so; the foreigners exploited China for their own mercenary purposes and grew rich, the mass of the Chinese people remained very poor. The regime of the Emperors was corrupt, and did nothing for the great mass of the people; a revolution seemed inevitable, and it duly came—the leader being Mao Tse-tung.

Many suffered and died in the birth pangs of the new China, possibly millions; but [illegible] many more millions have [illegible]d. Out of evil, good is develo[illegible]ing. The new [illegible] ed to be master [illegible] to have [illegible]er, own [illegible] without any outside interference of any sort.

There are great misconceptions in the Western world about this new China, particularly in the United States. Tourists from the United States go to Hongkong and ask to be shown "Communist China"; they are taken up to the border and look across; the normal comment is then one of great surprise—"it all looks so quiet, so peaceful." One wonders what they expect to see!

The Army

BEING a soldier, it was readily understood in Peking when I said I wanted to see something of the Chinese Army—which normally is forbidden to foreigners. I was taken by car to see the 196th Infantry Division, stationed some ten miles outside Tientsin. I was definitely impressed.

With National Service and a huge population, the annual intake would be possibly fifty million. China does not need this number; indeed, the military authorities couldn't handle them. About 10 per cent. are selected after the most rigorous tests—medical, physical and educational. This final 10 per cent. gives the Army a high-class annual entry, very intelligent and very quick to learn. They serve for three years, coming in at eighteen.

I saw elementary training by recruits on the barrack square, and firing on the rifle range—and what I saw was good. The Chinese weapons may not be all that a Western Army would consider necessary; I saw the rifles, machine guns, mortars, recoilless guns, howitzers, anti-aircraft guns—all adequate for the type of war China might have to fight. But the first requirement of an Army is an adequate supply of good men, and that the nation certainly has.

Militia Units

EVERY factory, university, school, business office, village, Commune, and so on, has to have its own militia, and all fit persons between the ages of 18 and 25 have to serve. These militia units are the "Ming-Bing," the people's soldiers.

I inspected the militia unit of a factory in Canton which made electric torches. It was an amazing parade of men *and* women, all armed with rifles or tommy guns; there was an anti-aircraft gun section manned entirely by women; a signal section of men and women; and a medical section.

This militia organisation covers the country, and in the event of a foreign invasion of China the invading army would have a very poor time—indeed, it would be engulfed by the Ming-Bing. I have always said that the *second* rule of war is not to go fighting with your land armies in China, and what I saw of the Ming-Bing proves the correctness of that rule. I was once asked what is the *first* rule of war, and I replied without any hesitation — "Don't march on Moscow." Various people have tried it, with disastrous results—notably Napoleon and Hitler!

Mao Tse-tung has laid down that everybody is to do physical training every morning—and everybody does, because "Chairman Mao says." It is done in the early morning before going to work. I saw the best example of what goes on by watching from my bedroom window on the seventh floor of the Huping (Peace) Hotel in Shanghai. It was the morning after my dinner with Mao and we were leaving early to reach

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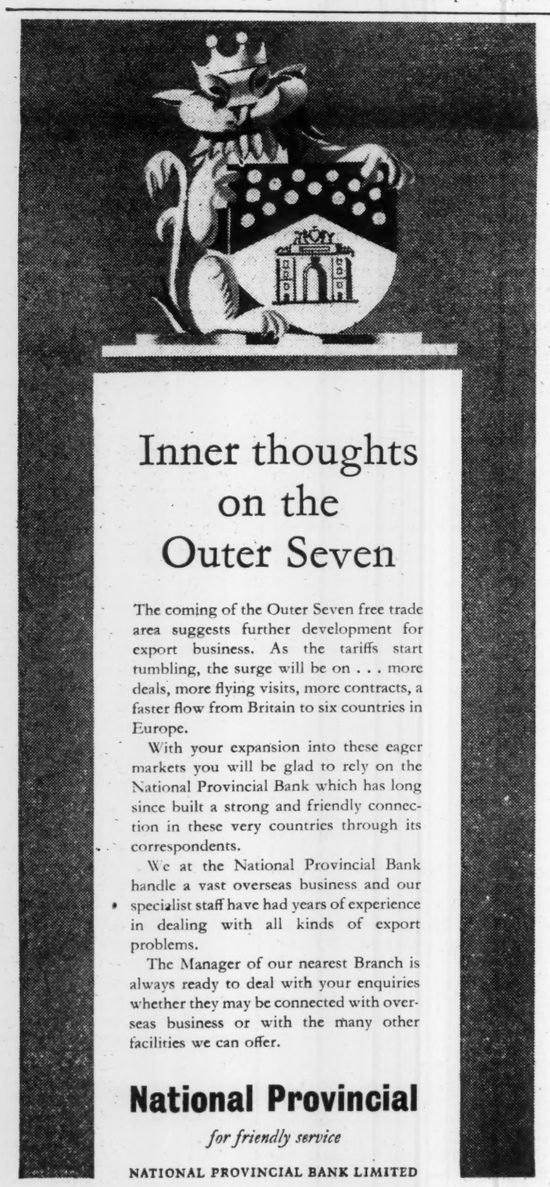

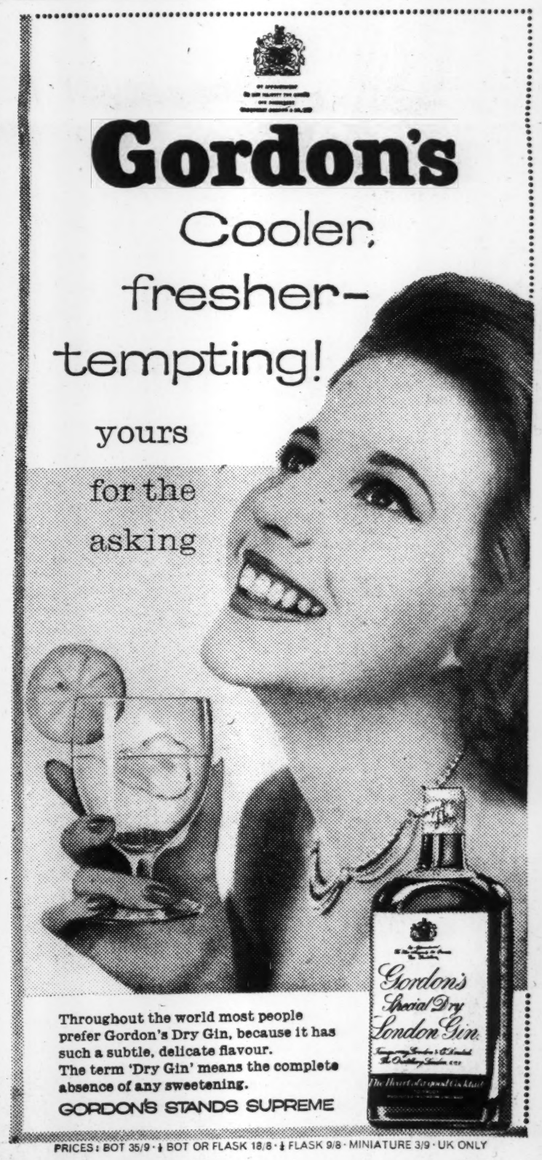

'MONTY' IN CHINA

A Deadly Hatred of the U.S.

continued from preceding page

Canton in time to catch the 9.45 a.m. train back to Hongkong. I was having breakfast in my room at 5 a.m., the sun had risen and men and women were on their way to work.

One man would run a hundred yards, then skip a few more, then halt and do bending and balancing exercises, then run on again. Shadow boxing was very popular with the younger men. Boys on their way to school did shadow boxing and bending, and some did sword exercises. At 5.30 a.m. the Ming-Bing of some large business appeared, formed up under an instructor and did collective physical training, and then marching practice.

As we drove through the streets to Shanghai Airport, the people were doing their training on the pavements while waiting for a bus. In one place, a man standing on a cart was giving instruction to all who cared to gather round—and many did. The result of all this physical training is that the nation is very fit, both men and women.

Winning Trust

THE basic philosophy of Mao Tse-tung is very simple—it is the people that matter, and therefore as a man rises in rank or responsibility he must maintain touch with the people.

In conversation with him I suggested that the all-important person was the leader; the people didn't always know what was best for them, and the leader then decides. Mao did not accept this altogether. While agreeing on the need for good leaders, he insisted that the will of the people was what counted; once the people trusted a man they would accept his leadership and his decisions—but not otherwise.

I intervened here and said this was in accordance with my own philosophy that battles are won primarily in the hearts of men, and that once you can gain the trust and confidence of those who are around you, and who work for you, then the greatest achievements become possible. When I said this, Mao looked at me and said again: "I see you are very enlightened!!"

In accord with this basic philosophy, Mao has ordered that everybody who is not actually a rural or urban worker must leave his office or job for one month in each year and go to work with the people. The Mayor of Canton worked for a month last year in a factory. One of Chou En-lai's private secretaries, a civil servant, had just returned from working in the fields for a month; another had worked on a building project employing 50,000 men.

Mao himself is seldom in Peking; he is constantly on the move visiting the factories and Communes, seeing what is going on and what is still needed, and working himself on occasions with the people. If Chou En-lai or others want to see him, *they must go to him*—and they find him with the people.

In the army, every officer from general to second-lieutenant has to serve for one month a year in the ranks—living with the soldiers in the barrack room, and training in the ranks as a private soldier.

The philosophy of the "Three Treasures" has resulted in a speed of work which is remarkable—indeed, it is almost unbelievable. This is achieved by the urge to work on the part of every individual in a gigantic labour force—to work for China.

I visited a large textile factory on the outskirts of Peking, employing 6,000 workers—of whom 70 per cent. were women.

In Peking: Lord Montgomery with Chou En-lai—a record seven hours of conversation.

The whole of the machinery was made in China. The factory was erected in six months. It produces 150 miles of cotton cloth a day.

A complete new town was being built outside Shanghai, complete with shops, houses, blocks of flats, etc. We drove slowly through it. The workers were just like ants, crawling all over every building. The town was begun four months ago; it will be completed in July. There must have been several hundred thousand workers engaged on the project.

In general, a building project is not assessed in terms of money—but in terms of the number of workers necessary to complete it in the shortest possible time.

A Commune

I ASKED particularly to be allowed to visit a rural Commune and was taken to one some twenty miles outside Shanghai. It was composed of 48,000 people in some 10,000 families. I talked at length with the chief of the Commune aged thirty, and with the assistant chief aged twenty-eight. These two young men were a very alert and intelligent couple, with a complete grasp of their work. Under them is a committee of thirty-three people, all elected annually—as are the chief and his assistant.

The area covered by the Commune was originally small farms, which grew what they liked and could never pay the farmers a living wage. So they merged themselves first into groups and then into co-operatives, and finally the Government has merged them into the present Commune. A Commune grows whatever is most needed in the nearest markets, thus obviating a long and uneconomical haul by road or train to distant markets. This particular Commune which I visited grew mainly vegetables, since that was what was needed by the eight million people in Shanghai.

The produce, less that kept back for food for the population of the Commune, is all sold in the markets or to government dealers. The turnover in cash last year in this Commune was eighteen million yen (or Chinese dollars); one yen is half-a-crown. The first charge on this sum was the wages of the workers; there were also requirements for repairs to old equipment and for the purchase of new equipment, and for the land tax for the Government. The Commune is assessed by experts and is expected to produce a stated amount; if it fails to do so, the situation is examined to determine the reason.

Everybody I saw in the Commune looked happy and well fed, particularly the children. One hears it said that children in the Communes are removed from their parents. I investigated this statement and found it to be totally untrue.

I said to the young chief of the Commune: "If you were Mao Tse-tung, what alterations or improvements would you make in the Commune 'idea' in general, and in your Commune in particular?"

He said he couldn't answer my question as he found it impossible to imagine he was Chairman Mao! This caused great amusement among the crowd in the room.

However, I insisted on an answer and he said the Commune "idea" was first-class, and the only possible way to go ahead quickly in the production of food for the ever-increasing population of China.

I found it impossible to disagree. For China today the Commune system seems to be necessary; indeed it is essential if the problems of a poor and backward nation are to be solved in any foreseeable future.

In Canton: inspecting an anti-aircraft gun section manned entirely by women.

In the Western world we have never been very clear about the exact relationship between China and Russia. I have myself sometimes thought that these two great nations might well come to blows one day; but I now reckon I was wrong. I was anxious to investigate this matter and discussed it with Chou En-lai. Here is the result of our conversation.

'Back to Back'

CHINA and Russia have the same ideology; they are both Communist States. China is dependent on Russia to a certain degree for capital equipment and technical know-how; but not so much as formerly and she is growing more independent every year. At present Russian experts come to China to teach the Chinese the use of new equipment; but when the Chinese have learnt, which they do very quickly, the Russian experts are sent home.

The two nations are tied in closely in defence matters. Khrushchev told me in Moscow in April, 1959, that China was a "hinterland" for Russia; the two nations were "back to back," each looking after the other's rear areas.

On one point Chou En-lai was very insistent—if any nation attacks Russia, China will declare war on that nation at once. If for any reason a third world war breaks out, China will fight on the side of Russia; I was left in no doubt on this point.

I asked Chou En-lai if China would, in due course, possess nuclear weapons. He said she would, so long as other nations had them. But if it were generally agreed to ban all nuclear weapons, then China would follow suit—and gladly.

It has been said that China was the evil influence behind the Russian attitude at the Summit conference in Paris last month. In my conversations in Peking and in Shanghai with Mao Tse-tung, I found no evidence to support the view that China had brought pressure to bear on Russia before or during the Paris conference. China desperately needs peace and it is not to her interests to be bellicose, or to persuade Russia to embark on any policy which could increase tension in the world and possibly lead to war.

Of course I may be wrong. But that is how I see it, and I have thought long and searchingly over my conversations for any indications which might lead to a contrary view. China has certain views about her neighbour on her eastern flank—Japan. I will discuss that problem in the next article.

Misconceptions

I SAID earlier that there are many misconceptions in the Western world about the new China, and that cannot be stated too clearly. China is commonly supposed to be a nation of unhappy and depressed people, down-trodden and exploited by ruthless leaders and starved into submission, with fear abroad throughout the land. This is not a true picture of China today; it was possibly very true of the old China.

Such ignorant comment about China does immense harm to the affairs of the Western world, just as does the ignorant comment on the affairs of Europe; too many people exploit falsehood as truth, and imaginaries as realities.

I visited three of the biggest cities in China—Shanghai, population eight million, Canton three million, Peking five million. I passed through the countryside by train and car; I visited a Commune of nearly 50,000 people; I visited two large factories. When returning to Hongkong by train from Canton, I asked to be allowed to travel by the slow train which stopped at every station so that I could see the people—rather than by the non-stop express. Everywhere I saw a happy, laughing people—cheerful, friendly, and seemingly contented with their lot.

Out of a population of 650 million, increasing at the rate of fifteen million a year, some will always be dissatisfied; Mao Tse-tung admitted this; but he added that 90 per cent. of the people are in favour of the new China, and this I firmly believe to be true. Such things as banditry, teddy-boys, pickpockets, housebreaking, prostitutes, indecency of any sort and particularly with children—all are forbidden, and have ceased. Even tipping is forbidden; if an individual takes a tip he must hand it over to the Republic; if he keeps it and is discovered, he is dealt with.

Of course there are bad things in China, as there are in every country including our own. But one must hand it to the Chinese—they have made a good start.

If you ask how these things were made possible, you get only one answer: "Chairman Mao says. . ." That is final. Whatever Mao says, all do—without argument, and without any qualification. Mao Tse-tung has created a unified and dedicated nation, with a sense of purpose. His word is law, absolute and final.

Great Asset

OF course the task which lies ahead is difficult and the way is long—fifty years at least. There are tremendous problems of reconstruction, of housing, of industry, of education, of agriculture, and in many other fields. But China has one great asset—a virile population who work hard, possibly the most industrious people in the world, all unified and imbued with a sense of purpose, all determined to work for the prosperity of China under their new leaders. The people, 650 million, have a definite ideology; they have strong and firm discipline; they have leaders they trust; they are prepared to accept the stern discipline of the regime, and so long as a man does accept it, and obeys the rules, he has nothing to fear.

I must frankly admit that, from what I have seen, I vastly prefer the new China to the old. The emotional forces bottled up in 650 million people have been uncorked, and given an outlet in a way which is positive and constructive. Great forces are on the move in China, and the Western world would be well advised to make friends with this new China.

During my talk with Mao Tse-tung I asked him one very important question. It was this:

In a given number of years, maybe fifty, China will be a great and powerful nation, with a population of over a thousand million and with tremendous economic strength. What will happen then? In fact, what will be the ultimate aim of the new China?

He listened very intently, and then said:

Ah! You obviously think China will then practise aggression outside her borders.

I said that I didn't want to think thus. But the teaching of history was that when a nation became great and powerful it began to acquire territory outside its own frontiers. Many instances of this could be given, and perhaps my own country might be included in the number.

His Influence

HIS reply was interesting. He said it was clearly impossible to be precise about what might happen in China, or indeed in the world, fifty years hence. He himself would have passed away, and all the present leaders of China also; new leaders would have arisen. So far as he himself was concerned he would use his influence during the remaining years of his life to insist that China kept within her legal frontiers, using negotiation in all cases where these frontiers were disputed, never practising aggression beyond those frontiers, and never attempting to push her Communist ideology down the throats of other nations.

He said this with great earnestness, speaking slowly and choosing his words carefully. He added that China had suffered so much herself from foreign aggression, and from exploitation, that the nation *as he knew it today* had no intention of inflicting such indignities on any other nation. China merely wanted to be left alone, to recover from the past aggression of other nations. But if attacked she would defend herself with all the means in her power, and was ready and prepared to do so.

What might happen fifty years hence was beyond his powers of guessing. In the intervening years he considered that friendship between China and the nations of the West was of the greatest importance; and he emphasised that he would value close ties with the British people more than anything else.

Mission Failed

I MUST make one further point. There is in China today a deadly hatred of the United States and of everything American. It was no surprise to me to learn of this hatred; I have known it for some years. But what did surprise me was its intensity.

It is sad, indeed tragic, that the great leader of the Western bloc should have incurred the hatred of the two greatest nations in the Eastern bloc—Russia and China—and particularly of China, the biggest nation in the world. I questioned Mao about this hatred.

It seems that it began when a mission under General Marshall was sent to China soon after the late war was ended and, according to the Chinese, began a policy of unwarranted interference in the affairs of another nation. The mission failed, and General Marshall returned to the U.S.A. Thereafter, the hatred increased when the United States backed Japan and Chiang Kai-shek, and refused to speak to China.

Finally, I want to say that I was received with the greatest kindness and courtesy by the leaders of the People's Republic of China, and was greeted in the most friendly way by the people in the streets and the workers in the fields or factories. A special aircraft, an IL 18 turboprop, was placed at my disposal, and everywhere the hospitality was quite overwhelming. This short visit was mainly for the purpose of talking with the Chinese leaders; apart from that, I was shown all that was possible in the time available.

Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai have invited me to visit China again, this time for a month, in order to travel more widely through the country. I have accepted the invitation and we have agreed that I will arrive in Peking in the middle of September next year, 1961—and stay until the middle of October.

The Problem

HAVING said all this, there is one point which must never be forgotten. The Chinese are Communists and we are Christian people; it is not possible to reconcile the two ideologies. In the Communist doctrine everything gives way to the State; and nothing is allowed to encroach on that way of thinking; in our way of life God comes first and the State second; our children are brought up, or should be, on the following six words: "My God, my country, my Queen."

Nevertheless, what we all most desire is a peaceful world in which our children and our children's children can grow up to be good citizens. Therefore a way must be found in which States with different ideologies and social systems can live side by side in peace, *and without interfering with each other's way of life*. It is for these reasons that I decided to visit China, to discover if I could, the Chinese view on some of the problems which separate the two blocs—East and West.

I do not believe it is possible to judge a man correctly if you have not met him; nor can a nation be judged if you have never visited its country and seen the people. In fact, judgment without contact can be most unreliable. Against this background, my visit to China has convinced me that the people of the Western world have many misconceptions about the new China.

The problem then is—is it possible for this new China to be absorbed into the framework of a peace-loving world without sacrificing any of our own principles or giving up all we have striven for over the weary years since the downfall of Hitler and his Fascism? This tremendous problem will be discussed in next week's article.

© Bernard Law, Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, 1960.

NEXT SUNDAY

Field-Marshal Montgomery discusses China's future place in the world and particularly her relations with the U.S.A., Japan and India, he reports Mao's description of China's population problems and he concludes by restating the need for the West to guard its priceless Christian heritage.

"Food for thought here," said the Chairman of De La Rue when he heard the story. "We're under-publicised. And you might add," he said pointedly, "that the boiler referred to was made by Potterton; similarly, the Stuff so movingly described is Formica, which must have its full title: Formica Decorative Laminated Plastic."

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Harry S. Truman

February 2, 1958

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"Harry S. Truman, 1884 - 1972"
December 26, 1972

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January 17, 1973

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CBS NEWS SPECIAL

"Harry S. Truman, 1884 - 1972"

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Tuesday, December 26, 1972

7:30 - 8:30 PM, EST

PRODUCED BY CBS NEWS

REPORTER: Walter Cronkite

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Burton Benjamin

THIS IS RECYCLED PAPER

WALTER CRONKITE: Harry S. Truman, 33rd President of the United States, is dead. He entered the White House ill-prepared, humble and afraid. "If you fellows ever pray," he told reporters, "please pray for me." Years later, he reminisced with CBS News Correspondent Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW [1957]: Well, Mr. President, in a period of three months, you became President; the war in Europe ended; Japan surrendered; the nuclear age began; the United Nations was created. No man in history ever rode such a tiger in such a short time. How did you manage it? How did you keep your equilibrium?

TRUMAN: All my life, whenever it comes time to make a decision, I make it and forget about it and go to work on something else. And when these things came before me as President of the United States, I made the decision on them and went into the next thing. You never have time to stop. You've got to keep going, because there's always a decision just ahead of you that you've got to make.

CRONKITE: This hour might be called Harry S. Truman on Harry S. Truman. Much of it is in Mr. Truman's own words, based on a conversation he had in 1957 with Edward R. Murrow. Some of the conversation was broadcast in 1958, some is being broadcast tonight for the first time, in this hour on the 33rd President of the United States.

ANNOUNCER: This is a CBS NEWS SPECIAL: "Harry S. Truman, 1884-1972".

CRONKITE: Harry Truman was born in this house in Lamar, Missouri. When he was six, the family moved to Independence, where Harry grew up; worked at odd jobs; became a history buff; married his childhood sweetheart, Bess Wallace; lived in this house; and entered politics, a candidate of the Pendergast machine.

When FDR, worn down by war, died in office, his hand-picked Vice President of little experience inherited the Presidency - and the world's problems.

Peace in devastated Europe. No President had so much to do in so short a time. In his first term alone, the decisions he made altered the world. He signed the United Nations charter: first proposed at Dumbarton Oaks, later amended at Yalta to include the veto, and finally hammered out at San Francisco.

With Secretary of State James Byrnes he sailed for Europe and his first meeting with the Allied war leaders at Potsdam, Germany. Behind him, the war's topmost secret was about to be revealed. In the New Mexico desert, the first atomic bomb was soon to be exploded. At this conference to plan the peace, fateful decisions - and, in retrospect, errors - were made. Truman felt he must keep the Yalta agreements; he believe Stalin would also. Here was laid the groundwork for the Iron Curtain, a divided Germany, a divided Korea. Here Truman learned that the Alamogordo test had been successful. From here the unconditional-surrender ultimatum was issued to Japan.

When Japan ignored it, Truman decided to use the atomic bomb. Truman announced it from the cruiser Augusta on his way home from Potsdam.

TRUMAN [1945]: A short time ago, an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima and destroyed its usefulness to the enemy. We are now prepared to destroy more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have in any city. We shall destroy their docks, their factories and their communications. Let there be no mistake: we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war.

CRONKITE: Three days later: a second bomb, and the war with Japan ended. Peace was signed aboard the battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay. For the first time in 14 years, there was no fighting in Asia. General Douglas MacArthur was chosen by Truman to head the Japanese Occupation.

Next, in the face of open opposition by the military, Truman unified the Army, Navy and Air Force into one Department of Defense.

When Britain had to withdraw its aid from the Government of civil-war-torn Greece, Truman acted promptly. He asked Congress for - and got - $14-million to help Greece fight its Communist-led rebels, thus setting a precedent for U.S. intervention around the world to halt Communist imperialism.

Called "the greatest innovation of the 20th century," the Marshall Plan gave temporary economic aid based on each country's individual needs. It was offered to all Europe, but only the Western countries accepted. Later, Truman introduced Point Four: technical aid to underdeveloped areas.

Truman promptly recognized the newly independent state of Israel - making as many enemies among Arab partisans as friends among supporters of a Jewish state.

A new Soviet threat: all roads to Berlin, deep in the Russian Zone, were blockaded. Truman immediately ordered an airlift to supply and provision the city. The blockade and airlift lasted 11 months.

At home: political troubles. The Democratic party thought Truman could not win. But there was no other candidate.

HOUSE SPEAKER SAM RAYBURN [1948]: Harry S. Truman having received the majority of all the votes cast, I therefore declare him the Democratic nominee for President of the United States.

CRONKITE: "Give 'em hell, Harry," shouted from the crowd, set the campaign's tone.

TRUMAN: I accept the nomination. Senator Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it, don't you forget that. If you give the Republicans complete control of this government, you might just as well turn it over to the special interests and we'll start on a boom-and-bust cycle and try to go through just what we did

in the twenties and end up with a crash, which in the long run will do nobody any good but the Communists.

CRONKITE: Truman - almost alone - had no doubts. In a whistle-stop campaign, he confounded pollsters, politicians, commentators and newspapers - especially one. Mr. Truman had his moment of triumph.

TRUMAN: And along about 12:00 o'clock I happened to wake up for some reason, and the radio was turned on on the National Broadcasting Company and Mr. Kaltenborn [laughter] and Mr. Harkness were reporting the situation as it then developed. And Mr. Kaltenborn was saying, "Well, the President is a million votes ahead in the popular vote. We have yet to hear from . . ." [Laughter]

CRONKITE: In his second term, Truman signed the North Atlantic Treaty. Like Hamlet, his troubles came in battalions: Communist North Koreans invaded South Korea. Truman sent U.S. troops to the rescue as a "police action" to defend "the principles of the United Nations." Despite the beginnings of friction with General MacArthur over purpose in Korea, he flew to Wake Island that fall to discuss policy and award the General a medal for the Inchon landing maneuver which had turned the tide in Korea. But friction worsened. The question of ultimate authority was raised. Truman relieved MacArthur of duty.

For Truman, two terms were enough. By then he had made enemies among industrialists, taxpayers, Congressmen, the press, the military and the mothers of soldiers. He campaigned vigorously for Adlai Stevenson but was not surprised when Eisenhower won. He played his part in inauguration and then, with his wife and daughter Margaret, went home happily to Independence.

TRUMAN [1953]: I can't adequately express to you my appreciation for what you are doing. This is the first time I ever had the experience of being sent home in a blaze of glory.

CRONKITE: Mr. Truman was interviewed by Edward R. Murrow for the CBS News series "See It Now". It was photographed at Amorada [sic - should be Islamorada] Florida in 1957, broadcast in 1958.

MURROW: Mr. Truman, would you think that the phrase "Give 'em hell, Harry" helped you considerably in 1948?

TRUMAN: I don't know whether it did or not. I don't know who originated that, but I always told them when they would say that to me in a crowd that I never did give anybody hell. I just told the truth on them and they thought it was hell.

MURROW: Mr. President, you have talked frequently about the necessity for professionals in public life and in politics. What are the essential qualifications of a successful politician?

TRUMAN: It's just as necessary for a man who understands politics to be in a position of operating the government, which is founded on

politics. A free government is a government by politicians, and a politician is a public relations man who knows how to get along with people. I think the most honorable title that can be given to a man is to say that he is a politician, and I've always said that the great statesmen you read about were all politicians or they would never have been statesmen. They become statesmen after they're in their graves.

MURROW: Let's go back to your early childhood. What was the first job you had?

TRUMAN: I imagine I must have been about twelve or thirteen. I got a job washing windows and mopping floors and wiping off bottles for a drug store at home. An old fellow by the name of Jim Clinton ran the drug store and I used to go up and open up the store and mop the floor and straighten everything out, and we had a great many people in our home town who would not go into a saloon. There were a dozen saloons around the Square at Independence, and they'd come in for their early morning eye-opener behind the counter and would put a dime on the prescription case and pour their own, and then go on out. And, of course, I wasn't supposed to have anything to do with that, but I saw it, and I found out that there were a great many of our leading citizens who were great uplifters publicly, but they liked to do just like the old men who went in the saloons openly. And I got quite a kick out of that at twelve or thirteen years old. And I'll never forget the first three silver dollars I got in payment for that first week's work. That's the most important money I ever earned.

MURROW: Where did your military service begin?

TRUMAN: I had joined the National Guard in the organization of Battery B on June the 14th, 1905. I was a charter member of the Battery and a private, and they gave me a nice, beautiful blue uniform with a red cord around the shoulders and red stripes down the breeches legs, and I took it out and showed it to my old grandmother whose house had been burned by the Federals in the Civil War, and she looked at it, and said, "Well, Harry, that's a very beautiful uniform, but that's the first time a blue uniform's been in this house since the Civil War. Don't bring it back here." And I didn't.

MURROW: Well, speaking of uniforms, I am told that at one point just before we got into World War II, you went to see General Marshall and asked to go back in the Service. Is that right?

TRUMAN: Yes, that's correct. I was a Senator at that time and had been a Colonel of Field Artillery since 1927. This was in 1940 or '41, and I went down to see the General and told him that I'd spent my time since I'd been in the Reserve Corps training these young men in field artillery and teaching them how to shoot, and that I'd like very much to go back into the Service in command of an artillery group, and I felt like I owed it to the country. The

General pulled his spectacles down on his nose like that, and he said, "Mr. Pres-- Senator, how old are you?" And I said, "I'm 56." He says, "Senator, you're too damned old. You go on back and stay in the Senate." I says, "I'm four years younger than you are." He said, "Yes, but I'm already in." So, I went back and stayed in the Senate.

MURROW: What did you do immediately after your discharge in 1919?

TRUMAN: I went back to the farm and stayed there for most of the next three or four years except that Eddie Jacobson and I decided to open a-- a men's furnishing store on West 12th Street, and did. And I furnished the money and Eddie furnished the brains, and we had a wonderful business the first year and a half, and then Mr. Mellon began his wringing out process by making high money just as we're going through now, and I went busted as one of the little businessmen. I never forgot it.

While that process was going on, I was elected judge of the county court for the Eastern District of Jackson County with four other fine men in the county in the race in the primary. One of them was already a county judge. One of them was a leading banker. One of them was a leading contractor, and I was a busted merchant. But I made a campaign on the basis of seeing as many people as possible in the county, and I defeated all four of them and became the county judge for the Eastern District. Then I got into a political fight and was defeated in 1924 by a nice old man who was a harness maker in Independence and had made a set of harness for my brother and myself when we were kids for a pair of little red goats we drove to a wagon. And then in 1926, I was elected Presiding Judge of the County Court of Jackson County by 16,000 votes; and then four years afterwards I was elected by 55,000, and when I ran for Senate, I carried the county by a hundred and thirty-two thousand, so they didn't feel badly about the manner in which I'd carried out of the business of the county.

MURROW: Mr. President, I must be a bad reporter because I have neglected to ask you when you learned to play the piano.

TRUMAN: Well, when I was about, oh, I guess I must have been eight or nine years old, we succeeded in raising enough money to buy a piano and then I began to take a few piano-- piano lessons from Mrs. E. C. White, who was a pupil of Leschetizky. I got a viewpoint on good music which was a wonderful asset to me as-- in an educational way, but when I was about fifteen or sixteen years old, I decided that it was a sissy thing to be a piano player, and I quit.

MURROW: How was it that the "Missouri Waltz" became rather your unofficial theme song, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: I hate to go into the details on that, but the "Missouri Waltz" was composed by a man from Iowa in 1914, and is called "Hushaby My Baby". It's a ragtime song, and if you let me say what I think, I don't give a damn about it, but I can't say it out loud because it's the song of Missouri. It's as bad as the "Star Spangled Banner" so far as music is concerned.

MURROW: Well, sir, I assume it would be true to say that you achieved national prominence through the Truman Committee. What would you say its major accomplishments were?

TRUMAN: Well, that committee was organized for the purpose of helping the United States Government to win the war - to be an asset to the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, and to General Marshall, who was the organizer of the Armed Forces of the United States, and it was handled in just that way.

We made investigations of construction programs, and when things were in a tangled condition and action could not be had on the construction of, we'll say, training planes and engines for training planes and for fighter planes and for tanks, we'd look into the matter without the idea of headlines or publicity, and try to correct the situation.

MURROW: Do you have the feeling, Mr. President, that occasionally the Congressional power of investigation is abused or stretched too far?

TRUMAN: Yes, I've-- I've always thought that there are times when the investigative power of the Congress of the United States, both in the House and the Senate, has been abused. It's a power that's absolutely essential, however, to get intelligent legislation, and the objective of the investigation is for the purpose of legislation. Legislation came about as a result of our own investigations in this special committee, legislation that was of great benefit to the country.

MURROW: Isn't it true that the first time you heard of the atom bomb was when Secretary of War Stimson asked you to call off an investigation of Oak Ridge?

TRUMAN: I had started an investigation at Oak Ridge and at Pasco, Washington, and the Secretary of War called me up and said that he wanted to talk to me about that, and I told him I'd come down and see him. He said, "No, I'm coming down and see you," and he came down and sat down in my office and said, "I want to say to you, Senator, that this is one of the most important things that's ever been done in the history of the world. We can't afford to have a public investigation of it, and I'd appreciate it very much if you would call off your dogs and not have the investigation." I said, "Mr. Secretary, if you tell me that, I know it's true, and I'll call them off." And I did.

MURROW: You were prepared to nominate Jimmy Byrnes for Vice President, weren't you?

TRUMAN: Yes. Jimmy called me from Washington and said the President had decided that he'd like to have him for Vice President, and asked me if I would nominate him, and I told him that if the President wanted him I'd do the best I could. I didn't know I'd be any asset to him as a-- as a nominator, but then if that's what he wanted, I'd try to do it. And I found out afterwards that there had been a meeting in the White House a week before that in which it had been decided that the Senator from Missouri was the favorite of the President, but I didn't know about that and never found it out. And a short time after Byrnes had called me, just before I left for Chicago, Senator Barkley called me and asked me if I'd nominate him, and I told him I couldn't nominate two of them, that I'd told Byrnes I'd nominate him.

MURROW: Had you prepared a speech in nomination of Mr. Byrnes?

TRUMAN: Yes, I had a good speech ready. I think it would have nominated him.

MURROW: You never heard directly from Mr. Roosevelt, himself, that you were his choice?

TRUMAN: Not until Thursday afternoon when the Vice President was to be nominated the next day. They had a meeting of all the Democratic party leaders in the Blackstone Hotel, and asked me to come over, and Bob Hannegan had placed a call for the President, and the President's question - as soon as it was connected - the phone was between twin beds, and you know the President really didn't need a phone; all he needed to do was to raise the window. I could hear every word he said. He said, "Bob, have you got that fellow lined up yet?" Bob said, "No, Mr. President, he's the contrariest man I ever had anything to do with." "You-- Bob, you tell him that if he wants to take a chance on losing the election and perhaps losing this war, that's his responsibility," and he hung up. Well, I was sunk. I didn't know what to do hardly. I walked around the room, and finally told him I'd do it, and I'd told all my friends that under no circumstances would I be a candidate, but when the President made a statement like that, I had to do something about it, and I couldn't find anybody to nominate me. I finally found my colleague, Bennett Clark, who was the Senior Senator from Missouri, and he agreed to nominate me.

MURROW: Would-- Would it be fair to say that some of your subsequent disagreements with Mr. Byrnes may have stemmed from the fact that he had the feeling that he might, or rather that he should, have been the Vice Presidential Nominee?

TRUMAN: Well, I don't know. There might be something in that, but-- I never really thought that was the case. I think that Jimmy had a superiority complex in reference to the Junior Senator from Missouri, and that he felt maybe I was not capable and did not know exactly what ought to be done, and that it was his duty to take it over and do it like it ought to be done. But when a fellow becomes President, he really knows where he's going, and I had to tell Mr. Byrnes that I was the President and he'd have to act as Secretary of State at my direction. And I think that's the principle thing that caused the disagreement.

MURROW: You have been quoted as saying that you never liked yes-men around you.

TRUMAN: I don't. I don't want men around me that won't tell me the truth, and as they see it, because you can't operate if you have a bunch of men who put you up on a pedestal and say everything you do is right, because that can't be possible.

MURROW: Exactly-- Exactly what did you feel when you were told that you were President?

TRUMAN: Well, I was shocked, of course, because I had hoped to serve out my term as Vice President and go back to the Senate. I had the most pleasant time in my political life in the Senate of the United States. And of course I was shocked when I found out that I had become President of the United States in the midst of the war which was not over yet - the war with Germany and with Japan was still going on - and it was overwhelming almost for-- to step right in and take charge of a situation with which I was not completely and entirely familiar, although I tried the best I could to inform myself on the subject, and my special committee gave me a lot of information behind the lines that I otherwise wouldn't have had. But I was not familiar with foreign affairs because I was not on the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

MURROW: Mr. President, when World War II ended, we then proceeded to dismantle the greatest military machine that had ever been constructed. I know that you were concerned about it. General Marshall was concerned about it. Was there anything that you could have done that you didn't do to prevent it?

TRUMAN: Nothing whatever, for the simple reason that every mama and every papa and every kid's grandmother in the country wanted him home at once, and every kid wanted to go home at once, and we did the best we could. We tried to have a discharge program on a merit basis. That is by points, and the thing began to break down, and we just had to face it and let it happen, but it was a disastrous thing to do.

MURROW: You moved immediately to recognize Israel after it was created, didn't you?

TRUMAN: That's correct.

MURROW: Do you have any regrets about that?

TRUMAN: Not the slightest. I just carried out the agreements that had already been made on the subject, and I've never been sorry for it because I think it's necessary that there be a State of Israel. Israel can be made into an industrial state which will supply the industry for all these food-producing countries, and there can't be anything then but peace. And when you get modern machinery and know-how to work those pieces of land that are still as rich as they ever were, with their tremendous oil reserves, there isn't any reason in the world why that shouldn't be a center of the civilization of the world again as it was in the beginning.

MURROW: Of course, one precondition of that would be that the Arabs would have to recognize that Israel is there to stay.

TRUMAN: Of course, and it's going to stay there no matter what they think or what they do, because the Israelites will take care of themselves as they always did in historic times. But the thing is that they ought to be peaceable, loving neighbors. They're first cousins anyhow, and there's no use in shooting each other over that.

MURROW: At what point in that '48 campaign did you feel that you had it won?

TRUMAN: Well, I thought I could win that campaign after the acceptance speeches of Senator Barkley and myself in Philadelphia at that convention - the night the convention adjourned. The reception which we received at that convention showed me that the people could be convinced, and I left that convention fully of the opinion that if I could see enough people I'd win that election. And that's what happened. And I wasn't being egotistical about it, because I had been through half a dozen campaigns before that on the same basis, where I didn't have a Chinaman's chance to win the election.

MURROW: You also said, I think in 1948, that you didn't have a very high opinion of pollsters.

TRUMAN: I still don't.

MURROW: You still don't? Why not?

TRUMAN: Well, I'll tell you why. I can take you down the street here and we'll promiscously stop a half a dozen people and ask them a question and without thinking they'll answer you. They'll go home and think about that, probably, and in all probability they'll change their minds, so that, when a man goes into the polls on Election Day - or a woman, particularly - you never know what she's going to do, and I don't think any pollster can find out. I think the best poll there is is the count after election.

MURROW: Do you have the feeling that newspapers influence votes very much?

TRUMAN: Not now. I think in the past they did.

MURROW: Do you feel that during your political career there has been very much distortion in the reporting of political news?

TRUMAN: I don't think there's been an intentional distortion, but the-- a fellow can't help but express his opinion when he's discussing things political, and of course, the vast majority of the sources of the news were slanted in the other direction, and editorially I didn't expect anything else. But the men who report the news - the working press, I call them - make an honest effort to report the thing as it happens. I think if there's any distortion, and there is a great deal, the distortion happens with the blue pencil and the news editors in the office. I don't know enough about the radio and television business to make a comment on that. I'm talking about newspapers now. I never had any complaint because it didn't make any difference what they said about me-- if I could keep the people from believing it, it didn't make any difference.

MURROW: Well, Mr. President, what is your feeling about so-called Madison Avenue influence, the tendency to have campaigns taken over by advertising agencies?

TRUMAN: Well, it's just like selling soap, and it's not right. It doesn't work. You can't sell human beings. Slavery's gone out of fashion. People usually understand what those people are talking about,and they don't fool anybody but themselves. All my experiences as candidate for office, I never did have money enough to run. In the campaign of 1948, the train got stopped in the station on several occasions because we didn't have the money to pay the fare. When I campaigned for the Senate, both times, we never did have money enough to meet the necessary expenses. We had no chance at all in those campaigns to talk over the radio or anything of the kind, and we won just the same. I'm not so sure that people have the respect for the big money that everybody thinks they have, because they like to vote for a poor man sometimes.

MURROW: In the 1948 campaign you were apparently quite prepared to risk your future political career on the matter of Civil Rights.

TRUMAN: That's correct, and I did.

MURROW: Do you think it helped you?

TRUMAN: I don't know whether it helped win the election or not, but it was right and we won the election. You'll have to draw your own conclusions on that.

MURROW: Mr. President, in your opinion, how long will it take to implement the Supreme Court's decision on segregation?

TRUMAN: I think it will take some time. It's a matter to some extent of education and understanding our position in the world. I think there are just as many wise men south of the Mason and Dixon line as there are north of it in proportion to the population, and eventually those wise men will prevail. We can't have one face at home and another one abroad.

MURROW: What did you fail to do as President that you would like to have done most, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: Well, there are a great many things that I would have very much liked to have accomplished while I was President of the United States. I think the two most important that I was not able to accomplish were a health program and an educational program for the people of the United States. The ordinary man with a family and a middle bracket income is not able to have the hospitalization and the medical care that the fellow who has a great income can afford. And on the educational proposition, it's my opinion that equal education means, in the end, equal opportunity for everybody no matter what his race, color or creed may be. And if he has the educational background to understand the history of the human race, and what happens when certain things are not done, he'll be more likely to join in with an effort to create a situation where we'll have equality of opportunity for every citizen in this great republic of ours. And we must do that for the simple reason that we can't be the leaders of the free world and draw a color line on opportunity; and that was the two things that I did not get finished.

MURROW: Which act of yours do you think will be regarded by historians as the most important in your Administration?

TRUMAN: Well, the-- the action that was taken with the Berlin Airlift, and the Greece and Turkish thing, and the Korean affair. I think you'll find that that established beyond a doubt that the President has the power to meet an emergency when it comes up, and he should take the bull by the horns and meet it when it's necessary.

MURROW: But in terms strictly of the Constitution, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: That's Constitutional. That's in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief, as set out in the Constitution of the United States.

MURROW: I was rather expecting that you might have suggested it would have been the dismissal of General MacArthur in terms of re-establishing or rather establishing again the control of the civilian over the military.

TRUMAN: That was only following a precedent. If you remember, James K. Polk had the same sort of trouble with some of his generals in the Mexican War; and Abraham Lincoln had to fire General after General. McClellen, particularly, stands out as an example in comparison with the MacArthur thing. And the Constitution provides that the President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, and he-- when he acts as Commander-in-Chief, he's got the right to hire and fire Generals any place he pleases, and there was nothing new about that at all. That was only the establishment of a precedent. When the Commanding General of the Far East was insubordinate, he got relieved the same as any other General would under the same circumstances.

MURROW: How did you decide to remove General MacArthur, and whom did you consult, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: Well, General MacArthur had been becoming rather insubordinate as the Pro Consul in Asia, which he considered himself, and when he disobeyed orders directly, it became necessary to find out the best thing to do about it. MacArthur had been making statements on policy in the government, which he had no right to do. The policy is made at headquarters in Washington by the President and his Cabinet. That is, the foreign policy of the United States is made entirely by the President with the assistance of the Secretary of State. General MacArthur sent an article to Dave Lawrence's magazine, and didn't send a copy to the White House or to the President. I happened to find it in the press room of the White House, and I suppressed it because it was not in line with the policy of the United States Government. And I sent him word that he couldn't do a thing of that kind, and then he was willing to have the matter withdrawn. And a short time after that, he did the same thing over again, completely contrary to orders, and he had acted that way in several instances not only with me but with President Roosevelt. And I stood it as long as I could, and I made up my mind the best thing to do with him was to give him the McClellan treatment - that was, to retire him. General Marshall said he hoped I'd postpone the situation until he had had a chance to read the-- the messages over the last two years, and he also

made the statement that he had matters pending before the Congress which might be affected by it. General Bradley said he ought to be fired. He's a good military man. Averell Harriman, the Ambassador, said if he were in my place, he'd have fired him long ago. I had my mind already made up, but I didn't tell them. And then I told them to come back in two days, or the next morning, I forget which it was. And they came back, and General Marshall had read all the messages by that time, and he made the statement to me. He said, "Mr. President, you ought to have fired him two years ago, or at least six months ago," he said. And I then discussed the matter with the other people. Dean Acheson still thought it was poor politics and bad business to fire him. And then I issued the order, had General Marshall write the order out, himself, in longhand, which was to be forwarded to Frank Pace, who was Secretary for the Army, and who was then in Korea. We couldn't reach Frank Pace at all, and General Bradley came over to see me early Monday morning. This all happened on Friday - Thursday, Friday and Saturday. General-- General Bradley came to see me and said that some Tribune reporter had obtained a leak in the Pentagon and he thought the whole thing would be released. "Well," I said, "send a direct message to the General and tell him he's relieved. But inform him also that if we'd have been able to get hold of Frank Pace, we'd have had it delivered in person." And that's how the whole thing came about. I never had anything personal against the General. He's a great military man, and it's a terrible thing when you have to do that to a man who's been in the military service for 51 years, but he brought it on himself, and it had to be done.

MURROW: Some of your critics claim that some of your controversial decisions were prompted by petulance.

TRUMAN: Oh, I never acted when I was out of sorts, because a man does some things that he ordinarily wouldn't do. I think about the only time that I ever acted when I was really out of sorts was when I told a music critic where to get off when he said some mean things about my daughter. If I had thought about it a while, I probably wouldn't have done it.

MURROW: Much of the criticism, perhaps the major criticism, of you has been aimed at your continuing loyalty to friends even when they were in trouble. And particularly, I remember your attending Mr. Pendergast's funeral.

TRUMAN: I imagine that was the truth, but I've always felt that a man's career is based on his friendships and his loyalty to those friends. I always believed in loyalty to friends unless they did something radically wrong, which required prosecution or something like that. I never fronted for any of them when they got into trouble with the law, but I always felt that when a fellow was in trouble was the time that he needed his friends most, and then's when they should stick with him.

MURROW: In 1952, the Republican slogan was "Korea, Corruption and Communism." What about communism in the government?

TRUMAN: I don't think there was ever enough communism in the government to create that comment for the simple reason that there are-- there is complete loyalty with the vast majority of the more than two million employees of the United States government. And in all their hunting around, and in all the charges that were made, there was never a single one of the demagogue, -gogic charges proved, that they never found a single Communist in the place where the demagogue said it was. That demagogue's McCarthy, if you want to know who I'm referring to.

MURROW: Speaking of demagogues, what's the best way to deal with them?

TRUMAN: With ridicule. Ridicule is the best thing in the world for a demagogue because he is a monumental egotist or he wouldn't be one, and when you can stick pins in him and let the wind out and get people to laughing at him, he's through.

MURROW: Do you believe the government has any right to inquire into the political affiliations of government employees who are in non-sensitive jobs?

TRUMAN: I think the government employees ought to have exactly the same liberties that the first ten amendments of the Constitution guarantee, and I have said time and again that I thought the Un-American Activities Committee in the House of Representatives is about the most un-American thing in America.

MURROW: Did you refer to Alger Hiss case as a red herring?

TRUMAN: No. The situation was such that I was trying to arrange some very important matters with the Congress, and in order to prevent the consideration of those things, these charges were made that the government was lined with Communists. And somebody asked me if that wasn't a red herring to keep from putting my program over, and that's where the conversation came from. I didn't initiate the thing at all. Some questioner in the audience- and he was only there once - asked that question, but he asked a question that fitted the bill exactly, in my opinion.

MURROW: I wonder if you would like to give your impressions of some of the people you've had to deal with.

TRUMAN: Fire away.

MURROW: First, Churchill.

TRUMAN: Churchill was one of the most agreeable men I ever met. He's a hard bargainer. He likes to argue about everything, but when it comes right down to brass tacks, he's always on the right side. It would take a little more time to do business with him than it did with the others, but when he got through you knew very well that the British would keep their agreements, which they always do.

MURROW: What-- What about General DeGaulle?

TRUMAN: General DeGaulle was hard-- a hard person to talk to. He had a very hard time making up his mind, and I never was right sure that he'd intended to keep the agreement after he made it up, because I had to force him to get out of Italy with the French troops, if you remember.

MURROW: What about Molotov?

TRUMAN: The Russians are a peculiar people with whom to negotiate unless you're personally faced with them, unless they're sitting in front of you. You never could tell what Molotov wanted or what he believed. He is one of the pigheadedest men that ever I've come in contact with, and whenever I wanted him to perform, I called Stalin up and told him what I'd like to have done, and then Molotov would do it. Otherwise, he wouldn't act at all. Stalin, at Potsdam, that's the only place I ever saw him, made a very agreeable impression upon me. He was easy enough to get along with, and he was-- it was easy enough to make an agreement with him. Of course, I didn't know at that time he had no intention of keeping them.

MURROW: Mr. President, I remember that you told Stalin at Potsdam that we had the atomic bomb.

TRUMAN: Yes.

MURROW: Did he seem to be impressed at that time?

TRUMAN: No. I don't think he quite understood what I was talking about. I told him that we had discovered a tremendously powerful explosive which had come to a final conclusion by an explosion in New Mexico, and that we proposed to use it to end the war with Japan, and he smiled and said he was very happy to hear it. And then the conversation ended, and I went my way and he went his. This was after the-- one of the conferences at Potsdam.

MURROW: Well, when the bomb was dropped, the war was near to ending anyway. Was this the result of a miscalculation of the Japanese potential? Was our intelligence faulty in this area?

TRUMAN: It was done on the theory that the-- our troops were expecting to invade Japan in a very short time through the Tokyo plain, and on the southwest side of Japan also, and it was estimated that if would take about a million-and-a-half men to make that invasion - and in all probability there'd be a half a million of them casualties and 250,000 of them killed. And when we had this powerful new weapon, I had no qualms about using it, because a weapon of war is a destructive weapon. That's the reason none of us want war and all of us are against war. But when you have the weapon that will win the war, you'd be foolish if you didn't use it.

MURROW: What about the decision to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb?

TRUMAN: If it were possible to make a more powerful explosion than the one of the first atomic bomb, it seemed to me that with all the background and material, and all the money that had been spent, it was our duty to go ahead and carry the thing to its logical conclusion. And that was the reason it was done.

MURROW: There has never been in history a new weapon no matter how terrible that was not used.

TRUMAN: That's correct. I hope it will never have to be used because I hope we'll keep the peace in the world and it won't be necessary. If the world ever gets into a turmoil, however, it will be used. You can be sure of that.

MURROW: What was the most difficult decision you had to make as President?

TRUMAN: The most difficult decision I had to make while I was in office was Korea.

MURROW: Any regrets?

TRUMAN: Not the slightest. Not the slightest in the world. The reason that I was able to make the Korean decision, I remember Munich and the League of Nations, and we had just established the United Nations. The United States passed a resolution which had recognized the Republic of Korea, and had-- it had been established, and when the Republic of Korea was about to be overcome by aggressions started by the Communists, backed by Russia, and-- and what later became Communist China, it seemed to me that the proper thing was to establish the United Nations as a going concern, and that's what I tried to do. And that-- but that was the most difficult decision I had to make during my whole Administration of eight years.

MURROW: Were you surprised when Red China entered the Korean War?

TRUMAN: Yes, I was. Yes, I was, because I had been assured in October by the Commanding General of the Far East of the United States Forces that they would not do it.

MURROW: What about the decision not to bomb north of the Yalu, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: That was one of the decisions that was made in-- in the hope that that would prevent the bringing on of a Third World War.

MURROW: Is it true that you offered General Eisenhower the Presidency at Potsdam?

TRUMAN: No, no I didn't offer him the Presidency. I told him that a great many people who had been in his position had been willing to run for the Presidency, but it was my opinion that a man at the top with a military reputation could only have that reputation smeared if he went into politics, because being the Commanding General of the Armed Forces of a nation is entirely different from being the head of the State in a political job.

MURROW: So it would be fair to characterize it as being almost an offer, and a warning simultaneously. Was that it?

TRUMAN: It could be taken as that. I gave him wise counsel, and he wrote me the best letter on why a military man shouldn't be President of the United States that's ever been stated, and it's still in existence.

MURROW: And--

TRUMAN: He didn't write the letter to me. He wrote it to a newspaperman in New Hampshire. But he gave me a copy of it, and I've still got it, and I never used it on him at all.

MURROW: Is it your feeling as an historian that military men enter the White House under a basic handicap?

TRUMAN: Yes. They've been educated along one line, and a man to be President of the United States has to understand the whole picture. And the only way he can get the whole picture is by varied experience, and he doesn't get that in the military. You can take the historical members of the profession who've been Presidents of the United States. There was Zachary Taylor and General Grant and the present occupant of the White House are good men. They're honorable men. They want to do the right thing, but they've been educated in a manner that's like a horse with blinders on: he only sees one direction right down the road.

MURROW: Why don't more people of real ability enter politics?

TRUMAN: Thin-skinned. They're afraid somebody'll throw a brick at them and they won't be able to catch it and it'll hit them.

MURROW: Do you think that's the primary reason?

TRUMAN: That's the primary reason. They don't like to be in a rough and tumble verbal fight. They are afraid that something will come out that may cause them injury or hurt their business or something of the kind. But there are an immense number of people who are not afraid and who do take a hand in politics and who are willing to take it on the chin when the going gets rough.

MURROW: What about toughness under criticism?

TRUMAN: Oh, well, if he's got a thin skin, he's got no business being in the Presidency. He must understand his own ideas of what's right and wrong, act on those ideas, and if the newspapers and the means of communication don't like what he does, let them say what they want to say, and then if he's in the same disposition I am, he'll get up and tell them where they're wrong, and never let them browbeat him. You never want to let an outfit of any kind - any kind of special provilege outfit or any kind of an outfit whether special privilege or not, tell you what you ought to do. You've got to make the decisions and always hope that they're right.

MURROW: And this is as true in the field of foreign policy as anywhere else?

TRUMAN: The President makes the foreign policy. He has more power in the foreign policy than in any other part of the government because nobody can direct and make the foreign policy but the President himself. He has the Secretary of State and a wonderful coterie of experts in that line. He has the Central Intelligence Agency. He has the National Defense Department and the Commerce Department, all of whom have foreign relations outside the country. But their-- those things must be coordinated, and the President has to make the final decision on what will be done no matter what it is, or how small it may be.

MURROW: It is true, isn't it, Mr. President, that historically greater progress has been made when we have had what is called a strong President in the White House, a man who is prepared to do battle with the Congress?

TRUMAN: That's correct, that's correct. A President who doesn't have a fight or two with Congress is not considered a very strong man. It's necessary, and it's all right. There's nothing wrong with it. It's not a personal matter. It's a matter of-- of the Congress always trying to infringe the Presidential rights, and a good strong President-- the Congress will accuse him of trying

to infringe the Congressional rights, and in each case there's always some good accomplished, because the final result will be in the interests of the people, and the fact that we have those division-- that division of powers makes it much more safe for the people than it would otherwise. The only efficient government is a dictator's government, and a free government can't be as efficient as one where one decision meets the whole situation, and it's not good. I think our government is the best one that's ever been organized in the history of the world, and I know something about the governments of the world.

MURROW: What essentially is the relationship or should be the relationship between the President and the people?

TRUMAN: I've made the statement many a time that there are about fifteen million people in the country that can afford to have a representative in Washington to look after their interests in addition to the Congressmen and Senators that they have there, and they're called lobbyists. There's nothing wrong with them. They have a perfect right to do that, but there are a hundred and fifty million people that can't afford that. They have but one man in the government to look after their interests, and that's the President of the United States. He is the lobbyist for a hundred and fifty million people, and when he ceases to be that, those people are in a pretty bad way so far as the government of the United States is concerned.

MURROW: Mr. President, in your view what are the qualifications for a successful President?

TRUMAN: Well, the first and most important requisite is that he must be a fundamentally honest man - intellectually and every other way, and an intellectually honest man will usually succeed in any-- any line of business he takes up. If he understands people and has a policy - he has to have a policy, and he has to have a policy that's based on high principles for the welfare and benefit of the whole country - and now for the welfare and benefit of the whole world, since we're the leaders of the free world. It's quite a-- a number of assets that he has to have, and I don't mean to imply that I had all those assets, but I wished I had had them. I think I did have intellectual honesty, otherwise, I don't know about it. We'll have to wait and see what history says about the rest of them.

CRONKITE: History's view of Harry Truman would be incomplete without recalling him as the Man from Independence. Like this small Missouri city where he grew up, he seemed to symbolize an older, simpler America - confident, solid and secure. Independence welcomed him home to this Victorian house on North Delaware Street in 1953. And Independence helped him build the Truman Library, a massive tribute to his Presidential years. It seemed fitting that

on the most American of holidays - the Fourth of July - Harry Truman and Independence celebrated there together.

TRUMAN: I didn't make a regular prepared speech for this occasion....

CRONKITE: Here he was - 82 years old - in 1966.

TRUMAN: Celebrating the Fourth of July is not a new thing to Independence. We've been doing it for a long time. I'm going to read you a paragraph or two from every speech I made. Now, if you don't like it, you can just close your ears up.

CRONKITE: Mixed with the familiar Trumanese, there was a hint of sadness when he spoke about leaving the White House.

TRUMAN: When I got out of that place, I didn't have any place to go or anything to do, so I told two or three of my good friends I wanted to stay right here in this part of the world and that I was expecting to put a library here with all the information regarding all the Presidents so that they'd be available for people who wanted to find out what the facts were. Well, this building was the result. I raised the money for the building; the people of Independence gave me the site to put it on. I appreciate very much what you've done here. This is a wonderful turnout and I'm highly complimented and very much pleased that you did it. And you'll now hear some people who can make you a good speech.

CRONKITE: The years took away some of the Truman jauntiness and softened his vinegar temper. But they never completely mellowed him. "They're trying to make an elder statesman of me," he once said, "but they'll never succeed. A politician isn't a statesman until after he's dead."

Even after he faded from the front ranks of political power, he enjoyed giving advice to old Democratic friends. President Lyndon Johnson admired his toughness, once said of Truman, "That little fellow was pretty much always on the right track." It was partly this appreciation of Truman that led Johnson to Independence for signing of the Medicare Bill in 1965. It was also recognition that Truman was the first President to propose such a law. Twenty years earlier he had pleaded its cause before an uncooperative Congress. Medicare, a milestone for Johnson, was the realization of one of Truman's fondest ambitions.

There were other salutary moments. At a United Nations luncheon in Kansas City in 1966, two old gentlemen exchanged forgiving smiles, blurring memories of past personal bitterness.

And in March, 1969 another old enemy came to make peace. President Nixon, quick to mend fences, visited Independence. It was easy to forget he had once infuriated Truman with disloyalty charges against his Administration. Now - for the Truman library - he

brought a peace offering: Truman's old White House piano - and a familiar tune.

TRUMAN: Thank you very, very much.

WOMAN: Aren't you going to play something?

NIXON: I'll play something for the President. I play everything by ear.

[Piano playing: "Missouri Waltz"]

CRONKITE: Mr. Nixon probably had forgotten that Truman said he never liked the "Missouri Waltz" in the first place. History will not record what Truman thought of this Republican rendition of it.

In 1968, when he was almost 84, Truman gave one of his last news conferences. This was at Key West, Florida where, during his presidency, he so often flaunted his famous sportshirts. He was asked about today's young people, and he had this to say:

TRUMAN [1968]: I think they're the greatest thing that we've got and always have been.

REPORTER: There seems to be a great deal of criticism, though, that they've changed - that they're-- now they're more radical than they used to be.

TRUMAN: You'll find it's just not true. I still think they've got good sense. Most of them have. And they'll vote right.

REPORTER: Mr. Truman, tell us a little bit about your day. What do you do during the day? Do you read?

TRUMAN: Well, this is the most important thing I've done since I've been down here. I read, walk and enjoy myself. And I knew damn well that if I didn't get you out of the way you'd intercept me some day. I've had plenty of experience with you.

REPORTER: Thank you, Mr. President. That was very kind.

TRUMAN: I want to say that I appreciate the fact that you wanted a press conference with me. It was a grand thing for you to do and I'm very thankful for it.

CRONKITE: And in the warm Florida sunshine at the Key West Naval Station, the elderly former President once more went on parade, just as he had done so often as Commander-in-Chief during some of the most difficult years of our history. The scene somehow served to remind us that there was something in Harry Truman - Mr. Citizen from Independence - which made average citizens feel that, indeed, they could be more than average.

ERIC SEVAREID: Harry Truman looked, dressed and sounded like the most ordinary, conventional person in the world. You could throw a stone into any big crowd of middle class Americans and hit a man just like him.

And a lot of people felt their hearts sink when he was sworn in as President, following Franklin Roosevelt with all the grandeur and sweep, that aristocratic voice and face, that Harvard background.

But what Truman became (by any accounting) - one of the more impressive Presidents we have had - is a matter of rejoicing for those who still believe in some old American propositions: that general freedom and relative classlessness will bring to light the human gold that lies in all the common clay; that there is something special in the most ordinary man; and that America is the place where the special is most likely to turn up.

The Truman story is a reaffirmation of what this country was supposed to be, of the kind of men who made it; and it confronts one with the fact that by the sheer law of probabilities there must be tens of thousands of men in this land who could live up to the Presidency.

He was not brilliant and he was not eloquent. Those are the preeminent qualities for other settings, like a university. But he had something else: the prime necessity for men who would lead and govern other men. The Romans, who invented political administration, called it "gravitas" - patience, solidity, breadth of shoulders and weight of judgment.

The last time I talked privately with Harry Truman his mind was not on Korea or the U.N. or the Atlantic Alliance or the Marshall Plan. It was on several hundred elderly people in Missouri long ago, who had been railroaded by their relatives into mental institutions under a defective law. Judge Truman got them out. I think he was prouder of that than of anything he ever did.

In Harry's sight, as (so we are taught) in the sight of God, the most obscure have as much divinity in them as the most famous. His own world fame never changed that conviction and never changed him in the slightest.

ANNOUNCER: This has been a CBS NEWS SPECIAL: "Harry S. Truman, 1884 - 1972".

CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York
Plaza 1-2345

30-31

"FROM PRECINCT TO PRESIDENT: SOME REFLECTIONS BY HARRY S. TRUMAN"

a "SEE IT NOW" report

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

February 2, 1958 - 5:00 to 6:00 PM, EST

GUEST: Harry S. Truman

INTERVIEWER: Edward R. Murrow

PRODUCERS: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

aac

~~NOT FOR RELEASE~~
~~before 5:00 P.M. EST,~~
~~Sunday, February 2, 1958~~

February 2, 1958

~~HARRY S. TRUMAN - EDWARD R. MURROW~~

(IN 1957, HARRY S. TRUMAN GRANTED MURROW AN INTERVIEW AT KEY WEST, IN WHICH HE REFLECTED AT LENGTH ON HIS CAREER AS SENATOR AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. AN HOUR OF THE INTERVIEW, CONDUCTED OVER A PERIOD OF SEVERAL DAYS, WAS TELEVISED ON "SEE IT NOW"; IT WAS AGREED THAT OTHER PORTIONS OF THE INTERVIEW WOULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC DURING MR. TRUMAN'S LIFETIME.

MURROW:

"From Precinct to President" was primarily intended for viewing in the year 1990, or even later, when historians may find it useful to examine the Truman years in the language and voice of the man from Independence who presided over the first eight years of the atomic age. We expect that all of Mr. Truman's friends and most of his foes, present and future, will find merit in such a project even as we might find value in a filmed record of Truman's great-uncle John Tyler's account of the controversy with Daniel Webster over the Vice-Presidency, or Mr. Lincoln's version of the firing of McClellan, or Wilson's frustration over the League of Nations. ~~For several days, just a year ago, Mr. Truman talked with us near his home in the Florida Keys and reflected on his years in Independence and those in Washington.~~

(MORE)

aac

NOTE: For RADIO/TV BROADCASTING EVALUATIONS research ENGAGEMENTS ACCEPTED Section for opinions expressed in Speeches and Remarks. Also SPEECHES and SPECIAL PROGRAMS.

Stars in the Afternoon 1/16/45

EDWARD R. MURROW - (piped December 5, 1946)

MURROW: I have been listening to the radio. Some of what I hear I don't like: Maybe you feel the same way. But there is something altogether unique about this American system of broadcasting. There is nothing quite like it anywhere else in the world and that's because this country isn't like any other country in the world. I believe that what comes out of the loudspeaker is the most honest and accurate reflection of what goes on in a nation.

Radio reflects the social, economic, and cultural climate in which it lives and grows. Compare American broadcasting with that of any other country and you end up with a comparison to this country and that other country. Our system is fast, experimental, technically slick. It is highly competitive and commercial. Often it is loud, occasionally vulgar; generally optimistic and not always right. But the man who is wrong has his chance to be heard. There is much controversy and debate and some special pleading, but frequently the phonies are found out. There is no conspiracy to keep the listener in ignorance and government does not guide the listening or the thinking of the people. There is much talk and you may think that it only contributes to confusion. But the presence of a microphone does not guarantee objectivity. Often it endangers humility.

A loud voice, which reaches from coast to coast, is not necessarily uttering truths more profound than those that may be heard in the classroom, bar, or country store, but - there they are! You can listen or leave them alone. By just turning the dial you can be entertained, informed, or irritated. You have a broadcasting service which is more varied than any in the world, less subject to government control. It has reached out to the far corners of the world to bring you news of the greatest mass adventure in the history of this nation, and those of us, who have been engaged in that aspect of radio, are fully conscious that the inadequate job we have done for words are puny things and a poor substitute for personal experience.

But it is my opinion that the future will present even greater

problems. In vast areas of the world, liberty has become a luxury. Here, in this country, we have many luxuries and we have great power and our only hope of using that power with wisdom and tolerance is that the people shall be informed, informed of affairs here at home and abroad.

During the last nine years I saw something of what radio can do when it is used to tell the people what to think; when it is used to dull the critical faculties; when the right to listen is denied. If you doubt that radio is a powerful medium, you should see how it can warp men's minds when it becomes an instrument of national policy. I do not believe that American radio is perfect, but I am persuaded that the listener in this country is better served than is the listener in any other country with which I am familiar.

This begins to sound like an editorial ... which it probably is ... so permit me to end it in this way.

I believe that radio in a democracy must be more than an industry, more than a medium of entertainment, more than a source of revenue for those who own the facilities. Radio, if it is to serve and survive, must hold a mirror behind the nation and the world. If the reflection shows racial intolerance, economic inequality, bigotry, unemployment, or anything else, let the people see it, or, rather, hear it. The mirror must have no curves and must be held with a steady hand. One of the oldest things about radio is its reputation of youthfulness. I have seen many very young men age rapidly during the last few years because they were engaged in a most serious and testing undertaking. I believe that the testing time for broadcasting and broadcasters is just beginning and youth was never acceptable as an excuse for those who flinched when the going was tough.

~~And, now, with Norman Corwin's permission, I shall go back to listening to the radio. Sometimes I find it informative, entertaining, and at times encouraging.~~ Good night + Good luck —

(30)

trans.-Adele A. Cardiff

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 559-3/48

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Edward R. Murrow

From M. J. Foster

Station

February 28, 1949

Jack Gould informs me you are doing an article for him for the special New York Times television section. As soon as you have the outline of the article in mind, I would appreciate your letting me know some of the things you plan to say so I can submit photographs which might go with your article. I make this request at Gould's own suggestion.

M.J.F.

md

Picture NEWS.....NY TIMES... 6-B-25 Murphy 3/1/49

Competitive question...will people turn to television rather than sound or print to find out what is going on in the world...

.....This is a visual medium..where editorial judgement has been largely pictorial..direction of news reels or picture magazine..who turns to those to find out what is going on in the world...

....Problem of mobility...camera as mobile as telephone or Microphone...

.....Editorial controll..who decides..need for mariage between newwman and director..Instance Alabama delegation at convention.....

..... Problems of privacy...Truaman in blind Alley..shots at a fight.....

..... Editorialising by pictorial selection...sleeping man in midst of speech..

....what ledds self to pictorial traetment when most news is made up of what happens in mens minds as reflected in what comes out of their mouths and how do you put that in pictures...

CONCLUSION....Need for television to recognise limitation of medium...just as honest AM broadcaster admits that language of speech..in limited period can best be used to stimulate curiosity..cause listner to pursue in print... TV maybe able to compete with tabloids when present technical troubles overcome..but there is still room for Times and Trib....Increased selectivity of TV audience when novelty wears off.....Discpline of those who talk on TV...speak good heads...Will TV change politics..doubt it...Premium on man who photogs well...but Dewey by professional standards better broadcaster than Truman....TV just more revealing than sound alone.....TV just third dimension in reporting...Will anyone turn on TV at eight AM instead of reading morning paper or listning to world news round up.....

PREDICTION..danger of ad lib camera..need for sifting and sorting thru mind to avert distortion....ex blitz....Will TV regard news as naything more than a saleable commodity...will they controll it or addicate like am... Financial pressures may induce servility by operators...need to argue this out before patterns become set and we all begin to see pictures of our country and the world that just arent true....

Distortion & Flexibility Controls

TO Mr. Murrow

From ADRIAN MURPHY

3/1/49

Mr. Murphy asked me to send you the attached copy of his February 11th memo on television news.

Mary Alice Murphy

COPY

February 11, 1949

from Mr. Murphy

CBS EXECUTIVE OFFICES

to: Mr. Stanton cc: Messrs. Lowman, Van Volkenburg

This concerns the general philosophy of television news.

Evidence seems to be developing that the appeal of television news in all the various formats thus far tried by various broadcasters is something less than great. How much of the lack of enthusiasm is accounted for by inadequate production or personalities cannot be estimated.

But we and others have used a large number of news personalities including some of the best radio people. We and others have had newsreel material comparable or equal to, and earlier in time than, the best the motion picture industry has been able to produce after many years. Our still picture supply has not been bad; and although our chart and graph efforts have not been the best, they have not been the worst. Also, we have had some pretty interesting people interviewed on the air. We have even had the "report from Washington" (usually an interview) which has been part of many a radio news program.

The verbal news sources have been as good as there are, even if our treatment of the news may not have been one hundred per cent comparable to that given news in radio.

So much for the sources of material.

In types of material, we, the industry, have run the gamut from Cardinal Mindszenty to the Atlantic City beauty parade, from Moscow to Hollywood. We have had children, bear cubs, houses made of milk bottles, fashions, JATO, and almost every other subject matter you can think of and in varying portions depending upon the broadcaster.

In format, TV news has varied from 20th Century Fox's straight newsreel type format to the CBS more varied and newsier technique, to which NBC appears to be veering.

In effect, therefore, we have had all the ingredients, and we have baked the cake from a number of different recipes, but somehow the net result has never been fully satisfying. With more experience and more money we will be able to do a somewhat better, smoother, more effective production job, and perhaps more appealing personalities will be developed. But even so, it is difficult to see how these will provide for the compelling quality that will bring people back to the screen time after time and in large numbers -- a quality which just hasn't been there.

Perhaps that is the way it is going to be with television news. Perhaps it will never be any more compelling than the newsreels have been in the motion picture industry.

It is not inconceivable that people may prefer to get their news in a minute or two from a radio digest or by scanning the newspaper headlines, and devote the rest of the fifteen minutes to television viewing of an entertainment type of program. Of course, if there is a sensational disaster or other news event to be shown on a television news program, they may make a special date with it as they would any other important special event.

It may well be that, if a television news program is to have a compelling appeal which will bring many people back again and again through habit, the TV news program may have to do something more than report what has already happened a day ago or even an hour ago. It may have to create news of itself.

This could be done in three ways:

1. Through mobile unit operation which would bring actual scenes of the current fire or water-main burst, at least during the debris clearing period.

2. Through interviews or statements, either in the studio or at LaGuardia Field or some place, in which people would actually make news. For instance, the Mayor announcing the name of the new police commissioner; the Governor announcing that he is going to recommend higher income taxes; Branch Rickey announcing the resignation of Leo Durocher.*

3. Through an entirely new emotional approach — perhaps with a much higher content of humor or pathos; or highly stylized aural and visual presentation; or perhaps a high editorial voltage; or something.

Obviously any of these ways could be costly, but if they are the answer to television news, it seems reasonable to assume that they will come about some day somehow, and perhaps we should be pointing our present techniques, however gingerly, in their direction.

If, on the other hand, none of these directions is correct, and TV news is destined not to have a very large audience by comparison with other types of shows, then perhaps we should be pruning our TV news concepts to fit the cost and audience equations.

* The newspapers, of course, would raise cain about such a procedure until such time as, when and if television is in a position to override their objections.

Long Lines Information Department
American Telephone and Telegraph Company
32 Avenue of the Americas
New York 13, New York

FOR RELEASE, in afternoon papers of
Tuesday, March 1, 1949

Please address questions to R. B. Williams
EXchange 3-9700, Ext. 5533, or Ext. 6688

RECEIVED
NEWS & OFFICIAL EVENTS
MAR 1 1949
WILLIAM F. BROOKS

BELL SYSTEM ANNOUNCES
1949 TELEVISION NETWORK PROGRAM

In 1949 the Bell System will double the number of miles of television network channels now available and will bring its network service to thirteen additional cities, according to the Long Lines Department of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company. By the end of this year there will be some 8,200 miles of television channels in operation, spread over a Bell System inter-city network which will then extend 2,850 miles and link 27 cities.

By summer, under present plans, the fourteen cities already on the Bell System's television network will be joined by Providence, R.I., and Wilmington, Del. By Fall it is expected that the following cities will be linked: Lancaster and Erie, Pa., and Rochester, N.Y., and Dayton, Columbus, and Cincinnati, Ohio. Toward the end of the year, it is planned to equip the existing coaxial route between New York City and Albany, N.Y. for television transmission and to extend it, by radio relay, to Syracuse, which would permit Bell System service to Schenectady, Utica and Rome as well.

Finally, all through 1949 work will go forward on the important radio relay project which is to provide long distance telephone and television service between New York and Chicago and several intermediate points next year, and for which the Long Lines Department of the A.T. & T. Company filed plans with the Federal Communications Commission last year.

Both radio relay and coaxial cable facilities will be utilized by the Bell System for its 1949 television program, which will include about 450 route miles

(more)

of radio relay and some 300 route miles of coaxial cable facilities. The cities listed above will be linked to the network in the following manner:

1. The coaxial cable being constructed between Toledo and Dayton will be equipped for television transmission, but from Dayton radio relay will be used to make the connections beyond to Columbus and Cincinnati.

2. Both Lancaster and Erie will be added to the present coaxial circuits in Pennsylvania but the link from Buffalo to Rochester, N.Y. will make use of radio relay.

3. Radio relay will also be relied upon for the Philadelphia-Wilmington and the Boston-Providence additions to the Bell System network.

4. Coaxial cable will form the link between New York City to Albany, N.Y. but the additions beyond to Syracuse, N.Y. will be via radio relay.

The 1949 construction program also makes provision for additional channels along certain existing main routes on the inter-city network. An accelerated program to increase the number of circuits between Philadelphia and Chicago by about May 1, for example, has already been announced by the A.T. & T. Company. However, it is also planned to add three additional television channels between New York and Philadelphia and one extra channel to those already in operation between Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.

As its share in the Bell System television network program, the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company has announced a project of its own, intended to provide both long distance telephone and television channels between Los Angeles and San Francisco. Initially, one radio relay circuit will travel northward over a series of eight or nine towers to be constructed on mountain ridges overlooking the San Joaquin Valley from the West side. Service is expected in about a year.

(more)

New York-Chicago Radio Relay

The radio relay system between New York and Chicago now under way will at first provide two television channels, one in each direction, according to the latest information on the project, released by the Long Lines Department of the A. T. & T. Company. Later it is planned to secure additional channels by installing extra equipment in the stations along the route. In addition to terminals in key cities, there are 31 intermediate towers.

Improved equipment, built around a new vacuum tube developed by the Bell Telephone Laboratories, will mark the New York-Chicago radio relay system, making it an advance over the facilities between New York and Boston introduced in November, 1947. In addition to benefiting from the experience already gained in operating other Bell System radio relay systems, the new system will be simpler to maintain, more reliable and ultimately provide more channels than any other micro-wave system in service.

As with other radio relay systems, this one will use super high frequencies, called micro-waves, which travel in straight lines and do not follow the curvature of the earth. The relay towers, therefore, must be located so they can direct the micro-waves along an unobstructed, line-of-sight path from one tower to the next. (The other type of inter-city facility that carries television programs over the Bell System networks is coaxial cable--which transmits high frequency electrical signals in copper tubes about the size of a pencil. Usually, eight of these coaxial tubes are included in the cable, which is about as big around as a man's wrist.)

The New York terminal of this system will be erected atop the 450-foot Long Lines Headquarters at 32 Avenue of the Americas while the Chicago terminal will be located on the roof of the new toll building of the Illinois Bell Company at New Congress Street. Already three relay towers have been erected

(more)

between New York and Philadelphia: at Martinsville, N.J., and Buckingham and Wyndmoor, Pa., while two others are under way at Thomas Hill and Hallam between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. West of this point field tests have been completed to make sure that each prospective station site has a good transmission path to the sites on both sides. By late Fall all the other towers will have gone up along the route, which ultimately will permit radio relay transmission to travel from Boston as far as Milwaukee, Wis.

Depending on where they are built, the intermediate towers will range in height from 60 to 200 feet. Between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, they will be placed on hill-tops and will be built from 60 to 80 feet high. Along the flat land in Ohio and Indiana, however, the towers will be constructed about 150 to 200 feet tall. (The towers in the other radio relay projects in Ohio will be about this high too.)

Except for their varying height, each of the intermediate towers is about the same in design--a square, concrete structure with space for emergency power equipment and storage batteries on the first floor, and radio equipment on the second. The special micro-wave antennas which beam and receive the communications signal are on the roof.

# # # # # # # # # #

2-24-49

RADIO AS AN EDUCATIVE FORCE

I The Measure of Radio as a Social Institution

(Broadcasting as an instrument of entertainment, information, instruction, politics, war. etc.)

II The Role of Education in a Democracy

1. The Importance of individual and group participation in a democratic society
2. Preparation of children and youth
3. In-service training (continuous) of adult citizens

III Education and the Mass Media of Communication

Print

Radio

Film

Transportation (mobility)

IV The Educative Effects of Radio

1. Radio and the Principles of Learning

"It has long been known that meaningful material is more readily understood and better retained than non-meaningful material. Further, the more vivid the original impression, the longer learning will be retained. When educational material is presented with the proper showmanship, it is likely to be more meaningful to the listener and to create a more vivid impression. Consequently, it should follow that under these conditions, the listener will understand the material better and retain it longer.

"Thus, it may be seen that radio listeners do not only prefer education in entertaining form, but, in addition, they are probably more likely to learn under such conditions." (Katz and Eisenberg)

Application of Showmanship to Educational Programs

a. Educational Programs should have unity

b. Educational programs should be related to everyday problems

c. Educational programs should offer opportunities for listener involvement

d. Educational programs should stress human interest material

Teaching By Telling a Good Story (Katz, Eisenberg) (AER Journal)

Structural unity

Identification with character

Dramatic conflict

Teaching integrated with plot action

IV 2. Children and Youth — In-school

(Tyler and Levenson in Evaluation of School Broadcasts)

a. Communicator of information and ideas

b. Motivator enlivening and enriching the materials and methods of classrooms

c. Subject matter worthy of serious and sometime defensive study

3. Children and Youth — Out-of-school

(The amount and kind of learning which takes place outside of the classroom. Behavior patterns, social attitudes, personal involvement through self-interest, identification, and suspense)

4. Adults

(same as 3. Radio makes "cultural goods" the property of the broad masses of the population, with certain inevitable changes in the quality of such goods)

List for ad in New York Times

Mr and Mrs. R. C. Munroe ✓
903, 13th Street
Bellingham, Washington

Mr and Mrs. George Lawson ✓
Blanchard, Washington

Mr. and Mrs Dewey J. Munroe ✓
724. East 33rd Avenue
Spokane, Washington

Mr and Mrs. Charles H. Brewster
152. Mount Vernon Street
Middletown, Conn.

Mr. Earl Foster ✓
Gold Beach, Oregon

please write on this
compliments of Mrs. M.
as Mr. M. might be [illegible]

Mr and Mrs. Fred Trumbull ✓
Ione, Washington

Mrs. E. R Munroe ✓
130, East 74th Street
New York, 21, N. Y.

copies sent

List for ad in New York Times

Mr and Mrs. C. Dare Brewster
930, Asylum Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut ✓

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert M. Johnson ✓
179, South Street
Needham, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Elisha H. Brewster ✓
Washington Boulevard
Springfield, Massachusetts

Mrs. Howard C. Brewster ✓
18, Vassar Street
Springfield, Massachusetts.

Mr and Mrs. Charles S. Hanshaw ✓
45, Dwight Street
Brookline, Massachusetts

Mr and Mrs. Leon M. Connelly ✓ And thank you
17, Monmouth Street JM.
Somerville, Massachusetts.

MURROW

SEE IT NOW....18th NOVEMBER, 1951

1st See It Now program.

MURROW ON HIS CONTRACT-

ANNOUNCER: (CAMERA ON STUDIO SIGN)
(SOFTLY)

Stand-by now for the premier performance of SEE IT NOW with Edward R. Murrow, which originates in the actual control room of studio 41 in New York City.

(THEME MUSIC)

DIRKSON:

TB

CHURCHILL:

SAN FRANCISCO
ANNOUNCER: (LIVE) Hello, New York.

Hello, New York.

KEEP REPEATING THIS UNTIL
HE SEES HIMSELF ON NETWORK
FEED, THEN....

Hello, New York. Hello, Ed Murrow. This is KPIX in the Mark Hopkins in San Francisco standing by. We'll be ready to go whenever you are, Mr. Murrow.

tb

MURROW: Hello, San Francisco...This is Ed Murrow in New York...Please stand by. We'll be ready to go in approximately 90-seconds from now....

BIG THEME

ANNCR: CBS, In cooperation with its affiliated television stations from coast to coast, presents the distinguished reporter and news analyist, Edward R. Murrow....

In SEE IT NOW ... a document for television based on the week news and told in the voices and faces that made the news, produced by Mr. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly ... A public service of the Columbia Television network. Now, speaking from the actual control room of Studio 41, is the editor of SEE IT NOW, Edward R. Murrow.

tb

MURROW: This is an old team trying to learn a new trade. Four years ago we began producing the I CAN HEAR IT NOW record albums. A year ago we began doing a weekly radio version called HEAR IT NOW. In preparing to do SEE IT NOW on television, we were faced with the problem of "where to do it from". As they say in the trade, "Where do we originate". In the record albums and HEAR IT NOW, we had always prided ourselves on the fact that every voice we used was real ... every sound, raw ... No actors; no sound effects. How, then, could we originate our television version on a TV sound stage with sets, props and the usual variety of effects which are a necessary part of what is basically an entertainment medium.....

(MORE)

tb

MURROW: (CTD) There was talk of originating in my office. Even this, they said, would have to be a duplication of my office and this seemed a bit phony. So, as an experiment, we have decided to try doing the show from where all television shows have to originate...the control room. I am talking to you from the control room of Studio 41, for actually, if I have any function on this show, it is really only that of a switcher who occasionally leans over the cameramens' shoulder to whisper something in your ear. I say switcher, because that is exactly what we do. We have many video and audio lines coming into this control room from all over the United States. Each of these lines is reflected here in the form of a monitor. (a television screen.)

tb

(MORE)

MURROW: (CTD) We can have one line from Chicago terminating on one monitor, a line from Washington on another, and then we decide which picture you might enjoy seeing. As long as you will be here with us, we thought you might like to watch us make these switches so you'll see the monitors with us.....For example: [redacted]. . . . ([redacted]PT)

Some people take television for granted. We, as novitiates, have never quite gotten over the miracle that makes this fantastic gadget operate...For example, we turn to monitor number one, push a button, and say? come in, please, Atlantic Coast.

NEW YORK CAMERA ON PATCH OF JUST WATER

MOBILE UNIT: This is camera one at our point of vantage on Governor's Island, looking down New York Bay on the Atlantic.

CAMERA PAN TO STATUE
tb OF LIBERTY

STUDIO CAMERA BACK ON MURROW	MURROW:	There you have the East coast of the United States...Now, on monitor two, may we have the Pacific coast, please?
PATCH OF WATER IN SAN FRANCISCO	MOBILE UNIT:	Hello, New York. This is the Golden Gate. The waters of San Francisco Bay leading out to the Pacific Ocean.
PAN TO BAY BRIDGE	MURROW:	That's fine, San Francisco. May we have the San Francisco Bay Bridge, please?
	MOBILE:	Okay...
	MURROW:	Can you use the zoomar lens to move in on it, please?
	MOBILE:	Roger!
ZOOM TO BRIDGE	MURROW:	That's fine. Okay, San Francisco, stand by for just a moment...Hello, New York. May we have the Brooklyn Bridge, please? Fine...Now move in on it, please.....Good, hold it.
BROOKLYN BRIDGE		
MOVE IN ON BRIDGE		

(MORE)

tb

MOBILE: Will try, Ed ... There are the narrows, right where the big ships go to Europe.

MURROW: Good, now Don, hold that monitor for a moment...San Francisco, I'm sure you never have any fog out there ... So let's try for the Golden Gate Bridge which struts right across the Golden Gate itself where the Bay becomes the ocean...Let's try for the ocean.

GOLDEN GATE BRIDGE

PAN TO OCEAN, IF POSSIBLE,

IF NOT, HOLD LOWER HALF BRIDGE.

Good, that's fine. Now, fellows, hold both those pictures on both monitors.

BOTH POINTS OF ORIGIN,

HOLD WATER AND NEW YORK

HOLDS SAME IN EACH MONITOR

(TO AUDIENCE) There we have something. For the first time in the history of man we are able to look out at both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of this great country at the same time.....

(MORE)

tb

MURROW: (CTD) Now we have permitted ourselves the luxury of these microwaves and coaxial calesthenics to try to illustrate a point. As we said before, we are slightly overwhelmed by this television gadget. Reporters in the past have been given great weapons.. the printing press, the typewriter, the linotype machine, the teletype, newspapers, radio ... but no journalistic age was ever given a weapon for truth with quite the scope of this fledgling television. This afternoon, as we begin our shake-down cruise in this staggering new medium, we want you to know that we are aware of the electronic wonder entrusted to our fingers.

(MORE)

tb

MURROW: (CTD) As human beings, we only hope that we are up to it; as reporters we only hope that we never abuse it. Now, our speech making is done. If we may, on monitor number ~~two~~ one, ~~let's have those films of~~

~~(CHURCHILL NEXT)~~

may we have that new film on Churchill.

CHURCHILL: (AS EDITED ENDING WITH .....)
LORD MAYOR - -
ETC.

FROM LORD MAYOR TO CHURCHILL

MURROW ON AUDIO ONLY

MURROW: (OVER APPLAUSE) For the new prime minister it was no easy week. His government was forced to announce coal rationing and the prospect of reduced food rations. With bankruptcy around the corner, Britain would cut her imports from the dollar area. Angry anti-British protests from Egypt and Iran continued as the Prime Minister prepared to come to Washington in January. But first, at London's Guildhal Winston Churchill, the famed orator, defined the hopes of the free world and the tactics of the Communists.

tb

CHURCHILL: AS EDITED

MURROW: Only one of Britain's shortages seemed to be ending. Once again there was an abundance of colorful speech makers in the British cabinet ..... Atlee had been no match for Churchill and certainly Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden addressing the United Nations in Paris wasa better show than his predecessor, Herbert Morrison

EDEN: (AS EDITED, ENDING WITH . . . .)

MURROW: 15 SECONDS ON U.N.

Howard Smith, Chief of CBS' European Bureau, has been in Paris all week covering the General Assembly, and we thought you might like his reactions .... Now, as you know, there are no television circuits to Paris, but two days ago we ordered up a trans-atlantic radio circuit and did this brief interview with Smith. We had this filmed in Paris and the films arrived just a few hours ago. [redacted] .

SMITH: "HELLO N.Y. THIS IS H. SMITH RECORDING IN PARIS.

MURROW: How are things going in Paris, Howard?

MURROW: What prospect, if any, is there, Howard, of the General Assembly accepting Secretary Acheson's disarmament plan?

MURROW: In sizing up this situation so far, Howard, what would you say is the most important business the assembly has to concern itself with?

MURROW: Tell me this, Howard, do you think that anything positive is likely to come out of the Paris meeting?

ON FILM

MURROW: Thank you, Howard. That was CBS correspondent Howard K. Smith reporting from the United Nations General Assembly in Paris. The next voice you will hear will be that of Senator Everett Dirkson of Illinois.....The next face you will see, for the most part, is that of Senator Robert A. Taft. In preparation for a future television profile, we are preparing on Senator Taft, we have had a camera crew out following him around on his current campaign tour.....One night our camera happened to catch Senator Taft just as Senator Dirkson happened to be talking about the kind of man he wanted to see in the White House. Senator Taft's expression is even better than Dirkson's speech.

DIRKSON: (ENDING WITH ....)

MURROW: At this point in our program we had intended to interview Governor Earl Warren in San Francisco, but the California Governor made news twice this week ... On Wednesday by announcing that he was going to run for the presidency; on Thursday, by going to the hospital. We hope he's better, and he has promised to let us have his views later on. Warren, like Taft and the other candidates, made news, but ~~nearly~~ NOT as much as the man who says his hat is not in the ring. Ike was still silent, but Senator Jim Duff of Pennsylvania and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge were out beating the bushes for him. Both Senators are in our Washington studios right now, and we though you'd like to hear from two of the Gentlemen who are convinced that Ike will run.

25

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS BETWEEN
MURROW, DUFF AND LODGE, WE HOPE!

MURROW: Almost seven months ago to the day, another famous American spoke in San Francisco. Douglas MacArthur stepped off a plane and said he was home, wanted no part of politics and went on to his now classic speech to Congress in which he predicted that "the old soldier was just going to fade away." That was seven months and —— speeches ago. The General as is certainly his privilege, has neither faded away nor forsaken politics. While there has been much speculation as to whether Eisenhower is a Republican or a Democrat and whether he will take part in the '52 campaign, MacArthur has left no doubt as to his political party. In a ringing speech in Seattle this week, the General made it clear that he was entering the '52 campaign. For if he is not to be a candidate himself, he will certainly be a power, and in a political generation of colorless speakers such as Truman and Taft, he may turn out to be the most dynamic spokesman

of the campaign. His Seattle speech, if not an entire platform, certainly had most of the planks.....

The General on Socialism .....

MacArthur's views on the present administration .....

The General makes a suggestion to the voters .....

One great General quotes another great general.....

TAPE

MURROW: Within the last fortnight, American footsoldiers at Frenchman's Flat, Nevada, were introduced to what some have called their successors; atomic tactical weapons. Some have said that the American doughfoot as we know him is obsolete. It may well be that this is the twilight of the combat trooper as we now know him. However, in this, the late afternoon of the doughfoot, it is well worth noting that the last battles won on this earth have been won by that old fashioned weapon -- the American footsoldier. As Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg said as she returned from Korea last week:

R'BERG: I went to Korea to see our man power, but I saw the force of our men. I saw the magnificance of their spirit. I saw the spirit that makes America great. Never in my life have I seen such spirit before.

MURROW: Because we think that if television news has a place in American journalism, it must be able to transport people, we are about to try to transport ourselves to

Korea to see what Anna Rosenberg saw and at the same time, try to pay tribute to what we still think is our best weapon, the American G. I. We sent a camera crew to Korea to stay with CBS correspondent Bob Pierpoint and try to capture on film and sound the spirit of a U.S. infantry company in a twenty-four hour period. We specified the 24th Division; partly because we had seen them in action along the Naktong line in the first months of the Korean war, but more so because the 24th had it as tough as long and as often as any outfit there. We asked Pierpoint to get as much live sound as possible and not to try too hard for hot combat shots, but rather to concentrate on the men, the cold dawns, the chow lines, the poker games, the bull sessions, the loneliness and the griping against rotation. Correspondent Pierpoint agreed on our choice of the 24th Division, but asked if he might concentrate on the 19th Regiment of that Division, because it had borne the brunt of the Division's fighting .....

BRIEFING BEGINS

MURROW: (VOICE ONLY) This, then, is Fox Company of the 19th Regiment of the 24th Division near dusk of a recent afternoon as the Regimental Commander greets and indoctrinates the new crop of replacements.

THE 24TH DIVISION IS ENTIRELY BY ITSELF UP THROUGH THE G.I.S IN LINE GIVING NAMES. RIGHT AFTER CORPORAL ENGLBACK OF BIRMINGHAM, WE DISSOLVE FROM G.IS TO MURROW AS HE TURNS AWAY FROM MONITORS AND DOES FINAL TAIL PIECE

MURROW: (TAILPIECE TO BE ADLIBBED)

MURROW: Good afternoon and good luck

THEME MUSIC OVER SEE IT NOW TITLE

ANN'CER: SEE IT NOW, like the I CAN HEAR IT NOW record albums, is edited and produced by Mr. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly

F.F. TITLE

and a CBS staff which includes

VIDEO CREDIT

Todays program originated in New York City, Washington, San Francisco, London, Paris, Korea and Seattle. Special assignments were performed for CBS by News of the Day cameramen in the field.

VIDEO

FIRST, SEE IT NOW, THEN,
NEXT WEEK AT THIS TIME

Hewitt Don

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow

om: Don Hewitt

January 16, 1952

Here is a brief synopsis of our conversation re television recordings of historical events.

Because of the limited budget under which we work in TV News, we do not kinescope in their entirety such events as Churchill's speech to Congress, the dedication of the U.N. headquarters, Truman's speeches to Congress.

If television had been in existence years ago, I am sure that we would be at a loss to explain why we failed to kinescope such events as Lincoln's Gettysburg address or Washington's inauguration. Some day I feel we will regret not making kinescopes of the historical pickups we are now doing live.

The Columbia Broadcasting System has in its television recording setup what is probably the most effective chronicling instrument man has ever known, and we are not making full use of it.

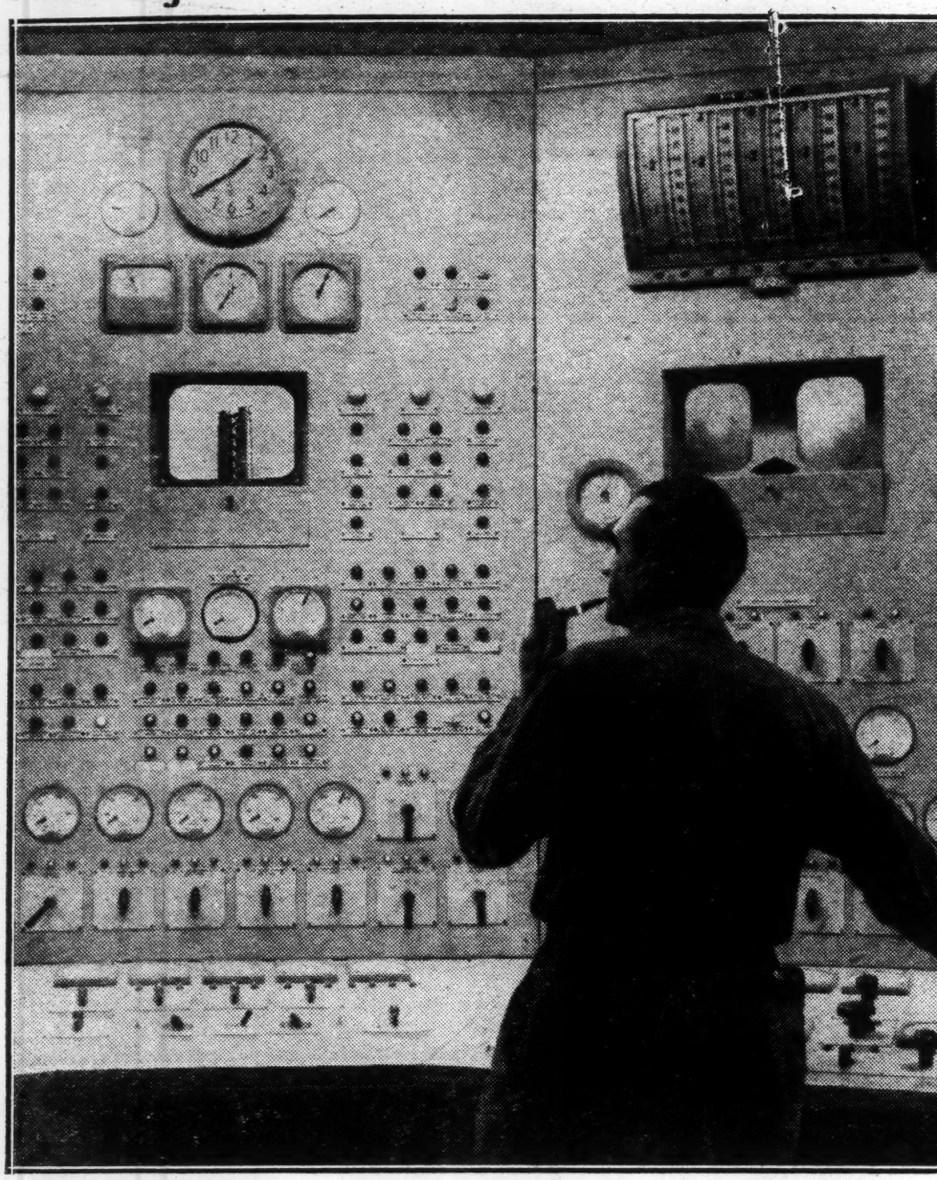
I wonder if CBS might be interested in setting aside funds for a library of television recordings that 100 years from now might very well be the most valuable library in the world. Mr. Paley might want to use these funds to endow a library at Columbia University that could be known as the William S. Paley collection of sight and sound.

I suggest that such a project be handled by a curator who would select material based on the funds available as well as historical significance.

Newsreels have for years been recording on film, only the highlights of these events. This project would enable the world to have a full documentary account of many of the events of our times, more interesting and, in fact, truer, than any history book ever published.

NO SH

PHOTO by Con Edison



Plant Pilot. Like the control panel on a bomber, this "board" at Edison's new Astoria electric generating station i nerve center of the entire plant. All parts of the station are operated from "board" by remote control. In the center panel, a TV screen shows if stack smoking; and the two TV screens at right indicate condition of flame at the bur It's just a part of the equipment needed to bring you plenty of dependable, cost electricity. *Con Edison is on the job.*

PHOTO by Con Edison

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Barry Gray

Senator Joseph McCarthy who dined on steak at the Black Angus Monday night, wound up swallowing network crow later that evening in his Waldorf-Astoria suite. For both NBC and CBS turned down his request for a half-hour of free radio-tv time to "answer" Adlai Stevenson. McCarthy-lovers will be provoked to howl at the "injustice" shown their bully-boy. But they won't trouble to read the FCC law, any more than they studied elementary history for the division of executive and legislative powers laid down by our founding fathers.

When bully-boy attacked general Zwicker they screamed "whatsamatter—cantcha investigate the army?" They find it amusing to hear Joe patronize the President with his "Ike is right 95% of the time."

They swallow his lame reasoning for calling off the Benton lawsuit, never questioning him about the Greenspun fight out in Nevada, where an editor has front-paged some startling charges about his politics and personal conduct. They'll believe anything Joe tells them about anybody, but they refuse to face the facts distributed widely in the book "McCarthy."

They hail his kangaroo court tactics when he goes after a "Fifth Amendment Communist" — they love his disdain for courtroom conduct, but suddenly when their boy has been "wronged" by Adlai, they clamor for the letter of the law.

* * *

The law:—"If any licensee (radio station) shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use the broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office, in the use of such broadcasting station: provided such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is hearby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate."

Now what right has McCarthy to free time?

Under the law, none. Stevenson was speaking as the titular head of the Democratic Party and on air given as a "public service." The networks may grant, as they have, equal time to a like speaker from the Republican Party, but they have properly told McCarthy where to head in.

Barry Gray appears on Channel 5 Monday to Friday at 11 p.m. and nightly on WMCA at midnight.

* * *

What may McCarthy do if he feels maligned by Stevenson? Why sue, of course. And in that course he is much better off than his "Fifth Amendment" victims. For when McCarthy slanders he does so under protective Congressional immunity. Stevenson enjoyed no such privilege or protection. He is responsible for every word he uttered in any damage suit entered against him.

What is wholly amazing is to see the champ of the political poolroom cry he's been maligned, and complain of Adlai's admonition to Aferica.

Look who's been insulted: A man who's uttered as much venom, insults, slander and lies, while wrapped in an American flag as anyone I can think of. He'll bluster, and threaten the networks — but he'll never sue Stevenson. Will McCarthy allow himself to go into a civil court to testify under oath? Can't you just hear him being cross-examined by Telford Taylor?

'Super' Mayor Given Cadillac To Rank Plain Mayor in Buick

Toronto, March 10 (UP)—The Metropolitan Executive Committee voted yesterday to provide an official Cadillac car for Fred G. Gardiner, "Super Mayor" of Greater Toronto.

The move was instituted by City Mayor Allan Lamport. Lamport has a Buick.

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
Thursday, March 11, 1954

No Single Weapon

It seemed probable, when Mr. Dulles delivered his famous speech in January before the Council on Foreign Relations, that he had overstated his case. The decision attributed to the Administration, "to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and places of our choosing," was taken in some quarters to indicate that small wars would automatically be converted into large ones. Actually Mr. Dulles' speech was replete with exceptions to the general doctrine. If one read the small type, so to speak, it was clear that local defenses would not be neglected, that ground forces would continue to be a major source of strength, and that such outbreaks as in Korea would not in the future find us reduced to reliance on atomic bombers. Now the whole matter has been put into perspective by a number of simultaneous statements from the highest defense authorities.

The issue was precipitated by Mr. Stevenson's Miami speech. Other Democrats have kept off the subject, dubious of the political advantage to be gained by challenging a program which offers substantial reductions in the arms burden. It is a quality of Mr. Stevenson, however, that he goes directly to the biggest subject. In asking some pointed questions about what he construed as the "new look," he stirred Administration spokesmen to be more explicit than heretofore. Mr. Stevenson spoke as a skilled debater, citing the passages in Mr. Dulles' speech which lend themselves to being misinterpreted. The Administration has replied with statesmanship. On Tuesday Mr. Wilson, Mr. Anderson and Admiral Radford stressed the flexibility of the United States defensive plans; the President at his press conference yesterday capped the Administration's case.

It was Admiral Radford, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who countered most completely the Stevenson charges. "Our planning," he said, "does not subscribe to the thinking that the ability to deliver massive atomic retaliation is, by itself, adequate to meet all our security needs. It is not correct to say that we are relying on one weapon, or one service, or that we are anticipating one kind of war." Pointing to the maintenance of a million men in the Army and of a Navy second to none, Admiral Radford gave assurance that in no circumstance would the nation become a "prisoner of its own military posture" by having no other capability than that of delivering atomic attack. That the narrow, inflexible military policy described by Mr. Stevenson could have been adopted by the Eisenhower administration was on the face of things inconceivable. Nevertheless it is good to have verbal confusions cleared up and the matter put plainly and authoritatively.

Beauty and the Coliseum

It comes as rather a surprise that the New York Coliseum is to be quite different from what has been generally envisaged. True enough, there was never any exact blueprint of what the Columbus Circle convention hall-exhibition center would look like, nothing but a vague preliminary sketch back in 1952 of a semi-circular low-hung structure which aroused considerable criticism. At that time, of course, the first objective was to make sure that there would be a Coliseum at all. This victory has been won, thanks to Mr. Robert Moses and the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority. Now we get back to architecture and appearance, only to learn from an accident of premature publicity that the Triborough has projected a soaring office building on top of the Coliseum. This is being done because the Triborough, like any other authority, has to be self-supporting. Presumably there was no other way of making the vitally needed civic improvement pay for itself.

New York ought to be accustomed by now to surprises from Mr. Moses, but our chief builder has excelled himself here. One eagerly awaits the unveiling of detailed plans sometime next week. It may well be that the tall tower (if this is what the Triborough has really decided upon) is infinitely preferable to the original concept. Certainly the 1952 sketch, as far as looks go, seemed uninspired. Perhaps the architects have done better now. It is all very well for Mr. Moses to argue, as he has in the past, that the Coliseum "is a business enterprise, not a museum of abstract art or an open prize competition for a civic monument to civic virtue." Doubtless an ugly Coliseum would be better than none. But we persist in the rueful hope that beauty is not necessarily hostile to useful purpose.

Paris Looks to Geneva

The vote in the French National Assembly on Tuesday, authorizing the government to negotiate for peace in Indo-China at the coming Geneva conference, may be more encouraging than it seems at first glance. The resolution notes approvingly the Laniel Cabinet's promise to end the war as quickly as possible, so long as the "peace and liberty" of the Associated States can be assured. This is an aim with which few in the West would quarrel. If the members of the French Assembly think it can be attained by negotiation at Geneva, it is only good sense on their part to give the government free rein in going after it.

The resolution obviously did not satisfy those delegates who expect nothing but failure and disappointment at Geneva. Believing direct negotiation between France and the Viet Minh to offer the only way out of the Indo-Chinese morass, they have been urging that a settlement be made with Ho Chi Minh before the opening of the East-West talks. The resolution puts an end to that illusory prospect, and also to the dangerous possibility of a cease-fire agreement along the lines of Prime Minister Nehru's recent suggestion.

The situation is not exactly easy, nevertheless. The French vote has indicated a receptiveness to peace overtures that will, to say the least, not improve the West's bargaining position at the conference table. Premier Laniel's reference last week to the "concrete appreciable advantages" that China may be hoping to secure at Geneva was also somewhat disquieting. Still, the military outlook is now reasonably favorable, as recent reports from both French and American authorities attest, and there is no occasion for weak compromises on our part. There is, in fact, every reason for the democracies to stand firm and present a united front in the diplomatic wars that lie ahead.

McCarthy and the Networks

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's campaign to get free radio time to reply to a speech by Adlai Stevenson is as dubious as many of his other activities. No other figure in public life would have been arrogant enough to make such a demand in the first place, and it is ironical that a man who was reproved on the Senate floor by a member of his own party for his investigatory tactics should use the words "dishonest" and "unmoral" in attacking the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

President Eisenhower's support of Senator Flanders' Senate speech, and his announced opinion that the networks have discharged their obligation to be impartial by giving the Vice-President time to answer Mr. Stevenson, would normally be expected to close the case. But Mr. McCarthy's refusal to speak to N. B. C. and C. B. S. reporters, as well as his dark hints that legal retribution is in store for the broadcasters, indicates that a McCarthy vendetta against the networks has been added to his wars against the State Department and the Army.

Doubtless the C. B. S. "See It Now" program, in which Edward R. Murrow paraded the Senator's record on television, will provoke Mr. McCarthy even further. The half-hour show, which the Senator already has been invited to answer, was a sober and realistic appraisal of McCarthyism and the climate in which it flourishes. Like the free press, the free broadcasters met a controversial subject with a frank and responsible approach. Apparently the audience response was overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Murrow and against Mr. McCarthy, but even if the returns were reversed, the network still would have fulfilled its functions as an organ of expression and public service.

Mr. McCarthy's ability to insult and calumniate those who oppose or criticize him is well known. By refusing to be bullied, the broadcasters will assure their own future and help to guarantee America's.

The G. M. Record

Americans have occasionally been reproached by Europeans for boasting about the physical size of their country and the sheer magnitude of their constructions. G. K. Chesterton, for example, was not impressed. "You are too close to things that are too big," said he roundly, after taking a look at New York's skyscrapers. Yet something important in the American spirit was reflected in the very expanse of country which our forefathers dominated and made their own. Even today, size is not an irrelevant yardstick of accomplishment.

Certainly it seems significant that General Motors Corp. should be able to reveal in its annual report that in the past year it sold more than $10 billion worth of its products—a larger dollar sales volume than has ever before been attained by any private enterprise in the world. At the same time the company paid a record tax bill of $1.2 billion. Fittingly enough, these unprecedented levels were won in an industry built upon the American desire to be always on the move. Moreover, the output of this immense business is of vital interest to virtually every American—from the age of about eight, on up.

G. M.'s record is one in which the whole public can take satisfaction. The best of it is that one can be sure even such attainments will in due course be exceeded. And next time, if all goes well, the proportion taken by taxes will be happily diminished.

Four-in-Hands and Windsors

The tie is a useful and versatile article of clothing. It weighs but little, its cost is modest, and it provides the male costume with virtually its only touch of color. Small wonder, then, that men are invariably alert to any new development concerning neckwear. The entrance of the United States Army into the dispute between adherents of the four-in-hand and Windsor methods of tying knots will be watched with the closest interest.

The Army, of course, has not taken a definitive stand upon this delicate matter. What has happened is that soldiers of a certain unit in a small town in Germany have been given permission to adopt a Windsor knot if they so desire. The Windsor knot is larger and more bulky than the four-in-hand; its adherents claim for it the virtue of shapeliness and size, while its opponents contend it looks unnatural and affected. A G. I. tie does not, of course, represent the ultimate in color and in dash, and if the Windsor knot contributes a little esprit de corps its introduction can be tolerated. But innovations of this sort are insidious and must be watched carefully. The difficulties of tying a Windsor knot, as compared to the simple, honest four-in-hand, are considerable. Most men get to work late enough as it is, without supplying them with still another knotty problem to overcome before they leave the house.

Lost Love

YOU will get worse before you're better. Meanwhile, try
To think on it as little as you can.
Travel might help: The Indies? Greece? Japan?
No, you'll not die.

Perhaps a hobby: do you carve, crochet, or write?
Some patients find ceramics rather fun.
It will be worse before it's done;
Most difficult at night.

You haven't wealth or health enough or leisure?
In that event, it may be harder.
Avoid the old environs as a starter.
Don't expect active pleasure.

Art galleries, movie houses, baseball parks, and such:
These may divert you.
Nothing, in fact, is apt to help or hurt you
Much.

You will get worse before you're better; that's for sure.
Yes, it's an obstinate neurosis.
This is, you understand, the mere prognosis.
There is no cure.

LIONEL WIGGAM.

Doesn't Anything Exciting Ever Happen Around Here?

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TODAY AND TOMORROW

By WALTER LIPPMANN

The Unappeasable Aggressor

Within the inner councils of the Administration there have long been two conflicting estimates of Sen. McCarthy. The one has been that his target is the Democratic party, and that his purpose is to discredit it so deeply with the charge of treason that for a generation it will not be able to return to power. The opposing view is that McCarthy's target is the capture of the Republican party, and that his purpose is to dominate or to destroy President Eisenhower.

* * *

Ever since the summer of 1952, and particularly since Gen. Eisenhower went campaigning in Wisconsin with McCarthy and in Indiana with Jenner, the President has been using all his skill as a conciliator and compromisor to avoid a show-down between the two factions of his party. He has been able to do that as long as Sen. McCarthy was willing to let it appear that his big guns were shooting at the Truman administration, and that he was only sniping at the Eisenhower administration.

The turning point was reached in Sen. McCarthy's television broadcast of Nov. 24. That was when, having been granted free time on all the networks to reply to some remarks of ex-President Truman on the subject of "McCarthyism," the Senator seized the occasion to attack the Eisenhower administration, charging it with being soft to Communists at home and abroad. That speech, it seemed to me, was a clear disclosure that McCarthy was shooting at Eisenhower's leadership of the Republican party. In plain fact it was a declaration of war.

* * *

After that it was mere self-deception to cling, as did Chairman Hall for example, to the notion that McCarthy's main object is to defeat the Democrats and to help the Administration obtain a good Republican majority in Congress. Chairman Hall's fond dream was not allowed to last very long. Sen. McCarthy had no sooner gotten himself sponsored by the Republican National Committee as a valued spokesman of the party of Abraham Lincoln, when—returning from his tour—he promptly bit the hand that had fed him and was trying to pet him. He attacked the administration of Gen. Eisenhower at what must be its most sensitive point, namely the administration of the Army which the President has commanded in war and of which he is the Commander-in-Chief today. McCarthy charged the Army with coddling Communists.

* * *

McCarthy did not charge that the Army had made a mistake, or that there was a muddle of red tape and regulations. The charge of "coddling" implies and is meant to imply an intent to help Communists infiltrate the Army.

There is no use pretending that the Senator merely lost his temper, or that all this was mere rough and tumble politics. This was a blow, meant to be lethal as it is followed up, against the administration of Gen. Eisenhower.

* * *

Back in November after the television broadcast, it was only very probable, it was not as yet certain and unmistakable, that McCarthy is out to rule the Republican party by ruining Eisenhower. But now we know. His ablest and most plausible supporters are no longer at pains to deny it. The issue, they are saying, is the coddling and nurturing and harboring of traitors inside the government owing to the fact that Gen. Eisenhower was too closely allied with the Truman administration to allow its wrongdoing to be fully exposed.

If the charge which underlies these insinuations were true, the President would not merely be open to criticism for being lax, careless, complacent, and slow to realize the facts—as is his predecessor. If the charge in this insinuation were true, the President would be guilty of willful and deliberate "coddling and nurturing and harboring of traitors inside the government." This is as grave an accusation as has ever, I believe, been made against a President of the United States. After such a mortal accusation, to pretend that all the Republicans can get together, can forget McCarthy, enact a constructive and dynamic program, and fight only the Democrats, is an insult to the intelligence.

* * *

Nor is it anything but a piece of planned obfuscation to talk as if the question is whether President Eisenhower should attack McCarthy at the risk of dividing the party. The President has done everything that a man can do to avoid a fight with McCarthy and a division in the party. There is no doubt whatever that McCarthy is a deliberate aggressor, that he is fighting Eisenhower's leadership and control of the party, and that he is making no concessions of any kind in the interest of party unity or of a Republican victory in the autumn elections. He is in fact making it increasingly difficult for the independent voters and for the liberal Republicans to support the party.

If there is a fight between the Eisenhower administration and McCarthy, it will be because McCarthy will not permit Eisenhower to keep within the unity of the party the broad and varied elements which elected him. The fight is unavoidable because McCarthy refuses to be appeased. Until he is stopped and his power is checked, he will go on until he is the master of the party. The aftermath of the Stevens affair proved that McCarthy's terms for this Administration are to let itself be ruled by him or ruined by him. Were he willing to compromise for less than that, he would at the very least have allowed the Administration in the person of Secretary Stevens some small saving of face.

* * *

There has been a serious change in public sentiment in this country since the Zwicker-Stevens affair. Those who remember the history of aggression will recognize the change as the reaction which comes when a prolonged appeasement has failed, and it has been shown that the aggressor is unappeasable.

That point has now been reached and passed. The period of surrenders, retreats and withdrawals is coming to its close.

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Taxpayer's Protest

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

One of the most iniquitous practices of the Federal Bureau of Internal Revenue has to do with the regulations as to refunds of excess deductions of social security taxes from salaries and wages of taxpayers.

Should it happen, because of change of employment during a calendar year, that a taxpayer-employee had had deducted at the source from his wages or salary a sum greater than the maximum requirements of the so-called social security system, this is what happens:

In spite of the fact that the social security records show clearly such over-deductions, no attempt is made to prevent further deductions during the calendar year, such as by supplying the taxpayer-employee with a notification that the maximum deductions have been made.

Neither are any refunds made automatically. If the taxpayer wishes to obtain a refund, he is required to fill out Form 843. When that is done and when his refund claim is approved, does the taxpayer get the refund? Oh! no. What happens is that, before any refund, his Federal income-tax return for that year is sent to Washington and examined under a microscope for flaws, and until such return has been completely cleared, the refund is not made.

What happens if the taxpayer deducts the excess withholdings from his subsequent Federal income-tax return? He is charged with 5 per cent interest until he refunds it!

GEORGE McK. ROBERTS.
Lebanon, N. H., March 7, 1954.

Army Duties

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

My conception of Army procedure was quite simple: one enters the Army in good faith, and obeys its rules. I never felt that K. P., cleaning latrines, and other menial work constitute punishment. I considered those things necessities.

Now, I would like to have this cleared up in my mind. Are physicians and dentists the most superior beings in the Army? Why should not other college degrees and academic training exclude other young men from such "punishment"? Sen. McCarthy makes one feel that punishment for physicians and dentists should take the form of putting them through the unpleasant task of cleaning latrines. How can necessary duty for one man constitute punishment for another?

THE MOTHER OF A G. I.
Brooklyn, March 8, 1954.

Teachers' Strike

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

Apart from the many moral principles involved, the strike of the Bayonne school teachers raises the question of their right to strike at all, in the middle of a scholastic year.

It is a well accepted practice in coal mining areas, when a strike takes place, that caretakers shall be provided to prevent the deterioration of idle property; similarly, railway workers, before quitting work, are expected to bring their trains and engines to usual places of safety. In the industries like measures are taken to prevent losses.

The Bayonne school teachers were well aware, when the school year began, what their compensation would be during that year unless the public authorities found ways and means of improving it. They were bound in honor to complete their engagement; instead of which they forced the closing of the schools, at the cost of the education of 8,499 pupils who were in no sense responsible for the situation, broke their contract to teach through the year, and gave an example of disloyalty to their high profession shocking to contemplate.

ROBERT P. SKINNER.
Belfast, Me., March 9, 1954.

Arms and Men

By Walter Millis

Mr. Kyes Bows Out

WHATEVER the reasons which led the Under Secretary of Defense, Mr. Roger M. Kyes, to announce his impending resignation at the height of the McCarthy-Stevens imbroglio, the resignation itself represents the most striking break so far in the original ranks of the President's "business administration."

It was in regard to defense in particular that the campaign pledges most heavily stressed this theme. The President's Baltimore speech on defense made the double promise to fortify "civilian control" over the soldiers and to bring capable business administrators in from private industry to import its organizational and administrative efficiencies into the colossal business of defense.

Mr. Kyes is, after his chief, Mr. Wilson, the outstanding figure through whom these pledges were redeemed. He has earned a high reputation for vigor, bluntness and forceful action in carving his way through the jungles of defense. He has certainly energized the forces of economy and administrative reorganization; he has not always been popular with the uniformed commanders, but that the whole immense organization has profited by his drive there would be few to deny.

* * *

Yet the actual history of the civilian-business controllers in defense is plainly still to be written; the actual gains and losses resulting are yet to be balanced out. Perhaps there will never be a final verdict unless a war disaster really does overtake their work, as it overtook the work of the unhappy Mr. Louis Johnson; while even a sound preliminary estimate would take a good deal more detailed knowledge of the inner workings of the new machinery than has yet been vouchsafed to the public.

A widespread impression that the industrialists walked in on the extravagant generals and admirals and brought them at last to book, compelling them to efficient solutions of their military as well as their administrative and bookkeeping problems, may have much to sustain it. It is, nevertheless, subject to certain qualifications. The generals were certainly neither as unintelligent, as backward nor as wasteful as they are often represented; nor, for that matter, were the lawyers and bankers who had customarily carried the burdens of "civilian control" in previous administrations.

* * *

The reduced defense budget undoubtedly owes much to improved business management, though the Administration has never seemed able to give a clear picture of just how much. Nor has it attempted to distinguish between the improvements of this character which were already in process under previous administrations and those which originated or were significantly hastened forward by the new men.

The overwhelmingly greater part of the current economies, however, do not flow from managerial, bookkeeping or administrative techniques. They are the result of the military decisions embodied in the "new look," of the reduction of some forces, the "stretch-out" of others, the general shifts of emphasis among the innumerable different parts and preparations of the military machine.

* * *

In general, these last decisions were not achieved by knocking the uniformed heads together and compelling them to produce a militarily more efficient fighting organization, which just happened to turn out afterwards to cost less money. While there are contradictions as to the facts and confusions as to precisely what happened, it seems broadly safe to say that the major part of the work was achieved by the old and simple process of telling the uniforms roughly what they could spend and leaving it to them to do the best they could with what they were going to get. This is always the most effective way of reducing a defense budget; and real military efficiencies (as distinguished from managerial economies) may be enforced in the process, and in the last year no doubt have been. But whether the result is really a more efficient, a more adequate, system for the application of violence and high explosive to those national problems which can be met in no other way is at least open to question. And it is a question in which the industrial manager, trained to think in terms of monetary efficiency rather than of national policy and strategy, may not be an altogether sure guide.

* * *

The complete story of the business managers in defense is yet to be written. They have proved powerful and effective agents for applying an underlying Administration policy in which the reduction of defense costs was a primary requirement. They have also established over most of the important processes of the military structure a "civilian control" or command which makes the appointed civilian administrators the unchallengeable authority. They have not greatly clarified for the public benefit the basic policies which they have enforced; they have not presented the major policy issues involved to the public in a way which enables it to deal with them, and have thus done very little to reassert "civilian control" in the sense of control by the people at large.

And now the unexpectedly early resignation by one of the most outstanding among them must at least imply some feeling that their big job is done and they can leave to other bureaucrats the job of running the machinery which they have rebuilt and re-oiled and set running. If so, it suggests a rather narrow concept of the real and continuing tasks of military policy-making and administration. The country is much in Mr. Kyes' debt, and owes much to the others like him whom the President drafted into government. But the experiment may seem in the end less than a final answer to the difficult problem of modern administration, and of "civil-military relations."

Spring in the Air

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

As this is written, spring is in the air, but March is fickle. Still, at the risk of stirring up a blizzard, it seems that winter is laid away. The gentle air suggestive of April is upon us, that feeling of a new season is everywhere.

But there are other portents than those in the air. City gardeners have seen their tulips and hyacinths come up—as long ago as February. They made their appearance during an unseasonably early warm spell and now stand two or three inches. The earth has released its heady spring aroma; and, standing in direct, bright rays of morning sun, one can feel its heat.

Summer is the season so often yearned for in winter. But one wonders. How about the lilting daintiness of spring? How about the gentle nip of fall before winter's bite? Probably each one of us has his favorite season, but at this moment—poised as we are between two worlds of weather—spring seems the best of all.

CROSSTOWN.
New York, March 8, 1954.

Arming Pakistan

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

Two years of intimate, nationwide contact with every stratum of Indian life convinces me that the bulk of the American press is doing its readers a grievous disservice by its misinterpretation of India's foreign policy and her attitude toward the United States-Pakistan military pact. Both are steeped in thousands of years of deep-rooted non-aggressive tradition, centuries of entanglement with the Moslems, augmented by India's inexorable exigencies of the moment and backed unreservedly by nearly 400 million citizens of free India. No contrived opposition to the United States-Pakistan arms deal was attempted or necessary; India's indignation was spontaneous and predictable, as would be ours if, for example, Russia suddenly decided to conclude a strong-armed military pact, "in self-defense," with the whole o Latin and South America an Canada.

India genuinely fears a Unite States-armed bellicose Pakista on her flanks. The Moslen have caused her too much gr over the centuries.

The long-range friends goodwill and co-operation India—the heart of Asia of infinitely greater impor to America than the d temporary advantages she gain from this Pakist neuver. If it is too late it, I propose that th States go on immedia with an unequivocal that she will not to istani misuse of U arms against Ind her neighbors—a istan should vio America woul the all-out a country.

ALEX
Bombay,

NEW YORK
Herald T

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N.Y. Post - 4/7/54

On The Air

Joe's Formula Makes Murrow a Red

By JAY NELSON TUCK

A hundred years ago Marx and Engels laid down the theoretical framework of communism.

Thirty-six years ago Lenin and the Bolsheviki established the first Communist state.

The government of the U. S. connived to turn over all of China and half of Korea to the Communists.

And all of this is at least partly the fault of Edward R. Murrow.

This was the line of "reasoning" laid down last night Joe McCarthy, on Murrow's CBS television program, "See It Now." The Senator revealed once again that he is one of the all-time masters of innuendo and insinuation.

* * *

A month ago Murrow had devoted a program to the Senator. Using McCarthy's own words almost entirely, he convicted the Senator of double dealing and numerous other offenses against human decency. He offered McCarthy time

Continued on Page 76

SEN. McCARTHY

EDWARD R. MURROW

On The Air

Continued From Page 5

to reply and last night the Senator, on film occupied all of Murrow's program, except for a single commercial and brief opening and closing announcements.

McCarthy devoted almost the entire time, not to his own record, but to an attack upon Murrow. He charged:

1. That Murrow by his own admission was a member of the International Workers of the World. Murrow said today he was never a member or a supporter of the IWW.

2. That the Institute of International Education, for which Murrow once worked and of which he is now a trustee, was chosen by the Soviets to do a job which would normally have been done by the Russian secret police. The Institute is a respected educational agency which has arranged some 30.000 exchanges of students and it has been attacked by the Soviets as "a center of international propaganda."

There was more, much more. Murrow is "the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors." **(He didn't say that "jackal" is a favorite epithet of the Soviet mouthpieces.)**

Murrow was favorably mentioned in a book by Owen Lattimore. **(He didn't say that Lattimore pointed out he had never met Murrow and was simply paying tribute to those who thought he—Lattimore—ought to be held innocent until he was proven guilty.)**

Harold Laski, the late British Socialist, dedicated a book to Murrow. **(He didn't say that Murrow disagreed with Laski's political views; that the dedication was for Murrow's work on behalf of Britain during the war.)**

McCarthy, for all his research, couldn't even get Murrow's job straight. He called him educational director of CBS, a job which Murrow hasn't held for 17 years. He called him a vice-president of CBS, a job Murrow hasn't held for five or six years.

* * *

Finally, McCarthy came to his acid test: Who was more hated by Communists—McCarthy or Murrow? This would tell.

And he took three Communist publications. He cited examples of "praise" in these publications for Murrow. **(He didn't say that one of these articles, for instance, made just one reference to Murrow It's listed him with Adlai Stevenson and Sen. Flanders (R-Vt.) as three people who had recently given McCarthy "resounding belts in the jaw.")**

And he cited quotations to show that the Communists don't like McCarthy.

(By the Senator's own test, incidentally, these quotations might prove that McCarthy is a Communist.)

When James A. Wechsler, editor of this newspaper, was before McCarthy and cited such Communist attacks upon him, McCarthy said blandly that the Communists might have made these attacks just to divert suspicion from Wechsler so that he could more effectively function without suspicion as a Communist agent.

(By the same rule, Senator, are they attacking you only so that you can help their cause more effectively without people knowing that you're really working for them?).

* * *

CBS reported that initial reaction to the broadcast was overwhelmingly in favor of Murrow. Nearly 3,000 calls were received in New York in the first few hours after the program, and CBS said 2,012 favored Murrow and 977 McCarthy. Similar responses were reported throughout the nation.

The network backed Murrow solidly, saying:

"CBS fully subscribes to the integrity and responsibility of Mr. Murrow as a broadcaster and as a loyal American."

* * *

Will McCarthy fool many people with his attack? Can an utterly contemptuous and utterly contemptible cynic manipulate the public as he pleases?

People to whom I talked early today seemed to think so. He was very clever, they said. Of course, he didn't fool them, but he'll fool most other people.

I think they're wrong. You can fool a lot of the people some of the time, but in the long run, to paraphrase Joseph Mitchell, the people are as wise as you are, whoever you are.

I 44

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Great Britain's Debate

The depth of feeling aroused in Great Britain by the hydrogen bomb tests has been reflected in Parliament, where an unusual debate unfolded on Monday. It is not possible for a newspaper on this side of the Atlantic to enter into the merits of Sir Winston Churchill's charges that the Labor government had, while in power, cast away the safeguards surrounding the atom bomb which had been written into secret agreements in 1943. Yet a few points in regard to that charge are worth making. It is an interesting commentary on British political life that this attack on the former Labor leadership should have thrown the House into an uproar not equaled in the last twenty years. In this country infinitely worse things are said by the two parties about each other—and they are taken as part of the normal atmosphere of politics. Perhaps the indignation of the Labor MPs—their cries of "No, No," "Shame," "Withdraw," "Resign," etc.—uggests something about the level of British olitics which we could study with profit.

More important, it is interesting to be reinded that while the atom bomb was still a ere project, referred to by the code name of ube alloy," Mr. Churchill should have ined on getting into writing an agreement t it should not be used by one country hout the consent of the other. For the sake his strategic gain, Mr. Churchill was willto barter away commercial and industrial ts of great potential value. The secret ement may be set down as due to Sir Wins remarkable prescience and, one might his canniness. But it also is indicative of eight which British statesmanship inely attaches to limitations on the u atom and now the hydrogen bomb. It same feeling which brought Mr. Attlee o this country in 1950 when Mr. Truounced that the A-bomb might be over Korea.

itish feel that their contribution to opment of the A-bomb was crucial. al plan to have it produced in this ther than in Great Britain, was e fact that the United States was the enemy and was favored by anses suitable for experimentagan as partnership they have continue in the same way. At they have realized vividly that al position makes them pecuto such a weapon. They would get in the event of war with r island life, with all its s, would be in danger of

cannot be insensitive to If there has been any rate the concern of the f the latest hydrogen t debates in Parliad it. As a matter of potent reasons for ecrecy with which his whole field in yesterday Presiat this act had possessed the Britain have President has commendaee of cong allies. ons proul uses laws pally eat re

the Mayor announces that the five-and-ten automobile tax will be abandoned after this year. Presumably the garden variety of taxpayer should infer that the new administration has turned a good bargain by freeing him of the sticker nuisance and blithely promising that the new adventure in taxation really won't hurt a bit. This, of course, is so much deception, and the Mayor can thank his stars that he is just over an election and does not have to face political cross-examination on who pays an indirect tax.

One can understand that Mr. Wagner prefers as of now to belittle the impact of the service tax. The legislation has still to be adopted, and he probably considers that the less uproar is heard from business or anybody else so much the better. After all, his predecessor toyed with the same measure last year and then dropped it fast in the face of organized opposition. It is a curious thing that so little information is available on how much revenue the service tax would provide. The figure of $30 million has been tossed around, but no one knows for sure. But if the city is so agreeable to relinquishing $17 million from automobiles in the face of vastly enlarged requirements, it seems safe to assume that the 3 per cent tax on commercial services of almost every nature is a disguised bonanza. No wonder that Mayor Wagner wants to play the overture soft and low. For that reason it is all the more important that everybody begin to understand at once what serious effects a tax of this magnitude may have on New York's commerce and the entire population.

A Poison in Our Affairs

Many who heard and saw Senator McCarthy's "reply" to Edward R. Murrow on their TV sets Tuesday evening felt themselves almost physically in the presence of something so hostile to our normal freedoms of thought and debate as to constitute a far greater peril than any from which McCarthy's efforts have ever in fact preserved us.

The Senator did not attempt to reply to the Murrow criticisms. Instead he turned to crush the man who had criticized and disagreed with him under an insinuation that the critic is a Communist, has acted from pro-Communist motives and in the service of Communist conspiracy, is the "leader of the jackal pack." But it is not the charge alone which was appalling. It was the fact that it was delivered without any substantiation whatever; it was built up by a skillful process of outrageous insinuation, emotional juxtapositions, frequently obvious misrepresentations and what in some cases would seem to have been simple fabrication—as in the unsupported statement that the H-bomb was held up for eighteen months, which is something of which no one, not even the President of the United States, had ever heard before.

The entire effort was a demonstration of why "McCarthyism" has seemed to so many so dangerous a poison in our affairs. These are the means whereby the Senator has terrorized men in high places and low, including the now frightened and fumbling Senators and their committees; these are the means whereby he "proves" his reckless charges and tramples over the rights and dignity of every one, whether Communist or not, whose victimization will serve his interests. These are the concepts of reason, fairness and justice which he has introduced into the sufficiently difficult problem of dealing with the real (as opposed to the imaginary) dangers of domestic Communism. After this vivid demonstration it was not surprising that the President should declare without hesitation that Mr. Murrow was his friend.

90 CHURCH STREET, ROOM 1303
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

4 February 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have received your letter of January 28th inviting me to participate in the camera recorded biographies which you are organizing. It is an experiment in which my participation would be doubtful.

As I understand it, the record might be used in two ways: present audiences now, and future generations later. Both potentials would present embarrassment to me.

Rightly or wrongly, it seems to me that in national crises, such as the present, one who has filled a public position but does so no longer can best serve the Republic by maintaining silence. What he says, whether wise or not, can but add to the general confusion and bewilderment. Only those vested with authority and its consequent responsibility command the necessary prestige and publicity to carry confidence and conviction. Others merely muddle the waters. Since my relief from active military service I am one of those others.

As far as future history is concerned, I feel that the immediate contemporary record is the only reliable source. The statements of interested principals, made some years after the event, cannot fail to be influenced by the aftermath of actual developments. No matter how objective one may want to be in the abstract the temptations of the "Monday morning quarterback" will assail. Human nature, being what it is, will almost universally cause the narrator to slant and color the story to his personal benefit. I would hesitate to face such a temptation, especially as the immediate contemporary records are voluminous.

Mr. Truman's appearance on Sunday seemed to me to illustrate almost classically the historical dangers involved in aftermath and afterthought statements. He made statements entirely incompatible with the incidents as reported at the time of occurrence. So incomprehensible with the truth were some of his comments that at times he seemed to me almost like a clown rather than as one who had been the Chief Magistrate of this great country. It was entertainment but not history.

Among the falsities and fallacies of his claims, I recall the following items in his denunciation of me in an apparently desperate effort to relieve his conscience of the dreadful aftermath resulting from his Korean mishandlement:

1. He suppressed an indiscreet letter from me to Dave Lawrence, a partisan political editor and publisher. This is entirely false. I have never written to Lawrence at any time. A strategic analysis of the military value to the free world of the Island of Formosa made by me at the request of a veteran group to which I belonged was the cause of his wrath.

2. He claims I misled him about the entrance into the Korean war of Red China. He has the cart before the horse. It was he who misled me. As a field commander my intelligence was limited to my own front. I had no means of knowing what was the political policy of Peking. That was a responsibility of Washington and its authorities assured me that there was no indication of intervention.

3. He insists that I was insubordinate. Yet every witness from the Pentagon swore before a Congressional Committee to the contrary. Actually, the order and accompanying statement relieving me refutes such an allegation which was made only years after the incident.

4. He states that I disobeyed his order. This is false. I do not even know to what he refers; but I have never knowingly disobeyed, either in letter or spirit, any order given me in my fifty-nine years of military service. This is the first time Mr. Truman has made such a charge.

5. He justifies his action by recounting the approval of General Bradley and Secretary Marshall, both sworn enemies of mine. General Bradley, according to Truman's own statement in his memoirs, was a candidate to replace me. He was embittered by my refusal to give him a command in the Far East because I questioned the errors he committed in Europe, especially the debacle of the so-called "Battle of the Bulge". He recently stated, however, in a magazine article that my concept of victory might, after all, have been right.

6. He quotes Lincoln's removal of General McClelland and Polk's removal of General Scott as precedents. Neither has any semblance of similarity to my own case. McClelland

went because of his timidity and non-aggressiveness. Lincoln relieved him because of a belief he could not win. Polk relieved Scott because of his belief that Scott was a candidate for the Presidency and was using his military position to enhance his political chances.

The real reason for my own relief is that I believed victory to be essential. Truman did not. He failed to comprehend the most basic principle of statesmanship--that a big country that enters upon war and does not see it through but accepts a stalemate must ultimately suffer all the consequences of defeat. The truth is he lost his nerve just when victory was within his grasp.

At that time we had the bomb, they did not. We would not have had to fight globally--the threat of the bomb would have been sufficient to force the enemy to yield. His knowledge that we would not was the very signal for his intervention. Truman in his concentration on the center in Europe failed to see that the Reds were turning our north flank in Asia and our south flank in Africa. And we are now beginning to reap the bitter result of all this. We see Red China building up a military strength to become the balance of military power in the world and to perhaps tip the scales of the future control of the world towards the Soviet. We see the dreadful cost in money to prepare against this menace and we realize the dreadful sacrifice in life which our half-hearted effort in Korea produced. For to recklessly enter upon war and then to even more recklessly stop makes the sacrificed dead look like something resembling murder.

At this point you will say, probably, that my television appearance would give me a complete chance to present my rebuttal. But I believe the spectacle of two old men with their careers behind them assailing each other on past events which have been fully discussed in controversy of years ago would be detrimental to national interests at this time when unity is so essential. The public would, I am sure, be distressed.

For the above reasons I think it would be unwise for me to accept your invitation.

Thank you for your birthday greetings and for the record of Churchill's speeches.

Most sincerely,

Douglas MacArthur

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1951
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

General Ridgeway said today: whatever the enemy does he will get more than he reckoned for. On another visit to the quiet battlefront the General said: the war will last as long as the Communists are willing to pay the bloody price they have been paying. He wonders how long the enemy troops will put up with empty Communist promises to throw the United Nations forces out of Korea and destroy them. He thinks the only thing the Communists have succeeded in doing so far has been to destroy tens of thousands more of their own men. There was very little action on the front today. For a third day our tank patrols probed to the north seeking enemy strongpoints. (A few communist pockets were wiped out.)

In Washington, General MacArthur spent another long day answering hundreds of questions from two senate committees. Perhaps the most newsworthy question came from Senator Fulbright of Arkansas. He asked the general if he'd be surprised to learn that Secretary of State Acheson "vigorously" opposed MacArthur's dismissal. The General said he never attributed his dismissal to Acheson..doesn't know him...hasn't the faintest idea whether or not Acheson had anything to do with it...believes his dismissal was "the judgement of one individual" (presumably the President). The General denied that he was taking a slap at the State Department in his letter to Representative Martin, in which he said: "Here we fight Europe's war, wile the diplomats fight it with words". The General said this was simply a statement of the actual facts. He said the Martin letter was "routine"...he turned them out by the hundreds. He also said his message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars—the one the President asked him to recall--had great weight in changing Washington's estimate of the strategic value of Formosa.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Dr. Stanton

from: Mr. Murrow

February 25, 1958

I thought the attached reply from General MacArthur might interest or amuse you.

May I have it back at your convenience?

MANY THX

fc

E.R.M.

Answer Report
Appropriate action
Background?
Info File
Note & return
Issue PS
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to PS
CHECKT

November 19, 1958

Mr. John W. Boler
North Dakota Broadcasting Co., Inc.
4000 West Main Avenue
Fargo, North Dakota.

Dear Mr. Boler:

Thank you for your letter of November 12 and the enclosure to Lou Cowan. As we both know, these networks are pretty monolithic and allergic to change.

Since you were good enough to say kind words about my speech in Chicago, I am sending you the complete text.

Yours sincerely,

ERM:skh

enc.

North Dakota Broadcasting Co., Inc.

GENERAL OFFICES: 4000 WEST MAIN AVENUE

FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA

November 12, 1958

JOHN W. BOLER
PRESIDENT

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS News
465 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I had the opportunity and the pleasure to meet you in your office at CBS many years ago, at which time I tried to persuade you to visit the great upper midwest and address the annual meeting of the Greater North Dakota Association. About that time you had to leave abruptly for Korea, as I recall, and were not able to give further consideration to our invitation.

I want you to know that I was extremely impressed with your talk in Chicago recently. I did not hear the complete text however the excerpts that were flashed on radio and television newscasts were sufficient to give me the idea.

I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of a letter which I have just forwarded to Louis Cowan, President of CBS Television. The ideas set forth in my letter to Mr. Cowan are a result of my listening to your criticism of the radio and television broadcast industry. I completely agree with you and sincerely hope that the networks will consider revising their program structure to enable stations to do more local programming, particularly in the evening hours, of public service nature. I consider local news and weather, of course, a type of public service programming, however there are numerous other types of public service programs that could be presented even in a four and a half minute period.

I just thought that you might be interested in knowing the opinion of at least one broadcaster who has three television stations affiliated with CBS Television.

Respectfully yours

John W. Boler

John W. Boler, President
North Dakota Broadcasting Co., Inc.

JWB/jr

Gould, Jack

Evaluating the evaluator—the TV voice of 'The New York Times' is a force to reckon with. What are his values? And what is the true role of the TV critic?

BY LEON MORSE

Said the sponsor to his secretary: "Gould didn't like the show at all. He only wrote four lines. He wasn't even respectful. Get me Brown down at the agency. He's got plenty of explaining to do."

Said the harried head of the agency TV department: "Gould doesn't know what he's talking about. We're selling soap, not a course in the humanities. He's way off base, but try to tell that to a nervous client."

Said the network producer to his director: "I think Jack Gould is a pedantic ass. What does he know about our problems? Where's his feeling for showmanship? I'd like to see him try to keep those 38 million monsters with TV sets happy week after week."

Often reviled but as often respected

These comments indicate that the professional TV critic is a creature often reviled, but just as often respected for the consequences his published words can have. They also testify to the growing gulf between critic and industry, which raises a question of high importance to advertiser and medium alike:

Are the critics merely half-baked intellectuals who have no comprehension of mass-appeal programming, or do their complaints reflect a serious weakness in current programming concepts?

It is tempting, and easy, to dismiss critical attacks as irrelevant and to seek security in the continually rising levels of viewing as reported by Nielsen. Yet what are we to make of the statement by Jack Gould to this magazine that "as a critic" he is "finding less and less to write about?" He notes that other critics feel the same way.

Gould asks:

"How much interest can be generated about a medium which is losing excitement through repetition of forms?"

In one form or another, critics have been asking this question for the past two years, and there is little reason to expect that they will not continue to raise it repeatedly in the foreseeable future. What attitude should the industry take? Should advertisers, agency men and broadcasters go on the defensive, perhaps even launch a continuing counter-attack? Should the critics simply be ignored? Or should their attacks be taken as a sign that something is in need of correction?

It all comes down to one's view of the function of criticism in the entertainment field. There is perhaps no individual better qualified to explain to advertisers what makes the critic tick than Jack Gould. Not only does he represent America's most influential newspaper, *The New York Times*, but he has won a high degree of respect for his honesty, objectivity and knowledge of the field among those whose efforts he criticizes. And his influence is felt on all industry levels: sponsor, agency, network and station.

"Our quarrel as critics," says Gould, "is not so much with what is on TV as with what is not on. TV must offer a greater diversity of programming, a better balance." He bemoans, as have many others, the lack of adult drama, and an alleged over-production of Westerns. He calls upon advertisers to "quit trying to please all of the people all of the time." He warns that this approach is "narrow and limits the kind of programming that can be presented. Soon you wind up talking to yourself." He stresses that sponsors, "by playing it safe, are limiting their potential rewards from the medium."

TV's strangle hold on the young imposes an obligation

The quarrel between Gould and his critics is obviously over his social point of view. The demands of TV are so great on producers that they take the pragmatic viewpoint. They are, in most cases, willing to settle for what succeeds. He is not. He believes, for example, that TV has such a strangle hold on the younger generation that it has an obligation to present the vital issues of the day. "When so many of their hours are pre-empted to present entertainment, TV must, in some way, compensate and make certain not all hours of the public are wasted." He points out that in presenting only entertainment in prime time, TV is /To next page

INSIDE JACK GOULD

Though in TV "the marriage of commerce and culture is often a shotgun wedding,"

telling the viewers that there are no problems in the world around us. And he sees as one of the social dangers of TV, the fact that broadcasters and advertisers have the ability to exploit the public's search for escapism, it's search to avoid dealing with the problems around us. He demands that the broadcasting industry and all who profit from it accept their social responsibilities.

But he is realistic in not expecting too much advertiser support in this direction. He insists that networks and stations pay for controversial programs, not the advertisers. "I do not see how you can expect advertisers to lend their names to some controversial public service programs."

Acts as a watchdog of public interest

Gould's great power as a critic is related to the fact that he continually touches TV at its most tender spot—its conscience. The industry is well aware of the two horses it must always ride—commerce and culture. It is well aware that a TV license must be operated in the public interest. Gould acts as a watchdog of that interest. And so often when Gould criticizes, he is only voicing the subconscious guilt feelings of the industry, as when a Presidential speech about a foreign crisis that may result in war is shunted to 11 p.m. because of commercial commitments.

The attention Gould commands from high places means that he sometimes directly affects what the common viewer sees on television, even though the relatively low circulation of *The Times* in comparison to the *New York Daily News,* for example, gives him a very limited public following. (*The New York Times* incidentally, also syndicates Gould's column. It is bought by about ten papers, among them the *Boston Herald,* the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and the *Des Moines Register.*)

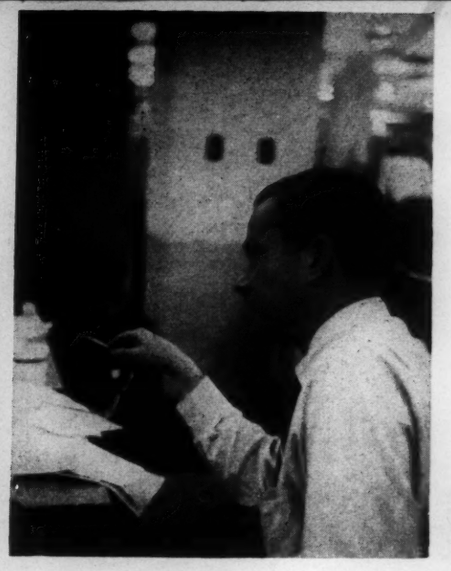
When the networks telecast last summer's debate at the UN over the Lebanon crisis—in telecasting the debate, they were undoubtedly influenced by Gould's continuing criticism of previous network failures to carry important UN sessions—viewers who had their favorite soap operas interrupted shrieked in dismay. Such shrieks do not disturb Gould in the least, and he believes they shouldn't disturb broadcasters. He says: "When the Federal Communications Commission grants licenses, it gives broadcasters more than the possibility of making money. It grants them the right to lead. I believe each broadcaster must be a leader in his community. Each must be a man with a mission." Unfortunately, so many of them have no sense of mission or leadership. "They seem to think the FCC license only gives them the right to make money, without accepting some of the other obligations that go along with it. What I find so frustrating about TV is that it could be so much better than it is."

But continuing along the same lines, Gould points out. "If you're dealing with something as important as TV, you've got to have a sense of mission, not necessarily to shape the public in your image, but to offer information, public service and culture which will improve that society and its citizens. TV is a major force in helping Western man to understand his function in a society under attack. The public has no leader. Physically, of course, it is so scattered, so diverse and so amorphous that it cannot have a leader. But traditionally, it has been responsive to leaders in the arts and politics. Broadcasters must screw up their courage and provide leadership. The public will respond.

Leadership might have won public support

With a wry smile he notes, "One of the things I find so ironical about the recent clashes the industry has had with Congressional committees is that if broadcasting had provided leadership, and its skirts were clean, it could have come to the public for aid. And the public would have been glad to throw its support behind the industry."

Because of his demands on the medium as a social instrument, there are many who regard Gould, and critics with



Jack Gould (r.) and John Shanley (l.) jointly head the radio-TV department of 'The New York Times.' Also reporting on broadcasting for the department: Val Adams (l. center), Richard Sheppard (r. center).

the industry must work out the economics to take care of its future.

a similar outlook, as ill-equipped to judge entertainment. But Gould insists that he can and does respond to popular entertainment, that he wants very much to like programs—but that he is against the corny and phoney and *for* the real. He approves of the effort to do an honest job regardless whether the purpose be to entertain or to inform.

Has a reasonably good record for picking hits

Gould has a fairly good record of liking shows that became hits. On October 21, 1951 he wrote, "*I Love Lucy* gives promise of providing a refreshing half-hour of entertainment." He did however complain about the "broad characterization" and the farce. Both of these elements undoubtedly contributed to its success. Gould's criticism of *Dragnet* labelled it a "drama of terseness and understatement with a complete disdain for the clichés of the conventional crime show."

Gould has also, of course, been very wrong in his evaluations of many programs in terms of audience impact. He did not like NBC's *This Is Your Life,* nor, among the newer shows, one of the recent hits of daytime, CBS's *Verdict Is Yours.*

Madison Avenue's charges against Gould as a critic of entertainment add up to an attack on critics in general. His detractors make the following allegations:

First: They claim his approach to TV entertainment is not realistic, that he demands too much of a medium which, after all, throws together major presentations in, at most weeks, and, in most cases, days. "We're not theater producers. We don't have four weeks on the road out of town. We're not motion picture producers. We don't go on location for six months," they cry.

Second: They claim he isn't judging a program from the point of view of the audience. In the final analysis, they point out, it is the viewer who determines the success or failure of a program.

Third: They maintain that he has a preference for live TV over filmed TV. This they claim, once again, interferes with a rational analysis of programs.

Fourth: They charge that his personal tastes too often interfere with his criticism. For example, they observe that he has a preference for drama over quiz shows—that he seems to be weak in the area of variety shows and comedy.

And fifth: They state that while he pretends to support the medium, he does not make sufficient allowances for the experimental in programming which must be nurtured and babied along until it comes to fruition.

Jack's attitude toward the mass of these charges is relaxed. He feels his evaluators are more than entitled to their day in court. He is willing to take the stand and answer the charges. His first move, however, is to set forth the ground rules under which he functions as a critic.

Gould says, "I try to understand what the program is trying to accomplish, then I try to analyze whether it has succeeded in its aim."

Sales not the concern of critics nor audience

Gould believes that the sales function of entertainment in TV is not the critic's business. "I'm not concerned with how a program sells. Neither are the audiences. But I do know a good program will sell. It's my job to evaluate the quality of entertainment it presents, and to evaluate it objectively."

But he remarks, "I do however recognize that in TV, the marriage of commerce and culture is frequently a shotgun wedding. Nevertheless, the industry must work out the economics to take care of the future of the medium."

Jack insists that he is not trying to forecast the success or failure of a program. "I don't take the *Variety* approach to criticism. I'm not interested in box office."

Many Hollywood producers have complained about Gould's ostensible bias against film programs. Gould denies any bias. "My preference is for good programming. I am

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L.A. Dec. 58
Southern Calif. Magazine Pasadena, Ca

A once proud beauty has become a matronly drudge.

TELEVISION---
THE LIGHT THAT FAILED

By MYRON ROBERTS

EDWARD R. MURROW, the man who has come to symbolize the intellectual honor of television, has recently been widely quoted as attacking the "decadence and escapism" of television.

Murrow's charges are, of course, not unique. But they are notable coming from a man who is himself one of the principal figures in the industry and a vice president of one of the largest networks. For the decline of a great institution is usually imminent when the leaders of that institution begin to agree with its detractors. France's *ancien regime* was clearly doomed when Marie Antoinette took to flitting about the royal playground of Versailles dressed as a milkmaid, in keeping with Rousseau's idea that virtue resided not in the nobility, but in the common people.

To my knowledge, no one has bothered to refute Murrow's charges. Some executives have pointed out, somewhat apologetically, that westerns aren't really as bad as all that and only constitute about fifteen percent of the total air time of the principal networks (but neglecting to mention that the cowboys are most prevalent during the prime evening hours). What is really remarkable is the general assent to the proposition that this institution, only a little more than ten years old, has already achieved a comfortable "decadence."

Television critics, whose professional stature depends largely upon the medium they are called upon to criticize, become terribly depressed about this. Hardly a week passes but the Messrs. Cecil Smith, John Crosby, et al., do not exorcise the industry in general and the cowpokes in particular. Crosby has even hinted, darkly, that he may quit the racket. Certainly his reviews, once bright and sparkling, have become increasingly painful of late. No less a personage than David Sarnoff has recently complained publicly about the pall which hangs over most TV critics.

To understand the disenchantment of these critics, and of all those who have joined the unending chorus of condemnation of "the electronic jukebox," one has only to hearken back to what is already remembered as the Golden Age of television. As one gazes upon the square, dumb faces of the principal protagonists of modern television, the era of the early fifties already seems like part of a dim and distant past. One remembers the editorial power of Murrow's "See It Now"; the political campaign of 1952; the Army-McCarthy hearings; Sid Caesar, George Gobel, Ernie Kovacs, Desi and Lucy; the exciting, intelligent dramas presented week in and week out by Hallmark, Philco, Kraft, Studio One. One remembers, too, how an undistinguished senator from Tennessee almost became President on the basis of a single appearance before the cameras in the role of racket-buster!

Most of these phenomena are either gone or have been removed to some small corner of the industry. The producers and playwrights are doing more important things — like producing plays off Broadway. The comics are chained to Eddie Fisher, their teeth pulled. Murrow makes conversation instead of news. The sad thing is not so much that they have gone, but that they have been replaced by amiable crooners who look as though they want to get home and get their shoes off, and ex-radio comedians who were funny fellows in the thirties. Even beautiful young girls are becoming more and more rare on TV these days. They are being replaced by matrons of more discreet dimensions — a sure sign of middle-age.

HAVING ABANDONED all pretensions to intellect, wit and culture, what future lies in store for the onetime prodigy of the communications world? For the answer to this question let us examine the development of two related media — the press and radio.

The radio station which claims the largest audience in Southern California is KFWB. This station features the new formula, "color radio," which has been tried and found true all over the United States,

and which has brought the industry back from the edge of bankruptcy to new highs in profits. The formula consists principally of ceaseless, spirited chatter, rock-and-roll (or whatever music is currently popular), frequent news, weather and highway reports which are more in the nature of "teasers" than news stories, an abundance of contests, and free classified ads; all liberally interwoven with food and drug-store advertising.

For large numbers of women, busy with children and housework and yet lonely for the sound of adult, human voices, the crash-bang of the music, the slick deejays and even the pitches of the admen make the home seem less like what George Bernard Shaw once called it — a woman's workshop and a girl's prison. And for those males who may find themselves trapped in the house or cruising along the freeways with the radio on, this combination is much to be preferred to the fare which remains the enduring staple of daytime network radio — soap opera. Bad as Elvis undoubtedly is, he represents a distinct cultural advance upon Helen Trent.

This, of course, is not really "show biz." But a good many people have come to prefer it to the elaborate, costly failures of the networks which also have the disadvantage of requiring one's complete attention. And it represents a safe harbor where the demands for entertainment are not great and the profits sufficient unto themselves.

In pursuing this avenue, the local radio stations are but following in the footsteps of a road traveled during the depression by a majority of small weekly and community newspapers. Faced with a decline in income, a good many publishers simply got out of the newspaper business and converted their publications into weekly shoppers which relied more on grocery advertising — interwoven with local gossip, food recipes, etc., for readership than journalistic excellence. As a result, many wound up trading in their eyeshades for Cadillacs. For they discovered, to the horror of the news room, that housewives are more interested in the price of beans at the local market than in an up-to-the-minute analysis of Nasser's strategy in the Far East, and they discovered, too, that, whereas the market owners would pay money to print the price of beans, Nasser was a losing proposition.

Ultimately, it seems to me, all of the mass media in the United States which surrender control of their entertainment and/or information functions to their advertising departments must follow the same pattern. This is made inevitable by the constantly rising costs of the mass media and the need for greater and yet greater volume in order to stay abreast or ahead of competition. Faced with these costs, the station or newspaper owner who depends exclusively upon advertising revenue must go to the advertiser for more money. The advertiser, not unnaturally, in turn demands more and more control of the medium itself. Usually this has the effect of subordinating the news or entertainment function still further to the advertising function. Ultimately the ads become more important and *more interesting* to the viewer, listener or reader than the publication or program itself — and when this happens you have a shopper.

That this trend has already taken hold of the television industry cannot be seriously denied. Already the ads are being more and more lavishly produced and the program content is becoming steadily more bland. The ads are set to music, danced by beautiful maidens wearing expensive gowns, recited by famous stars. The shows themselves feature horses. News of an altered tail fin is presented with considerably more solemnity than changes in foreign policy. Singing commercials are catchier and more amusing than the hit tunes. Slowly but steadily the public is being educated to the idea that the commercial, not the play, is the thing.

A recent issue of "Advertising Age" quotes Charles Whittier, former chairman of the plans board for Young & Rubicam, as complaining that lack of real differences between products is causing the public to shop prices. Whittier thinks this is "frightening" and wonders what will happen when "consumer experience becomes more persuasive than consumer advertising." To the end that this calamity shall not befall us, television has dedicated its resources.

"There's nothing like an old-fashioned Christmas at Grandma's"

A second factor in the incipient decline of commercial television is the inevitable appearance of pay TV, which must come to pass because a market for it exists in the millions of Americans whose tastes are ignored at present. I refer to those who hunger for quality programming, whether it be in drama, comedy, music or sports.

In the music business, which does not depend upon advertising for support, there are clearly two markets — popular and classical. Both are profitable. The same is true of book publishing and is becoming increasingly true of movie-making. Those television executives who hold stubbornly to the notion that this nation is composed exclusively of cowboy fans, quiz addicts and admirers of Ed Sullivan must ultimately pay for their sin by reducing their business to the status of a dumb-show. The air waves belong to all of us, not simply to those with depressed IQs. Adults have rights which some think equal to those of children. When these rights are asserted, and sooner or later they will be, there will be another system of television. At this point it is likely that commercial television will start offering free classified ads.

ANOTHER HARBINGER of the future lies in the immense success which the talking shows — pioneered locally by Tom Duggan and nationally by Steve Allen's "Tonight" — have enjoyed of late. Already Duggan has half a dozen imitators locally who, one way or another, have copied his format. Their shows have the virtue of being inexpensive to produce, of appealing to large numbers of advertisers who do not wish, or cannot afford, to assume the cost of an entire program, and of requiring no great attention to content. The number of such "shows" (Duggan, who is nothing if not candid, has expressly denied any pretensions to being in "show business") is still multiplying, and there is every indication that the format will eventually become as commonplace as is the deejay on radio.

Surrounded as we are by the incessant propaganda which seeks to glamorize and dignify television, it is not unnatural that some will think such an early and inglorious end is unlikely. Nevertheless I believe that if I have erred it has been on the side of prudence.

Ten years ago I ordinarily went to the movies once a week or so. Now I rarely attend a movie at all. Within this barely noticed change in my habits lies a tale whose lightest word would harrow a producer's soul. The market for the basic commodity of the industry — boy meets girl — has all but disappeared. Instead we have two new markets — teenagers (including adults with teen-age minds) who feel most at home in a world of horrors, and the more ambitious productions which depend greatly on shock value to lure adult customers into theaters. It would have seemed rash indeed had anyone predicted a decade ago that this would come to pass — but that is the way with prophets of doom and gloom. Usually they are too optimistic.

Of late, a similar change has begun to take place in my own — and I firmly believe, in millions of other Americans' — habits with regard to television. Mostly the thing sits quietly and inoffensively in the corner. If occasionally it is turned on in a moment of boredom, the result is usually disappointing. There is an old but self-evident principle of human psychology which holds that actions which tend to be followed by a pleasant response are perpetuated, and those which result in frustration or disappointment are generally eliminated. Against my will, for I much enjoyed the thing in the old days, those responsible for television programming are gradually eliminating me. I have no reason to believe that in this I am in any way exceptional.

THE FAILURE OF commercial television to fulfill its early promise is of course to be regretted. Pay television will no doubt come along and fill in the vacuum, but I should have much preferred to be entertained at no cost to myself. To have accomplished this estimable purpose, men in charge of the industry must have kept in mind two simple facts. First, the human being is a complete creature and commonly possesses a fairly complex brain. It is, therefore, impossible to entertain human beings, or even to hold their attention very long, without running the risk of educating them. As Shaw has pointed out, all entertainment is didactic. The second fact is that man's function as a consumer, important as it no doubt is, does not constitute the sum and substance of his life. Men have even been known to pursue interests which prejudice their efficiency in the market place. By subordinating programming to the sole end that the audience shall be left with no other impression but an irresistible urge to go out and buy, the television moguls have reduced this audience in size and in stature to the point where we but degrade ourselves when we encourage them in this endeavor.

To have done otherwise would, of course, have required from the industry a good deal of faith in the audience. That faith was present in the early years. The much-discussed audience-ratings systems have been offered as the principal justification for the abandonment of this position. In truth, the situation is simply that the industry began to take itself too seriously, price itself too high, and as the stakes rose the willingness to gamble diminished.

Now prudent men, filled with the profound conviction that the easiest way is much the best, have taken possession of this once promising beauty and — having converted her into a household drudge — have as their reward the pleasure of nursing her to her grave.

Renick, Ralph

Recently the Federal Communications Commission laid down a ruling which, if allowed to stand, will severely restrict radio and television coverage of political candidates on regular news broadcasts.

On March 14, Frank Stanton, President of the Columbia Broadcasting System, called attention to the grave implications of this unprecedented decision—for printed journalism as well as broadcasting—in a vigorous public statement which has made a deep impression on the nation's press.

In the thought that you would be interested in the editorial reaction Dr. Stanton's statement stimulated, I am sending you this sampling.

RALPH RENICK, *President*
Radio-Television News Directors Association

COMMUNICATIONS ACT, Section 315: *Clippings*

THE SUNDAY STAR, Washington, D.C., March 15, 1959

CBS Will Fight Ruling On Political Equal Time

CHICAGO, Mar. 14 (AP).—The president of the Columbia Broadcasting System said today an all-out fight will be waged against the Federal Communications Commission's ruling requiring equal time for all political opponents.

Dr. Frank Stanton called the February 19 FCC ruling on newscasts "perhaps the most severely crippling decision ever handed down with regard to broadcast journalism." He said if the FCC does not reconsider and reverse itself, CBS intends to appeal to the courts, to Congress and to the people.

He told a general conference of CBS television network affiliates that the decision makes it a mathematical impossibility for broadcasting to report any political campaign in its own way.

Ruling Made in Daly Case

Dr. Stanton said the fight will be directed only to the ruling that Section 315—the equal time provision—is applicable to newscasts.

The ruling was handed down in the Lar Daly case in Chicago.

Mr. Daly is a perennial and—so far—unsuccessful office seeker. He announced himself a candidate for both the Republican and Democratic nominations for mayor of Chicago.

Both Mayor Richard Daley, the Democratic candidate for renomination, and former Representative Timothy Sheehan, his Republican opponent, appeared on television newscasts Mr. Daley and Mr. Sheehan were telecast filing their nomination papers. Mr. Daly also was telecast greeting President Frondizi of Argentina on the latter's arrival in Chicago and again during the opening of the March of Dimes campaign.

Equal Time Ordered

The FCC held this news coverage must be matched by allotting equal time to Lar Daly on a regular news broadcast.

Dr. Stanton said the original appearances of the Mayor and Mr. Sheehan "were obviously unavoidable in any adequate television coverage of news of wide general interest." He added:

"The CBS television network alone devoted about 20 per cent of our television newscast time during the 1956 campaign period to the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the two major parties. Some time on virtually every newscast—from Labor Day to Election Day—was devoted to the campaign.

"Under the Daly decision we would have been required to to give equivalent time—on these regular newscasts—to all candidates of all parties who asked for it. There were, as near as can be calculated, 24 presidential and vice presidential candidates of 12 parties. To furnish them all with equivalent time would have taken some 38 hours, approximately 20 per cent more than all the time spent by all our television network newscasts on all the news.

"The absurdity of this can be multiplied by almost any factor you choose . . . where you may have a dozen or more of candidates for a single nomination—and many more than a dozen or a score once the crackpots learn the implications of this decision."

BEE, Sacramento, California, March 15, 1959

CBS Head Says New Equal Time Rule Cripples TV

CHICAGO—UPI—A federal communications commission ruling that television stations must grant candidates equal time on news broadcasts virtually deprives broadcasters of the right to report political campaigns.

So says Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Stanton said yesterfday the FCC action endangers all freedom of the press and "spawns a monstrous idea" that informing the people is secondary to "rigid, unrealistic mathematical equations."

He said CBS will take the case to the courts, to congress and to the people unless the FCC reverses its stand.

Stanton spoke at a conference of network affiliates on the eve of the 37th annual convention of the National Association of Broadcasters.

Cites Chicago Case

He said the advisory opinion which the FCC issued February 19th at the request of Lar (America First) Daly, a perennial Chicago office seeker who was campaigning for the mayoral nomination, is "perhaps the most severely crippling decision ever to be handed down with regard to broadcast journalism."

Daly sought both the Republican and Democratic nominations but lost out on both tickets in the primary February 24th. He demanded that Chicago TV stations give him equal time to match film shots of Mayor Richard J. Daley, the successful Democratic candidate, and former congressman Timothy Sheehan, the Republican victor. CBS refused.

Points To Importance

Stanton said the decision would have prohibited radio-TV from bringing to the American people such historical events as Franklin D. Roosevelt's declaration for a third term and President Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1956 decision that his health would permit him to run for reelection.

If it had been in effect during the 1956 presidential campaign, Stanton said, CBS would have been forced to give equal time on regular newscasts to 24 presidential and vice presidential candidates of 12 parties.

"The absurdity of this can be multiplied by almost any factor you choose," he said, "when you apply the Daly ruling to primaries, where you may have a dozen or a score of candidates for a single nomination—and many more than a dozen or a score once the crackpots learn th implication of this decision."

The CBS president said the FCC ruling "attempts to substitute a ridiculous mathematical formula for the responsibility of news editors in handling the news of political campiagns.

"If responsibility is taken away from us in this important respect, what other freedom we have left will soon disappear also."

San Antonio Express

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

HAMSTRUNG

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1959 PAGE A12

Distorting the News

The absurdity of requiring equal time on the air for all candidates for a political office when any one of those candidates is heard or seen in a newscast is brought into sharp focus by the Lar Daly case. Mr. Daly is a perennial office-seeker who obtained free time on Chicago television stations because they had broadcast news films showing the incumbent mayor, a Democrat, and his Republican opponent. The Federal Communications Commission ruled that Lar Daly was entitled to equal time on a regular news broadcast.

Officials of the National Association of Broadcasters rightly see in this decision a grave threat to radio and television coverage of political events. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, pointed out that during the 1956 presidential campaign the CBS Television Network devoted about 20 per cent of its television newscast time to the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the two major parties. If it had been required to give equal time to all the 24 presidential and vice presidential candidates of the 12 parties which participated in that election, there would have been a complete blackout of other news and even then the requirement would not have been satisfied.

The source of this straight jacket imposed on radio and television news is, of course, Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act. It requires that any station which permits any "legally qualified candidate for any public office" to use its facilities must "afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office." This attempt to put candidates of the Prohibition Party, America First and other insignificant political groups on a par with the major Democratic and Republican Parties is in itself ridiculous. We have previously pointed to the urgent need for modification of this provision so that television and radio can do their essential job of presenting the major candidates to the people without having to clutter their programs with meaningless harangues that no one wants to hear.

Whether the statute requires the FCC to extend this principle of equal treatment for the unequal to newscasts is a highly controversial issue. The language of Section 315 is indeed sweeping; yet it speaks of permitting a candidate "to use" a broadcasting station. When a candidate who happens also to be the President of the United States or the mayor of a city is shown in a newscast, he is not using the station in any literal sense of the word. Rather, the station is using him to present the news to the people.

In any event, the ruling stands as a gross encroachment upon freedom of information in a democratic country. The broadcasting industry has an obligation to fight it in the FCC, in the courts, and in Congress. Rep. Glenn Cunningham has offered a bill to draw the proper distinction between political broadcasts as such and the appearance of candidates in legitimate newscasts. Certainly that step will have to be taken if the Daly ruling is not changed by the FCC or the courts. But Congress should not stop there. It should also recast Section 315 so as to require fair play among the major candidates without trying to thrust minor factions and local crackpots into the major political leagues.

San Antonio Express
EDITORIALS
Wednesday, March 18, 1959 C Page 4-A

Congress Must Spell Out TV-Radio News Freedom

The Federal Communications Commission has struck a severe blow at the freedom of radio and television to edit news for their programs along normal professional journalism lines.

It has interpreted the "equal time" rule for political campaigns to mean that if a governor, senator, congressman, mayor or city councilman happens to make news other than in a political speech during campaign time, a station must allot equal time to any candidate who might be opposing him whether he makes news or not.

In the past the "equal time" provision has applied only to political speeches in which charges are made.

Dr. Frank Stanton, the outspoken president of Columbia Broadcasting System, calls the construction put upon Rule 315 of the Communications Act by the FCC "the most severely crippling decision ever to be handed down with regard to broadcast journalism."

He has promised CBS will fight it to the highest courts in the interest of news freedom on the air.

★ ★ ★

The Lar Daly case in Chicago set the stage.

Daly, a perennial but unsuccessful office-seeker, late last year announced himself a candidate for both the Republican and Democratic nominations for mayor of Chicago. Two men prominent in the news, Mayor Richard Daley and ex-Congressman Timothy Sheehan, were the major candidates in the Democratic and Republican parties.

During the course of its daily news coverage, WBBM-TV, Chicago, exercised its news judgment by including significant news of the mayoralty campaign. This included the mayor and Congressman Sheehan, the chief Republican candidate, filing nomination papers, as well as Mayor Daley greeting President Frondizia of Argentina on the latter's arrival at the Chicago airport, and Mayor Daley, with his wife, opening the March of Dimes campaign.

Lar Daly protested this regular news coverage was unfair to him. He wanted equal time.

The FCC ruled on Feb. 19 this year that this news coverage, which involved no political speechmaking, must be matched by the station alloting equal time to Lar Daly on a regular news broadcast —even though the original appearances of the mayor and congressman were obviously unavoidable in any adequate television coverage of news of wide general interest to the people.

★ ★ ★

Let's see what effect the ruling would have on a legitimate news story for radio and TV such as the meeting here Monday on the city-county jail.

Nine City Councilmen are now running for reelection. They attended the Monday meeting to discuss the jail site again. If cameramen present showed their pictures on TV, the station involved would have to call about 30 other candidates and offer them equal time!

That is how ridiculous this FCC twisting of "equal time" turns out to be. Radio and TV men would be so busy trying to figure out time that there would be little news to offer. And it probably wouldn't make sense if offered.

★ ★ ★

Says Dr. Stanton:

"The Daly decision, for all practical purposes, makes it a mathematical impossibility for broadcasting to report any political campaign in its own way and take advantage of its own technical capabilities."

The ruling would have prohibited radio and television, Dr. Stanton says, from bringing some of the greatest moments in history to the American people—Franklin Roosevelt's declaration for a third term, President Eisenhower's 1956 decision that his health would permit him to run for reelection. And he adds:

"Such major news events as an assassination attempt on a candidate for public office could not be shown on a television newscast—unless the attempt succeeded and the victim was therefore no longer a candidate. We would simply not have the freedom to report such events on the ground of their newsworthiness, which ought to be the sole criterion."

He charged the decision would deny radio and television the right to assume and exercise the responsibility for editorial control of their own news programs. He said the decision addresses itself with deadly effect to the use of television, in particular, as journalism.

"It attempts to substitute a ridiculous mathematical formula for the responsibility of news editors in handling the news of political campaigns," he added.

He said any unfair political use of newscasts would unleash a fury of protests on any station or network that did it.

"In fact, 30 years of broadcasting have shown this to be true," Dr. Stanton said. "In spite of this record, the Daly decision not only distrusts the broadcasters as journalists, it distrusts them as businessmen, implying that they would not have the sense to see the fatal dangers of playing politics with the medium."

The public has not found radio and television to be short on news fairness, even though it may have found them lacking in other phases of news coverage.

The viewing and listening public has the biggest stake in this controversy. Political news coverage could be paralyzed by the ruling.

It ought to demand Congress define Rule 315 quickly to allow radio and TV to present the news with normal journalistic freedom.

The Evening Star
With Sunday Morning Edition

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Samuel H. Kauffmann
President
Benjamin M. McKelway
Editor

A—14 TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1959

Slightly Silly

President Frank Stanton of the Columbia Broadcasting System is on sound ground in attacking the Federal Communications Commission for its decision in the so-called Lar Daly case.

Mr. Daly is a perennial candidate for public office. Politically speaking, although he has sought both the Democratic and Republican nominations for Mayor of Chicago, he has no real strength or standing in either party. Despite this, the FCC has handed down a ruling entitling him to as much time on television news programs as that accorded the major figures in the race.

Thus, when Chicago's Mayor appeared recently on a TV newscast having to do with the official reception of Argentina's President, the FCC decided that Mr. Daly had to be granted the same amount of news time. Applied nationally, this ruling strikes us as being worthy of some sort of prize for utter impracticality and unreasonableness. Consider, for example, the 1956 political campaign. In Dr. Stanton's words:

> Under the Daly decision we would have been required to give equivalent time—on these regular newscasts—to all candidates of all parties who asked for it. There were —as near as can be calculated—twenty-four presidential and vice presidential candidates of twelve parties. To furnish them all with equivalent time would have taken . . . approximately 20 per cent more than all the time spent by all our television newscasts on all the news. The absurdity of this can be multiplied by almost any factor you choose when you apply the Daly ruling to primaries, where you may have a dozen or a score of candidates for a single nomination—and many more than a dozen or a score once the crackpots learn the implication of this decision.

The public interest, and not just the interest of networks like CBS, NBC or ABC, is clearly involved here. As far as political campaigning goes, the American people are concerned only with the significant candidates. After all, when we turn on our radio or TV sets, we do not want to be bored or afflicted with every Tom, Dick or Harry who may take it into his head to run for office on platforms (such as compulsory vegetarianism for everybody) which no sane party would indorse.

Certainly, considered against this background, Dr. Stanton's complaint is wholly justified. The FCC, as he has urged, ought to reverse itself accordingly. Otherwise, appropriate corrective action should come from Congress or the courts.

Minneapolis Morning Tribune

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PUBLISHED AT 425 PORTLAND AVENUE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

A Bad FCC Decision

WE STRONGLY ENDORSE the attack that Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting system, made last week on the federal communications commission's decision in the Lar Daly case.

The case involved a perennial office-seeker in Chicago, Lar Daly, who filed for mayor. Mayor Richard Daley and ex-congressman Timothy Sheehan were the major candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. During the course of its daily news broadcasts, station WBBM-TV in Chicago covered significant news of the mayoralty campaign. This included the two major candidates filing for office, as well as Mayor Daley greeting President Frondizi of Argentina and Mayor Daley opening the March of Dimes campaign.

IN REPLY to a demand from candidate Lar Daly, the FCC ruled that this news coverage by WBBM-TV must be matched by allotting equal time to Lar Daly on a regular news broadcast.

On a practical basis, the FCC decision, if permitted to stand, would make it impossible for broadcasting to report political campaigns in its own way. In particular, it would practically rule out coverage of presidential campaigns.

Dr. Stanton pointed out that under the Daly decision, CBS would have been required in 1956 to devote equal time to some 24 minor presidential and vice presidential candidates of 12 parties, none of whom stood a chance of election. To do this would have required 38 hours of TV time, or 20 per cent more than all the time spent by the network broadcasts on all the news.

But even more serious is the fact that under this decision, the FCC, which was established largely to make sure that technical chaos did not result in both radio and television broadcasting, is setting itself up as the regulator of news to be reported by these media. And the FCC is doing it by establishing the rule that a quantitative evaluation of the news is more important than a qualitative evaluation in informing the public about what is going on in this democracy of ours.

WE ALL recognize that freedom involves responsiblity. Thus the free press —which in its broadest terms includes the electronics media as well as printed publications—accepts certain responsibilities with its freedom. One responsibility is to inform the public about the news. But this does not mean giving equal treatment to all news stories, regardless of their varying degrees of importance. Yet that is what the FCC decision would require of the electronics media.

In essence, the FCC wants to substitute its judgment of what is news for the radio and television newsmen's judgment of what is news. It proposes to do that by adoption of a rule that would have exactly the opposite effect of the one intended, because it would end the reporting of news events which might require the granting of equal time.

It is a thoroughly bad decision. We wish CBS success in its efforts to have the rule reversed either by the commission itself or by statute.

The Philadelphia Inquirer
THURSDAY MORNING, MARCH 19, 1959

WASHINGTON BACKGROUND

Broadcasters Opposing Equal TV Political Time

By JOHN C. O'BRIEN

Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 18.

THE House Commerce Committee has scheduled hearings on a bill to relieve radio and television networks of the obligation to afford dual time to political candidates. And the sponsor of the bill, Rep. Glenn Cunningham, (R., Neb.), feels optimistic about the outlook for its passage.

The absurdity of the equal time provision of the Federal Communications Act was brought into focus recently by a decision of the FCC that Lar Daly, a perennial office seeker, was entitled to equal time on a regular news broadcast because Chicago stations had broadcast a news film showing the incumbent Mayor, Richard J. Daley, a Democrat, and his Republican opponent.

The unfairness of this ruling has been acknowledged by John C. Doerfer, chairman of the FCC. But he maintained that as the law stands the commission had no option. He has made it clear that he favors an amendment that would give the commission discretion in regulating the broadcasting industry's handling of election campaigns according to a "rule of fairness."

* * *

NATURALLY, the National Association of Broadcasters view the ruling in the Daly case as a grave threat to radio and television coverage of political events.

Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has pointed out that during the 1956 Presidential campaign the CBS television network devoted 20 percent of its television newscast time to the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates of the two major parties. If it had been required to give equal time to all of the 24 Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates of the 12 splinter parties which participated in that election, the network would have had no time for the broadcasting of other news.

Some smaller stations, in fact, fearful of incurring the obligation to give equal time to candidates of minor factions and political crackpots, refused to schedule any time for the candidates of the major parties. This was clearly a case where irresponsible political factions were able to deny the public the right to news showing the activities of the candidates of the major parties.

* * *

WHETHER or not it was so intended, Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act puts the candidates of the Prohibition Party, the American First Party and other minority groups on a par with the major parties. The section requires that any station which permits any "legally qualified candidate for any public office" to use its facilities must "afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates."

The language is so sweeping that it is easy to understand why the FCC felt that it was under a mandate to make the ruling it did in the Daly case, despite the fact that 999 out of every 1000 Chicagoans would not have the slightest interest in viewing a film of the professional office-seeker or listen to a harangue by him.

Unless the FCC Act is amended, the broadcasters have pointed out that they may have to curtail, if not eliminate, coverage of candidates of major parties in political campaigns.

The Phoenix Gazette

Established in 1880

ARIZONA'S PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPER

"Where The Spirit Of The Lord Is, There Is Liberty"

II Corinthians 3:17

Published Weekday Evenings in Arizona's Capital by

PHOENIX NEWSPAPERS, INC.

at 120 East Van Buren, Phoenix, Arizona

Eugene C. Pulliam, Publisher

Minutes Don't Measure Events

A declaration of war could be processed through congress in two or three hours. A housewife might need four hours to get her laundry done. The Federal Communications Commission does not need to go much farther than it has gone to conclude that the housewife deserves more time than the declaration of war on television news broadcasts.

The FCC ruled recently that newscasters in Chicago had to give equal attention to an inconsequential political candidate as to two major candidates. It wasn't a question of equal free or paid time for a political broadcast. It was a matter of telling the newscasters they had to train their cameras as much on someone who didn't count as on someone who did.

Lar Daly was the man who didn't count. He seems always to be running for something in Chicago. Most recently it was for mayor, on both Republican and Democratic tickets. Everyone knew he was just in there for the exercise, and very little of that. The fight was between Democratic Mayor Richard Daley and Republican ex-Congressman Timothy Sheehan. Public interest was on them. The outcome of the election depended on what these two did. Reporters and newscasters wrote and talked on that basis.

THEN on Feb. 19 the FCC ruled that the newscasters, specifically on WBBM-TV, had to give Lar Daly equal attention in their news broadcasts. It was the first ruling of its kind ever made, and we hope it is the last in America. It was as if some over-reaching bureaucracy, claiming jurisdiction because telegraph lines run between states, had tried to tell American newspapers that they had to print as many inches of news in the 1956 campaign about a Mugwump candidate as about the Eisenhower-Stevenson contest.

The FCC relied for its ruling on Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act. This is the section providing that if one candidate buys time or is given time on radio or television, his opponent may demand equal time. It was intended to govern campaigning, not to establish censorship of reporters who are not campaigning at all, but are merely reporting the news or picturing it. The ruling stretched common sense outrageously. It misused the law dangerously.

DR. FRANK STANTON, president of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., spoke of the ruling in Chicago last week. He noted that the decision "addresses itself, with deadly effect, to the use of television as journalism." He noted that it "spawns a monstrous idea in a democratic society—the idea that quantitative mechanics are more important than the qualitative considerations . . ."

Dr. Stanton said that in the last presidential campaign some time on virtually every newscast from Labor Day to election day was devoted to the campaign. Under the Lar Daly decision, television would have been required to give equivalent time to reporting the activities of 24 presidential and vice presidential candidates of 12 parties. How ridiculous can a federal commission get when it tries to control news with a clock?

A bill has been introduced in congress by Rep. Glenn Cunningham to protect news programs from abuse under "equal time" provisions of the Federal Communications Act. The bill is HR 5389. It should be passed immediately.

The question is not one of granting rights or privileges to television. It is one of denying bureaucracy the power to measure the news the public gets, even in small doses. Every attempt to seize such power must be resisted.

The WASHINGTON DAILY News

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER
"Give light and the people will find their own way."

John T. O'Rourke, Editor — Ray F. Mack, Business Manager

TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1959

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'Equal Time' Nonsense

FRANK STANTON, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has asked the Federal Communication Commission to reconsider a ridiculous ruling it made last month.

The ruling compelled Chicago TV stations to give "equal time" to a rival candidate for mayor because Mayor Richard J. Daley, also a candidate, had been shown briefly on newscasts.

There was a flash shot of the Mayor filing his nomination papers, a 22-second glimpse of him greeting President Frondizi of Argentina at the airport, and a one-minute shot of him opening the March of Dimes campaign.

These were not pictures of the Mayor making a political speech. The Mayor didn't ask for the time, it wasn't given him, he didn't buy it. It was part of a general news program.

But Lar Daly, a perennial candidate for whatever is going, demanded equal time and the FCC, by a 4-to-3 vote, said he was entitled to it. This is the same Daly who once announced he was a candidate for President, then sued the TV networks for equal time with Ike. A judge threw out the case.

The law, in what the trade calls the "ulcer" section, requires TV stations to give equal time, if asked, to political candidates who "use" the facilities. That is, if a candidate buys or is given time for a political broadcast, his rival may have a like time under like conditions.

The FCC frivolity in the Daly case goes way beyond that—it tampers with the news. Mr. Stanton says if the FCC doesn't reverse this nonsense, he will appeal to the courts, to Congress and to the public. It's a question of self-preservation. If the Government bureaucrats get to telling the news media what they must broadcast or print, it won't be long before they are dictating what they cannot broadcast or print.

Then, friends, we will have had it.

14 THE CHICAGO AMERICAN Editorial Page

Largest Evening Home-Delivered Circulation in Chicago and Suburbs

STUART LIST, PUBLISHER

TUESDAY

MARCH 17, 1959

Editing by Bureaucrats

DR. FRANK STANTON, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and Harold E. Fellows, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, have called attention here to a superficially funny incident that is in fact frightening. It is the Federal Communications Commission's ruling in the Lar Daly case, which extends the "equal time" requirement for coverage of political candidates to TV newscasts as well as televised addresses.

Daly himself is a minor figure in this dispute. He is a man who likes to run for public office, sometimes dressed in an Uncle Sam suit. His so-called candidacy has, however, resulted in an unbelievably stupid FCC ruling that could very well throttle TV's coverage of political news and also implies a threat to other news media.

★

LAST FALL Daly announced himself as a candidate for both the Republican and Democratic mayoral nominations. During the campaign, WBBM-TV naturally exercised its judgment in presenting news of interest to the city; just as naturally, it did not consider Daly's antics worthy of coverage. Its news shots included Mayor Daley and Timothy Sheehan filing nomination papers, the mayor greeting important visitors to the city, and so on.

On Feb. 19 the FCC made what Stanton called perhaps the most severely crippling decision ever imposed on broadcast journalism. It said that news shots of Daley and Sheehan must be matched by allotting equal time to Lar Daly.

★

THIS ruling makes it mathematically impossible to cover political campaigns adequately. Stanton pointed out that during the 1956 presidential campaign, 20 per cent of TV's newscast time was devoted to the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the two major parties. If the FCC ruling stands, TV must in the future give equal time to some 24 other persons: two candidates from each of the 12-odd splinter parties, including such perennial entries as New Jersey pig farmer Henry Krajewski.

Said Stanton:

"Such major news events as an assassination attempt on a candidate for public office could not be shown in a television newscast—unless the attempt succeeded and the victim was therefore no longer a candidate."

★

THIS incredible ruling has more and worse implications even than that. It substitutes an absurd mathematical formula for the judgment of responsible professional newsmen. It is a flat claim that bureaucrats may decide by using a stopwatch what voters may and may not see on their TV sets. It firmly establishes the idea that the contents of a news medium can be tampered with and regulated by Washington.

No wonder it has "scared stations across the country," as Fellows said it had. Congress must overrule the order.

San Francisco Chronicle
THE VOICE OF THE WEST

Charles de Young Thieriot, Editor and Publisher
George T. Cameron, Publisher 1925 to 1955
Founded 1865 by Charles and M. H. de Young

PAGE 34 Wednesday, Mar. 18, 1959 CCCC

Newscast 'Equal Time' Rule a Dreary Bore

THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM has joined battle with the Federal Communications Commission over a ruling requiring adherence to the "equal time" rule in general news telecasting as well as in telecasting that is more or less tinged with political campaigning.

Such an application of this rule is patently absurd. It is impractical if not utterly impossible, and public sympathies must be strongly behind the broadcasting company because the rule is against the public interest.

The FCC ruling came in the case of Mayor Daley of Chicago, who appeared in newscasts which showed the arrival of a visiting dignitary and the inauguration of a March of Dimes campaign. Because the Mayor is also a candidate to succeed himself, one of his opponents demanded equal time on the air, and the FCC has so ordered.

CBS spokesmen protest with obvious justice that such a ruling represents a crippling blow to news telecasting. At best, it would tend to screen all elective public officials out of TV news coverage. At worst, it would reduce newscasts to a dreary routine wherein one legitimate news shot, in which an elective official appears, would be followed by a parade of his political opponents doing something or other to occupy "equal time." This would add up to a great expense to the company and a great bore to the public.

The "equal time" rule, as now interpreted by the FCC, ignores the clear fact that public officials, as such, are often an integral part of the news, yet as political candidates, they—or their opponents—may be worth little or no newspaper space or television time.

One solution would be for Congress to make clear that newscasting was not intended to be made subject to the "equal time" rule.

The Knoxville News-Sentinel

A Scripps-Howard Newspaper
Established Dec. 23, 1886

LOYE W. MILLER
Editor

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TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1959

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BUT LAR DALY, a perennial candidate for whatever is going, demanded equal time and the FCC, by a 4-to-3 vote, said he was entitled to it. This is the same Daly who once announced he was a candidate for President, then sued the TV networks for equal time with Ike. A judge threw out the case.

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Then, friends, we will have had it. We'll be on our way to rule of everybody and everything by the divine right of Washington.

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER, THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1959

Condon on Equal Time

Perennial Candidate's Victory in FCC Raises Problem for Broadcasters

(Reprinted from Yesterday's Late Edition)

By GEORGE E. CONDON
Radio-Television Editor

CHICAGO, March 17—Lar Daly, a perennial office-seeker in Chicago, has yet to make a serious dent in the ballot box, but his name will not be forgotten quickly by the nation's broadcasters.

GEORGE E. CONDON

One of the major subjects of discussion at this week's convention of the National Association of Broadcasters here is a problem long dormant which was stirred into new life several weeks ago by the aspiring politician.

By Federal statute, radio and television stations are required to provide opposing politicians with "free and equal time," provided they are legally qualified candidates.

Equality With Ike

During the last presidential election, Daly announced he was a candidate for the White House and demanded time on the air equal to that given President Eisenhower. The Federal Communications Commission refused to honor his claim. Eisenhower, incidentally, went on to win the election.

Daly, a carpenter by trade, this year is a candidate for mayor of Chicago in opposition to the incumbent Democrat, Richard Daley, and the Republican nominee, Timothy Sheehan.

Mayor Daley has a program series, "Report to the People," on one station here, which Daly apparently considered an unfair advantage in this municipal election year. He whipped off a 2,000-word telegram of protest to the FCC when the TV station refused to give him free and equal time with that given the mayor. He also demanded free and equal time from another TV station which had shown Mayor Daley opening the March of Dimes campaign and giving the city's official welcome to visiting Argentine President Frondizi.

"Uncle Sam" Wins

The FCC investigated and found Daly met the qualification of being a legally qualified candidate. It ruled, by 4 to 3 vote, that he was entitled to free and equal time. Stations WBBM-TV and WBKB-TV in Chicago each were required to give Daly a half-hour on the air.

Daly, who campaigns in an Uncle Sam outfit right down to the striped pants and satin-lapeled jacket, took full advantage of the valuable television opportunity. He has his three children, aged 6 to 10, appear with him on one of his programs. They sang a hymn. He also announced a number of planks in his mayoralty platform, among them a desire to legalize gambling, abolish the public schools, support of home ownership, and firm opposition to dope selling.

GOP candidate Sheehan also was given time equal to that allowed previously to Mayor Daley and this gave Lar Daly a new inspiration. He demanded time equal to that given Sheehan by the TV stations, pointing out he was not only the Democratic candidate for mayor, but also the Republidan opposition to Sheehan. The bewildered television stations turned down that demand, but it was obvious to onlookers here that the TV executives rapidly were losing grasp of the situation.

One of the dissident voters in the FCC ruling that precipated what is truly a serious problem for radio and TV was the commission's chairman, John C. Doerfer.

The FCC head made it clear to the NAB convention today that his sympathies were with the broadcasters and he told a press conference he would recommend that Section 315 of the FCC act of 1934 providing for "free and equal time" be repealed. He suggested a trial period in which broadcasters would be allowed to exercise their own judgment in the matter of fair treatment to political candidates.

"I have suggested," he told the convention, "that there be substituted a rule of reason or one of fairness in place of the present inflexible mandate.

"This would not mean that a broadcaster could indulge in his biases or prejudices with impunity—even in respect of crackpots or rank opportunists."

Doerfer concluded that "the important point is that the broadcasters should be given the right to make the judgment as to what constitutes news or what programming fills the needs of the public and not the candidates."

SAN ANTONIO NEWS

OPINION and COMMENT

Wednesday, March 18, 1959 H Page 10-A

Equal-Time Rule Abused By Radio-TV Gag Decision

The equal-time rules that apply to radio and television broadcasts dealing with political campaigners may be a sound one when it is fairly applied. But it is now obvious that some clarifying laws need to be enacted by the Congress for the guidance of the Federal Communications Commission and the broadcasters.

The issue is sharpened by an F.C.C. ruling in a Chicago case.

Station WBBM-TV in Chicago, in its news coverage, has had to exercise its news judgment in a mayoralty campaign in which Mayor Richard Daley and former Congressman Timothy Sheehan are opposing each other. A third candidate, one Lar Daly, a frequent but so far unsuccessful candidate for the office, has claimed equal time on the TV station for these reasons:

WBBM-TV televised Mayor Daley and Sheehan filing their papers of nomination as the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Mayor Daley was pictured on a news program greeting President Frondizia of Argentina when the Argentine arrived in Chicago.

Mayor and Mrs. Daley were pictured on a news broadcast at the opening of the March of Dimes campaign.

Lar Daly claimed these televised presentations were unfair to him and he wanted equal time under F.C.C. rule 315.

The F.C.C. agreed with him.

It is a question of interpretation, it seems, but the equal-time rule was stretched to the breaking point in this instance.

The normal functions of a mayor, whether he is in the midst of a political campaign or not, makes news and certainly a radio or TV station should not have to submit to this kind of a gag in its effort to give the public the news.

Fortunately, the Columbia Broadcasting System is protesting the decision and its president, Dr. Frank Stanton, said he will appeal it as far as necessary to get a clarification of the Rule and the right to let newscasters use professional journalistic standards of news judgment.

The plea is for fairness, both to the public and the broadcasters. In a political campaign, for example, candidates are entitled to equal time if a station gives free time for purely political purposes of another candidate. Paid political speeches do not come under the rule. But in the Chicago ruling, prominence of a former congressman who represents a major party and the prominence of the city's mayor make them newsworthy by all professional standards and the station should certainly not have to clear time for any and all opposing candidates.

As Dr. Stanton points out, patently unfair news coverage would immediately reflect unfavorably upon any station that tried it. We agree. The public is discriminating and it resents intentional favoritism by such powerful media as radio and television.

The F.C.C. may be jumpy after the recent congressional investigations and is trying too hard for fairness. It may be that the laws are too vague for clear-cut decisions to be made. It may be the F.C.C. judgment was made without a proper appreciation for the problems of news coverage in this kind of situation. Whatever it is, however, it should be made clear what is and what is not patently political.

The Columbus Citizen

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DON E. WEAVER
Editor

S. J. DILENSCHNEIDER
Business Manager

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"Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way."

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BUT LAR DALY, a perennial candidate for whatever is going, demanded equal time and the FCC, by a 4-to-3 vote, said he was entitled to it. This is the same Daly who once announced he was a candidate for President, then sued the TV networks for equal time with Ike. A judge threw out the case.

The law, in what the trade calls the "ulcer" section, requires TV stations to give equal time, if asked, to political candidates who "use" the facilities. That is, if a candidate buys or is given time for a political broadcast, his rivals may have a like time under like conditions.

THE FCC FRIVOLITY in the Daly case goes way beyond that—it tampers with the news. Stanton says if the FCC doesn't reverse this nonsense, he will appeal to the courts, to Congress and to the public. It's a question of self-preservation. If the Government bureaucrats get to telling the news media what they must broadcast or print, it won't be long before they are dictating what they cannot broadcast or print.

Then, friends, we will have had it. We'll be on our way to rule of everbody and everything by the divine right of Washington.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1959

Marie Torre Reports

A point of major TV significance was raised at the CBS affiliates convention in Chicago over the week end by **Dr. Frank Stanton.**

Dr. Stanton's concern is the deterrent imposed on broadcasting news by the new interpretation of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act in the Lar ("America First") Daly case in Chicago. (The F. C. C. ruling gives all political office seekers "equal time" privileges on demand.)

Said Dr. Stanton: "The Daly decision, for all practical purposes, makes it a mathematical impossibility for broadcasting to report any political campaign in its own way and take advantage of its own technical capabilities. . . . It simply deprives us of the right to use the distinctive capabilities of television and radio to report directly and vividly the news of political campaigns to the American people. . . . It attempts to substitute a ridiculous mathematical formula for the responsibility of news editors in handling the news of political campaigns."

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TUESDAY CHICAGO DAILY SUN-TIMES MAR. 17, 1959

TV Political News

Because the wavebands over which TV and radio stations broadcast are limited in number, they are apportioned by the government. With the apportionment goes a certain amount of federal control.

How far that control may go was recently shown when the Federal Communications Commission ruled that Lar (America First) Daly was entitled to TV time equal to that spent on news broadcasts featuring Mayor Daley performing routine civic jobs.

Obviously, political newscasters should be fair and responsible. Fairness and responsibility in presenting news cannot be imposed by an "equal time" government dictum. Judgment of the value of news rests with the journalist, not with a Washington bureaucracy.

If the Daly ruling stands, dozens of frivolous candidates could demand free air time. To prevent chaos stations might be forced to omit all political news. The public would be deprived of its right to see and hear serious, major candidates.

It is well, therefore, that Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, intends to fight the decision in the courts and through Congress. The FCC is on dangerous ground when it tries to regulate bona fide news broadcasts.

The Times Herald Stands for Dallas As a Whole

THE DALLAS TIMES HERALD

Times, Established 1876 DALLAS, TEXAS Herald, Established 1888
Consolidated January 1, 1888

EDITORIAL PAGE

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1959

Unjust Stricture on Television

THE FIGHT that Dr. Frank Stanton, president of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., has launched to induce the Federal Communications Commission to change its ruling in the Daly case is of vital concern to the general public.

If the ruling is not changed television broadcasters will find it impossible to cover news events in which any candidate for office participates, be it a mayor laying a cornerstone, a governor cutting a new highway ribbon, a sheriff leading a posse, or a president of the United States greeting a foreign dignitary.

Last year the FCC ruled that because a mayor of Chicago and an ex-congressman, who were candidates, were shown in news events, another candidate had to be given equal time. In one event the mayor and the former congressman were filing their nomination papers. In others the mayor was greeting the President of Argentina and opening a March of Dimes campaign.

The decision means that every candidate in any race is entitled to equal time if any of his opponents happens to be depicted in an ordinary, routine news event. It is hard to believe that the federal agency realized the far-reaching implications of its ruling. But thus far, it has let the decision stand.

The FCC was created to regulate the use of the air waves for the benefit of the public, but if it adheres to this amazing ruling, it will seriously hamper political broadcasting, if not completely suppress it, and drastically reduce the value of television to the public as a new dispensing medium. Surely this was not what Congress had in mind when it passed the Federal Communications Act.

JANET KERN

TV Set for Tough Fight on 'Equal-Time' Rule

See editorial, Page 14.

WITH THE National Association of Broadcasters in annual convention here, considerable attention is being paid to a relatively obscure local office-seeker who is likely to become widely known as the "name" of a controversial legal decision.

For TV, through CBS President Frank Stanton, has given the monicker, "The Lar Daly Decision," to a recent decree by the Federal Communications Commission that TV and radio NEWCASTS which show ANY political candidate (including an office-holder in pursuit of his official duties) must give "equal time" to ALL legally qualified candidates for that office.

Dr. Stanton declared, in a blistering speech, that this decision means that "an assassination attempt on a candidate for office could not be shown—unless the attempt succeeded and the victim was therefore no longer a candidate."

Stanton didn't mention that this FCC decision comes on the heels of threats by congressmen who sit on House and Senate committees controlling broadcasting that if TV is not even more generous with political time during campaigns, there'll be the devil to pay—via restrictive and punitive legislation!

ECONOMICALLY, it's impossible for stations to grant "equal time" to ALL "legally qualified" candidates for office. Stanton cited, for blinding example, the last presidential election year, when the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions were all over the screen, and when 20 per cent of all TV news time was devoted to coverage of the national election scene.

At that time, there were, according to Stanton's calculations 24 "legally qualified" candidates for the offices of President and Vice President!

TV lost plenty of money —and bored plenty of viewers to tears—just covering the two major parties. Imagine what would happen if "equal" coverage were given to the activities, conventions and candidates of all the splinter parties!

Politically, it's impossible for TV to eliminate all politics and politicians from its screens, without angering congressmen who can legislate broadcasting to death.

But, under the FCC "Lar Daly Decision," it's ILLEGAL for TV to report major political news unless they give equal news-coverage to every splinter-party candidate who wants it!

HOW DID such a comic-opera dead-end ever come into being? It is the ridiculous result of the dangerous combination of fuzzy-worded, deliberately fence-straddling, outmoded federal law being administered by a political bureaucracy never designed or trained for such a role in such a field.

When radio first came into national being more than a generation ago, it became obvious the new instrument required legal limitation and supervision. Congress haggled over the law-writing and finally emerged with a "compromise," which remains the Federal Communications Act to this electronically advanced and educated day!

WHY DID A new me-dium of communication require ANY law to regulate it? Because even in that day of radio infancy, it was obvious the physical "spectrum" of radio wave-length was limited and that it is necessary to have fair allocation of air-wave space to various cities, the military, medical instruments, etc., and some policing to avoid overlapping of stations.

To cope with this problem in highly advanced and technical physics and engineering, the Communications Act established a Federal Communications Commission, not as an engineer - and - physicist-manned subdivision of the Bureau of Standards, but as a politically manned body of lawyers, campaign contributors and politicians' friends.

The act empowers these political appointees to execute an "orderly" apportionment of radio spectrum . . . to people "of good character" who meet certain financial requirements, etc.

Over the years, this misnamed political bureau, armed with an obsolete act loaded with clauses potentially subversive to our supposedly "guaranteed" democratic freedoms, has—fortunately—stayed pretty clear of the kind of dictatorial control of program content which some clauses of the Communications Act would permit.

STILL, over the years, this untrained FCC has become an incredible burden on the taxpayers — what with needing staffs of engineers, technicians, expensive lawyers, etc., to tell the "commissioners" what they're doing.

FRANK STANTON
Fights for TV sanity.

The paper work and pleadings necessary for a would-be station manager to "prove" to the FCC he is of "good character" and has good programming intentions is a caricature of bureaucracy.

Through the years—with all the costly staffs — the FCC consistently has bungled the job of spectrum allocation. It is quite possible that the NEXT FCC bungle at straightening out its mismanagement of the spectrum will render all of our TV sets obsolete and incapable of receiving TV signals?

The FCC also has been riddled with political scandal and allocations of licenses which hover close to the vicuna-lined border of malfeasance!

The Frank Stantons of the TV world promise they'll fight in the courts if necessary to get "The Lar Daly Decision" rescinded.

It would be better if someone would fight to get the Communications Act modernized and edited into sanity and practicality — and to get the present FCC replaced by an engineering-and-physics trained scientific body competent to get the best use out of the limited number of wave-lengths available.

Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way

The San Francisco News

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER

CHARLES H. SCHNEIDER, Editor W. H. METZ, Business Manager

J. L. CAUTHORN, President

SAN FRANCISCO'S HOME NEWSPAPER

Wednesday, March 18, 1959

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Stanton in Fighting Mood Over Equal Time 'Monstrosity' as He Plans Taking It to the People

Chicago, March 17.

Dr. Frank Stanton, prez of CBS Inc., vowed over the weekend that, unless the Federal Communications Commission reverses its recent ruling that political candidates be entitled to equal time on video newscasts, his network would fight the issue in the courts, in Congress and, as it were, on the street corner.

"We are going to appeal to the people," he declared twice in a boiling speech before the CBS television affiliates assembly Saturday (14). And the obvious deduction from that statement is that if necessary, the web's o&o stations (and whatever affils might be enlisted) might embark on a campaign of video editorials to apprise the public of the "severely crippling" effects of Section 315 of the Communications Act on broadcast journalism and on "our health and survival as a democracy."

'Extroadinary Ruling'

He said that the fight would be directed only to the "extraordinary ruling" that Section 315 is applicable to newscasts, even though he deplores the statute itself as one that suppresses, not expands, public affairs on television and radio.

Stanton said he would look for wide support to aid the passage of remedial legislation introduced by Rep. Glenn Cunningham, which adds a single sentence to Section 315 (a), to wit, "Appearance by a legally qualified candidate on any news program, including news reports and news commentaries, where the format and production of the program are determined by the broadcasting station, or by the network in the case of a network program, and the candidate in no way initiated the recording or the broadcast, shall not be deemed to be use of a broadcasting station within the meaning of this subsection."

Lar—Loser & Winner

The FCC decision to which the CBS prexy was alluding was the Commission's 4-3 vote on Feb. 19 of this year to uphold "America First" candidate Lar Daly's peculiar construction of the equal time rule, which granted the tireless election loser the right to equivalent time on a number of Windy City newscasts that had been devoted to normally routine newsfilm of—Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley. Lar Daly was running against the incumbent in the Chi mayoralty primary last month.

"If upheld," Stanton said, "the (FCC) decision will have two inevitable results. One will be an immediate practical effect on news broadcasting that can abridge radically both the usefulness of radio and television to our society and their total freedom as media. The second will be to set loose a thoughtless slide rule theory governing the role of journalism in a democracy." This, he said, would be a wholesale negation of principles that have been safeguards and supports of American democracy from its beginnings.

The People—Yes

"It seems to me," he went on. "that the ruling spawns a monstrous idea in a democratic society —the idea that quantitative mechanics are more important than the qualitative considerations of the degree to which the people are informed during the critically important period of election campaigns. We are now witnessing the introduction of the revolutionary idea that informing the people is a secondary matter."

By way of pointing up the urgency of the fight against the FCC ruling, Stanton noted that once the idea is established that the content of new programs can be tampered with or regulated by Governmental agencies there arises the danger that the restrictions and harassments might spread to other areas. The broadcasting media, he said, would find itself drifting into a state of paralysis.

On the Jefferson premise that the people can be better trusted than the magistrate in judging the press, CBS will present its case to the public, Stanton said. "Obviously any unfair political use of newscasts would unleash a fury of protests on any station or network that tried it," he declared.

"The Daly decision not only distrusts the broadcasters as journalists, it distrusts them as businessmen, implying that they would not have the sense to see the fatal danger of playing politics with the medium," Stanton said.

THE HOUSTON CHRONICLE
EDITORIAL PAGE
Page 8. Section 1 Tuesday, March 17, 1959

FCC Silly Ruling on Newscasts Crippling Blow at Radio and TV

A headline-hunting politician in Chicago, described as a perennial and so far unsuccessful office seeker, appealed to the Federal Communications Commission, demanding that Section 315 of the radio and television code —the equal time provision—be made applicable to him whenever newscasts bring in the major personalities in Chicago's political arena. He had claimed violation of this section by the radio and television stations when Mayor Richard Daley, seeking renomination in Chicago, and former United States Rep. Timothy Sheehan, his Republican opponent, appeared on TV newscasts.

Neither Daley nor Sheehan had initiated the recording of his appearance in the news nor did either make a political utterance relating to the mayoral race. One shot of Daley showed him in official greeting of Arturo Frondizi, president of Argentina. Despite these facts, the FCC has ruled that the perennial office seeker must be granted equal time in other newscasts to balance the appearances of Daley and Sheehan. The reason for this ruling is simply that the petty politician had announced himself a candidate for mayor under both Democratic and Republican banners.

The absurdity of this ruling is readily apparent. Officeholders everywhere are frequently in the news, from the President of the United States down to minor city and borough officials. Legitimate recognition of their part in making the news now must either be ignored by the radio and television networks or provision must be made to create situations in which their rivals during election time can be projected into newscasts.

Meanwhile, however, a bill has been introduced in Congress to exempt newscasts from the provisions of Section 315 when the political candidate in no way initiates the broadcast or the recording which mentions his name or activities. Congress should make the law clear so that future rulings cannot be handed down as silly as this one.

SEC. 315: JOURNALISM BODY BLOW

Dr. Stanton says FCC ruling poses threat to modern democracy

FCC's extension of the Communications Act's equal-time requirement to newscasts was branded by CBS President Frank Stanton last week as "perhaps the most severely crippling decision ever to be handed down with regard to broadcast journalism."

In a militant speech prepared for delivery Saturday at the annual conference of CBS-TV affiliates in Chicago, Dr. Stanton said the decision posed "very serious implications not only for [television] but for the whole question of the effective working of democracy under the pressure of modern life."

Promising to fight the ruling through the courts if necessary, he said:

"If upheld, the decision will have two inevitable results. One will be an immediate practical effect on news broadcasting that can abridge radically both the usefulness of radio and television to our society and their total freedom as media. The second will be to set loose a thoughtless quantitative theory governing the role of journalism in a democracy that can be described only as a wholesale negation of principles that have been safeguards and supports of our democracy from its beginnings."

The decision he attacked—and he said he attacked it only insofar as it applied Sec. 315 to newscasts, although he felt Sec. 315 in any case is "an abomination"—was one in which FCC held that Lar Daly, a perennial candidate who was seeking both Republican and Democratic nominations for mayor of Chicago, was entitled to time equal to that given Mayor Richard Daley and another candidate in news broadcasts (BROADCASTING, Feb. 23).

"Make no mistake about it," Dr. Stanton declared. "The Daly decision, for all practical purposes, makes it a mathematical impossibility for broadcasting to report any political campaign in its own way and take advantage of its own technical capabilities."

To furnish all 24 Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates in the last election with time equal to that given the candidates of the two major parties, he estimated, would have required "2,238 minutes, some 38 hours, or approximately 20% more than all the time spent by all our television network newscasts on all the news."

Dr. Stanton's speech was scheduled for the Saturday luncheon of the CBS-TV affiliates annual meeting, expected to attract more than 350 affiliate and network executives. He headed a roster of speakers which was scheduled to include CBS-TV President Louis G. Cowan and other top officials during the two-day meeting at the studios of CBS-owned WBBM-TV Chicago.

Dr. Stanton said he had intended to discuss the need for more fundamental information on what the American public thinks of television and for better informing the public about television—that on this subject "we are convinced that we are beyond the stage where talking does any further good and we are going to act." But, he said, the Daly ruling held "commanding urgency" and therefore took precedence. "We will, instead, be reporting to you in the fairly near future in closed circuit presentations and other ways, our plans more fully to inform the public," he asserted.

FCC's Daly decision, he charged, "attempts to substitute a senseless mathematical formula for the responsibility of news editors in handling the news of political campaigns. I am firmly convinced that if we are deprived of this responsibility, we have opened the door to all kinds of invasions, restrictions and harassments of our news function."

Stanton: declares war on Section 315

Going further, he saw the ruling as one that "spawns a monstrous idea in a democratic society—the idea that quantitative mechanics are more important than the qualitative considerations of the degree to which people are informed during the critically important period of election campaigns . . . At no time in the democratic experience is a fully informed people more important than in making their electoral decisions . . . We are now witnessing the introduction of the revolutionary idea that informing the people is a secondary matter."

Dr. Stanton held that the public clearly would "unleash a fury of protests on any station or network" that tried to use newscasts unfairly in a political campaign. "The Daly decision," he said, "not only distrusts the broadcasters as journalists; it distrusts them as businessmen, implying that they would not have the sense to see the fatal dangers of playing politics with the medium."

Moreover, he argued, if this ruling stands it might be extended in principle to printed journalism: "A case—utterly outrageous yet no more outrageous than the Daly ruling—could be made for the notion that if a magazine or a newspaper has a partially subsidized circulation through mailing rates, and records the words of one political candidate, then the other candidate should be entitled to equal space."

The decision, he continued, "tells the broadcasters the conditions under which they can report campaigns—indeed in a quantitative sense even the contents of the news programs. I say flatly that you cannot have any such halfway, crippling conditioned freedom of the press in America. Once the idea is established that the contents of news programs can be tampered with, restricted, harassed, controlled or regulated by a governmental agency in any medium during a political campaign, you open up a pandora's box that can bring all kinds of harassments and restrictions.

"The idea must be knocked down now. It must be knocked down decisively. It ought to be knocked down unanimously."

THE VIRGINIAN-PILOT,
Norfolk, Portsmouth, South Norfolk, Virginia
March 19, 1959

TV Impasse Is 'Ridiculous' to Ike

President Eisenhower yesterday described as "ridiculous" a situation that arose in a Chicago political campaign as the result of a ruling by the Federal Communications Commission.

The FCC, acting under the law, ruled on Feb. 19 that Lar Daly, a perennial and so far unsuccessful office seeker, was entitled to the same amount of time on television as the two major candidates for Mayor of Chicago.

Mayor Richard Daley, who ultimately triumphed in his campaign for another term, and Timothy Sheehan, his Republican opponent, were telecast as they filed their nomination papers. Mayor Daley was also shown on TV greeting President Arturo Frondizi of Argentina as he arrived in Chicago.

Action Held "Crippling"

The FCC held that this news coverage had to be matched by allotting equal time to Lar Daly on a regular news broadcast.

Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., said the ruling was "perhaps the most crippling decision ever handed down with regard to broadcast journalism." He said the original appearance of Mayor Daley and Republican candidate Sheehan "were obviously unavoidable in any adequate television coverage of news of wide interest."

White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty told reporters yesterday that President Eisenhower had read a letter from Stanton and also had read editorials complaining about the situation.

Remedy to Be Sought

"The President thinks it is ridiculous," Hagerty said. "He has asked the Attorney General to consider whether any remedial legislation can be drafted or whether any other appropriate actions can be taken."

Hagerty made it clear that the President was not criticizing the Federal Communications Commission. He said that some members of the FCC also had criticized the law under which they made their ruling.

The White House press officer said that General Eisenhower, in talking to him, had criticized only what had happened in Chicago with respect to "news shows" on television, not the general requirement that political candidates be allotted equal time on the air.

THE WASHINGTON POST and TIMES HERALD,
March 19, 1959

Eisenhower Says It's 'Ridiculous'

White House Frowns At Equal News Ruling

WASHINGTON (AP)—President Eisenhower thinks it is ridiculous for federal law to make the equal-time-for-candidates requirement apply to newscasts.

White House press secretary James C. Hagerty gave the President's views Wednesday, with some vigor. Eisenhower asked the Justice Department to see what can be done.

It amounted to a modern version of the famous protest from Mr. Bumble, the Charles Dickens character: "If the law supposes that, the law is a ass, a idiot."

Here is the background:

Democrat Richard Daley, running for renomination for mayor of Chicago, and his Republican opponent, Timothy Sheehan, appeared on television newscasts. Daley also was shown greeting the President of Argentina.

Claimed Equal TV Time

Daley, who has long been running unsuccessfully for various offices, had announced himself as a candidate for both the mayoralty nominations. He claimed he was entitled to equal time on TV.

The Federal Communications Commission, in a Feb. 19 ruling, held that the law does require that Daley be given the same time.

The equal-time requirement, well based on federal law, was laid down primarily to assure fairness in the treatment of rival speechmakers.

Hagerty said Eisenhower was not criticizing the FCC for its interpretation of the law, nor was he criticizing other provisions seeking to assure fair treatment.

"The emphasis here," Hagerty said, "is that it is ridiculous to have the law tell radio stations they have to give equal time in the coverage of news."

Termed 'Ridiculous'

The word "ridiculous" was the President's own, Hagerty told reporters.

The press secretary said Eisenhower became interested in the matter through editorials and a copy of a talk delivered in Chicago last Saturday by Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Eisenhower asked Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers to consider what action can be taken to relieve radio and television stations of the requirement now laid on them as to news shows.

A specific question to the attorney general was whether a remedy lies in legislative action or otherwise. Legislation is already pending to exempt newscasts from the equal time requirement when the political candidate on the show does not initiate the recording or broadcast.

Stanton in his Chicago speech said the FCC ruling was "perhaps the most severely crippling decision ever handed down with regard to broadcast journalism."

Editorials

'Equal Time' Abuses

President Eisenhower has set Justice Department wheels in motion to obtain a revision of the "equal time" provision of the Federal Communications Act. This requires radio or TV stations which give time to one candidate in a political contest to provide matching time for opponents.

The provision was intended to prevent use of national resources (wave lengths) to give any political party or candidate an advantage. It has been most often applied to speeches. But now the rule has been run into the ground. As Mr. Eisenhower says, it has reached the "ridiculous" stage.

He was stirred to action by a ruling of the Federal Communications Commission in a Chicago case. News pictures of the Mayor of the city taken when he welcomed the President of Argentina and opened a March of Dimes drive were shown during a primary campaign in which he sought reelection. A third-party candidate claimed equal time. The FCC ruled that under the law he should have had it. The Columbia Broadcasting System, through the vigorous spokesmanship of Dr. Frank Stanton, has made an issue of the case, demanding a more reasonable rule.

For years there have been complaints about this requirement. Often in campaigns there are many candidates, some making only a token race for a minor party. If equal time must be given each of them whenever an incumbent official appears on a news program, TV stations could easily decide to keep all candidates off their screens.

Certainly the rights of minority groups should be safeguarded. But why should not Congress give the FCC power to permit common-sense interpretation of the rule? Should there then be abuses, could we not rely on the public sense of fairness to require redress?

The Virginian-Pilot

Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia Monday, March 23, 1959

The 'Ridiculous' Case of Mr. Daly

If the mayor is shown on a television newscast greeting a visiting beauty queen in his official capacity, his opponent for office is entitled to equal time. If the latter can't find a beauty queen to match the mayor's, he must be given an opportunity to do or say something — anything — to square accounts. And this something must be masqueraded before the public as news.

This is what the Federal Communications Commission has said in interpreting the law in the Lar Daly case in Chicago. President Eisenhower is right when he terms the effect of the decision "ridiculous." Frank Stanton, president of CBS, is right when he calls it a serious abridgement of freedom of the right to report news.

Briefly, Daly, a perennial candidate for office, objected when the two major candidates for the Chicago mayoralty nomination — one of them the incumbent mayor himself — were depicted in regular news telecast filing nomination papers, and when the mayor was shown greeting President Frondizi of Argentina at the Chicago airport. Daly won equal time on a regular news telecast.

None of the newscasts in question featured political speeches. They simply reflected the station's legitimate efforts to cover what it believed to be news. In a very real sense this vital editorial right was circumscribed in the Daly case. As Mr. Stanton pointed out, a station which had to devote equal newscast time to the dozens of candidates in a primary would have to solve its problem by presenting no primary news at all.

The trouble stems from the wording of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act, not from the FCC, whose chairman is in favor of changing the act. The purpose of the pertinent part of the section is to provide equal time for candidates who wish to make political speeches, so that no single political view can black out all others on the television networks. But the section is worded loosely, as indicated by this excerpt from the FCC's rules and regulations:

> . . . but if any licensee shall permit any candidate to use its facilities, it shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office . . .

No distinction is made between equal time for a political speech initiated by the candidate and equal time on a legitimate newscast initiated by the station. It is a distinction which must be made.

Remedial legislation has been introduced in the Congress by Rep. Glenn Cunningham. It should be acted upon favorably by the lawmakers.

Editorial Page of the Oakland Tribune

Oakland, Calif., March 23, 1959

An Unsound Ruling

The ruling of the Federal Communications Commission requiring equal time for all political candidates on news shows is ridiculous, unworkable, and unfair to the television and radio industry.

The President has said as much himself and has directed the Attorney General to look into the situation.

Equal time has always been accorded to candidates for political presentations under the Communications Act, Section 315. The present controversy arose from the FCC's interpretation of this act in a Chicago case. Mayor Daley, a candidate for reelection, was shown on a news program greeting the President of Argentina. Lar Day, a perennial and minor candidate, contended he was entitled to equal time. The commission held that this was the meaning of Section 315.

The ruling is unsound. There is a wide difference between a political speech and a news event. Any office holder is newsworthy simply because of his position. This is not necessarily true of a candidate. When President Eisenhower leaves the White House his news value will decline immensely. Now it is tops in the country.

If this new ruling were consistently applied, the broadcasting industry would be placed in an absurd position. Columbia Broadcasting Company, which began the fight against the commission's ruling, reports that in 1956 it devoted 20 per cent of its total news time to covering the candidates of the two major parties. But there was a total of 12 parties and 24 presidential and vice presidential candidates. Had they all been given equal time, the CBS would have provided 20 per cent more than the total time spent by all TV networks on all the news.

Such an outcome would not only be impractical but a dreadful bore for the viewers.

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
FOUNDED APRIL 10, 1841

Thursday, March 19, 1959

Where "Equal Time" Has No Place

"Ridiculous," the President said yesterday, and ridiculous it is.

Mr. Eisenhower was talking about the requirement, under a recent Federal Communications Commission ruling, that even in news programs equal time must be given to all candidates for a given political office.

The ruling, bitterly contested by the broadcasting industry, came during last month's Chicago mayoralty primaries. A television newscast showed Mayor Richard Daley, who was a candidate for re-election, opening the March of Dimes campaign and welcoming Argentine President Frondizi. A perennial office-seeker named Lar Daly, citing Section 315 of the Federal communications act (the "equal time" clause) demanded equal time on the basis of the newscast. In a 4-3 decision, the F. C. C. ruled that the law required it.

The President made it clear the F. C. C. was merely interpreting the law. But he did ask Attorney General Rogers to consider how broadcasters could be freed from the possibly crippling effects of the ruling.

By making it almost impossible for a station to cover legitimate political news without being forced also to present a hodge-podge of trivia, one likely effect of the ruling would be a virtual blackout of TV campaign coverage. Even the President couldn't be shown without equal coverage of the candidate of the Greenback party. "The broadcaster," complains F. C. C. Chairman John Doerfer (who voted with the minority in the Daly case), "will be shorn of any journalistic judgment during this critical period."

It hardly seems likely that the framers of the communications act could have meant Section 315 to be so interpreted. If legislative remedies are needed, let Congress act quickly.

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MARCH 25, 1959

Triumph of the Yardstick

Newspapermen may not be the wisest critics of their trade but they are certainly the most severe. Consequently they hear with disdain the learned strictures of the outsiders, huddled in universities and "journalism clinics," who pretend that they can show the newspapermen their errors with a measuring rod.

Doe, Jones and Smith

Every time a political campaign comes along (and sometimes in between), these amateurs issue studies proving the newspapers' bias. Newspaper A, for example, can be shown to have published 60 column inches about candidate Smith, 36 inches about candidate Jones and 23 inches about candidate Doe. The measurers usually conclude that newspaper A loves Smith, is indifferent to Jones and positively hates Doe.

We used to say that if the yardstick people wanted to play that way there was no harm in their hobby. After all, the real yardstick was held by the newspaper's subscribers. If they thought the newspaper showed an unconscionable bias in its news columns, they would turn to some more satisfactory medium. A newspaper can disagree with its customers on its editorial page, and prosper, but it won't have many customers if it doesn't print the news.

Freedom of the press is absolute in the United States, which means that the newspaper is guaranteed against government constraint, but this does not mean that it is freed of the capital requirement to which all productive enterprises are subject—of manufacturing an item so attractive that people of many tastes will buy it.

But now we discover with alarm (and with more indignation) that we underestimated the influences of the yardstick reformers. They can't subvert the U.S. Constitution to coerce the newspapers but they have found the means of reaching television, which likes to regard itself as a kissing cousin of the press.

The Reason for FCC

The access hatch to television results from its being subject in part to physical law. Broadcasting has to be regulated or there would be chaos. Wave lengths have to be assigned by the Federal Communications Commission, for if everyone were permitted to set up a broadcasting station where he pleased, of any wave length or power he pleased, the listening and looking public would have nothing but a nerve-racking hash of sound and lightning.

The Federal Communications Commission was set up to bring order to chaos, to license stations in fixed wave lengths and to distribute the licensees so that they did not interfere with each other to the public's distress. The FCC's sanction rose out of a technical problem, not a social problem.

But ever since the radio days the FCC has assumed that it has much more responsibility than a traffic police force. Its power to give licenses or take them away could be used to intimidate the broadcasters "in the public interest," and it has now reached so far in its social zeal that it invites — compels is better — a redefinition and restriction of its authority.

The mischievous FCC ruling resulted from a Chicago case involving Lar Daly, an America First political candidate. We quote Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System:

Mr. Daly, a perennial but unsuccessful office-seeker, late last year announced himself a candidate for both the Republican and Democratic nominations for mayor of Chicago. Two men prominent in the news, Mayor Richard Daley and ex-Congressman Timothy Sheehan, were the major candidates in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

During the course of its daily news coverage, WBBM-TV exercised its news judgment by including significant news of the mayoralty campaign. This included the mayor and Congressman Sheehan, the chief Republican candidate, filing nomination papers, as well as Mayor Daley greeting President Frondizi of Argentina on the latter's arrival at the Chicago airport, and Mayor Daley, with his wife, opening the March of Dimes campaign.

Ultimate Absurdity

On Feb. 19, 1959, the Federal Communications Commission ruled, in perhaps the most severely crippling decision ever to be handed down with regard to broadcast journalism, that this news coverage must be matched by allotting equal time to Lar Daly on a regular news broadcast — even though the original appearances of the mayor and the congressman were obviously unavoidable in any adequate television coverage of news of wide general interest to the people of the nation's second largest city.

Here is the ultimate absurdity of the measurement people, in this case armed with stop watches instead of yardsticks. In a political climate the FCC ruling reduces all persons to the same stature of newsworthiness. It abolishes editorial judgment, which is what the measurement people wanted all along, and decrees that a pound of tripe is the same as a pound of filet mignon.

If this rule had been in effect two and a half years ago and President Eisenhower, running for re-election, had appeared on any television program other than a paid political broadcast, the network would have been required to give equal "news" time not only to Adlai Stevenson but to Darlington Hoopes, the Socialist candidate for President.

What a triumph!

Roanoke World-News, Friday, March 20, 1959

World-News Editorials

In Our Own Opinion

Friday, March 20, 1959

Making 'Equal Time' Ridiculous

The folly of bureaucracy when carried to the extreme was never better illustrated than by the Federal Communications Commission's interpretation of the "equal time" section of the law governing broadcasting.

We must recite the story or our readers probably would refuse to believe it.

In the last mayoralty campaign in Chicago, the principal candidates were Mayor Richard Daley, Democrat, and Timothy Sheehan, Republican. Station WBBM-TV showed on its news program a film clip of the two rivals filing their papers. There was also a legitimate news shot of Mayor Daley and his wife opening the March of Dimes drive and in another one extending official greetings of the city to Argentine President Frondizi.

Now, there is in the Windy City a fellow named Lar Daly who makes a career of running for offices, big and little. He was seeking both Republican and Democratic nominations this time and immediately filed an appeal with the FCC, demanding equal time on radio and television. FCC said he was entitled to it.

★ ★

Since it was impossible to recall President Frondizi for Lar Daly to greet him or to have the March of Dimes drive reopened there was somewhat of a problem. But WBBM-TV remained under orders to give Daly equal time on a news broadcast. Obviously all he could do was make a political talk although the actions of Mayor Daley had been strictly non-political.

WBBM-TV, with the support of Columbia Broadcasting System, is contesting the ruling. Last Saturday night, CBS President Frank Stanton, addressing CBS affiliates in annual conference, promised a finish fight to resist this utterly unfair and impossible order. He pointed out that with a dozen tickets in the presidential field (10 of them minor) it would have required 14 more hours than there were in a day to comply during 1956 conventions. This would be whether or not the American people would listen to constant political talk or whether the networks could go broke obeying.

President Eisenhower on Wednesday termed the FCC ruling "ridiculous" and called on Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers to determine if remedial legislation is needed.

FCC Chairman John C. Doerfer, embarrassed by the publicity, more or less admitted the utter silliness of carrying "equal time" to such lengths but contended the ruling was according to the law. He advocated repeal of Sect. 315.

It is doubtful that Congress ever meant any such interpretation to be placed on the law. When a politician, whether in office or not, makes news it should be reported as news. This is what WBBM-TV was doing. It is obvious that a rival couldn't possibly make the same type news.

★ ★

The law was intended to govern fairness in political speechmaking. If a radio or television station or network, for example, gives one candidate time to make what is distinctly a political talk then it owes his legitimate rivals the same consideration. Straight news is entirely different.

As the interpretation stands it constitutes infringement upon freedom of the press guaranteed in the first amendment to the Constitution. Congress ought to move promptly to effect a remedy. Unless it does so, news media will be so hamstrung by this far-fetched example that providing the public with legitimate news will become an impossibility.

Television and radio, for the most part, have made a conscientious effort to emulate newspaper practice in providing equal space to rival candidates in presenting their bonafide campaign arguments. Section 315 of the communications act infringes dangerously upon the rights under Amendment I of the Constitution in that it employs the licensing power to control free speech and press.

To enforce any such rule with rigidity will rob the American public of its right to know how legitimate candidates stand on matters of public interest. Making it mandatory to give equal time to every crackpot and perennial candidate who craves publicity but without the slightest chance of obtaining support at the polls is to shut down one of the most vital forums we have.

★ ★

The Boston Daily Globe

(Established March 4, 1872. Evening edition first issued March 7, 1878. Sunday edition first issued Oct. 14, 1877.)
Published by GLOBE NEWSPAPER COMPANY 135 Morrissey Blvd., Boston 7, Mass.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1959

TV, RADIO AND POLITICS

"Ridiculous" was the term applied by Mr. Eisenhower to the law which requires radio and television stations to give equal time to political opponents of candidates featured in newscasts.

The President will seek to have the statute modified. There is little doubt that it should be improved, but there is great question how.

The right to speak or print carries with it the right to refrain from so doing. Both are guaranteed by the Federal and state constitutions. That is fair, because everyone has a voice and the opportunity to publish is available to anyone who can pay for the printing.

But radio and television stations are not open to all. They operate under Federal licenses, which are necessary to keep broadcasters out of one another's wave lengths, and because there are not enough TV channels for all who seek them.

Holders of such licenses possess a privilege from the government, which makes it proper to regulate their activities in the interest of fair play. If a station permits a political candidate to buy time, it must allow his opponents to do likewise. If one aspirant for office obtains free time on a telecast or broadcast, an equal period must be accorded his competitors.

* * *

The case which has disturbed the President arose in the Chicago mayoralty campaign. A Columbia Broadcasting System news telecast showed Mayor Richard Daley and Timothy Sheehan, leading candidates in the Democratic and Republican primaries, filing their nomination papers. CBS also put on an earlier news telecast of the mayor welcoming President Frondisi of Argentina and opening the "March of Dimes" crusade.

Lar Daly, running in both primaries, asked for equal free time. Columbia rejected his request. By a one vote margin the Federal Communications Commission overrode CBS, which has announced that it will appeal to the courts and the public for the right to present such newscasts as it chooses. Mr. Eisenhower expressed no criticism of the FCC, which, he said, followed the law. But he wants that changed.

In the amount of display it allotted to each of the candidates, Columbia was close to good newspaper practice. Lar Daly was a perennial aspirant with little following, as the primary returns showed later. If all seeking the same office are to be allotted the same showing in newscasts, it would fill much of a station's time.

* * *

But it is equally true that newscasts could be used unfairly to feature one candidate to the disadvantage of other aspirants. Should power to do this be permitted to stations which hold the valuable privilege of a government license? How can the law be changed so as to guarantee substantial fair play, and, at the same time, enable stations to frame newscasts according to their actual news value.

Radio and TV have added new difficulties to the problem of assuring freedom of speech and of the press. Luckily, almost all stations play fair. But laws are framed to deter the exceptional citizen who seeks an unjust advantage. It will tax the skill of lawmakers to draft the amendments Mr. Eisenhower seeks.

UNCLE DUDLEY.

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

Fair Share of Air?

Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act says that a radio or television station making air time available to a political candidate must afford "equal opportunities" to all other candidates for the same office. Last fall the Federal Communications Commission, issuing a guide on the applications of Section 315, declared that "all appearances of a candidate, no matter how perfunctory, are a 'use' of the station" within the meaning of the law.

Last month Lar Daly, a perennial candidate for office in Chicago —whose name appears on ballots as Lar (America First) Daly and who campaigns wearing an Uncle Sam costume—was running in both the Republican and Democratic mayoralty primaries. During news broadcasts, Chicago television stations showed Mayor Richard J. Daley, who was a candidate for renomination, in such activities as an official welcome to the President of Argentina and support of a March of Dimes campaign. Lar Daly demanded equal time. In a 4-to-3 ruling, F.C.C. said he was entitled to it. So he got a total of sixty-six minutes on three stations and used it to present his case for the abolition of all public schools and of public housing and the legalization of gambling.

The F.C.C. ruling in behalf of Lar Daly dismayed broadcasters. They complained that it confronted them with the alternative of abandoning news coverage of politics during a campaign or surrendering judgment over what is news.

Last week, President Eisenhower's press secretary, James C. Hagerty, disclosed that the President thought the effect of the ruling was "ridiculous," even though the F. C. C. had apparently done what it had to do under the law. Mr. Hagerty said the President had asked Attorney General William P. Rogers to see what could be done to exclude news broadcasts from the equal-time provision.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 22, 1959.

ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT
ESTABLISHED 1851

The New York Times.

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
PUBLISHED EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR BY THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
Publisher — Chairman of the Board

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *President* AMORY H. BRADFORD, *Vice President*
HARDING F. BANCROFT, *Secretary* FRANCIS A. COX, *Treasurer*

'Equal' Time on the Air

It is a good thing that the recent Chicago case has brought out into the open the question of "equal" time on the air for opposing political parties or candidates. If it is applied rigidly its results can be just what the President called them—"ridiculous." This is a clear instance of a situation in which "the letter of the law killeth."

Theoretically, a man or a party seeking public office should have no unusual advantage in air time that is denied to the opposition. This is all to the good and few persons would quarrel with this thesis. We believe in fair play. If a candidate employs air time for the direct purpose of getting votes his opponents should not suffer because commensurate time is denied. They, also, are entitled to try to get votes.

But when this presumptive principle of fair play is broadened out to the point that it covers the presentation of news that is news for its own sake, and not for the sake of a party or a man, and the result is a partisan demand for "equal" time the end product can be really "ridiculous." If an eminent Democrat appeals for the Red Cross or greets a foreign visitor, presumably an equally eminent Republican should have the same opportunity to be seen and heard on the air. This is nonsense, on the face of it.

Many persons in public life are "news" because of the offices that they hold or because of traits in personality. To suggest that a counterweight air time should be set up in each case is absurd. The political affiliation of the individual may have nothing whatever to do with the element of "news" in his appearance.

What is obviously needed here is flexibility in the law and common sense in its application.

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C., Thursday, March 19, 1959

DAVID LAWRENCE

Equal Time on News Broadcasts

Situation, Held Ridiculous by President, Likened to Political Broadcasts Rule

President Eisenhower says it is ridiculous for the Federal Communications Commission to require that equal time be given to political candidates on newscasts over radio and television. He has asked Attorney General Rogers to study the legal problems involved. But it is also incredible that the Congress by law actually specifies that all candidates for political office must be given equal time for their speeches during a campaign.

The idea that a governmental agency can instruct a medium of public expression how it may judge news values or edit a program or a publication of any kind would appear on its face to be contrary to the First Amendment to the Constitution, which supposedly guarantees a free press.

But, strange as it may seem, the Supreme Court of the United States as far back as 1921 has held that the Government can withdraw second-class-mail privileges if a newspaper does not conform to a governmental order or law. Similarly, the Supreme Court has ruled that the Federal Communications Commission has a right to withdraw radio or television licenses on the basis of "public interest, convenience, and necessity." This clause was written into law when Congress prescribed how radio and television licenses should be allocated.

Chief Justice Hughes in 1933, speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court, held that the power to allocate radio licenses was confined solely to mechanical factors, so as to avoid collision of wave lengths and to provide an orderly method of awarding licenses, which are limited in number. Justice Frankfurter, however, writing for the majority in a 5-to-2 opinion of the Supreme Court in 1943, proclaimed that the powers of Congress are much broader. In allocating licenses, he said, the Federal Communications Commission can consider all sorts of social and economic factors. He implied, moreover, that the commission could exercise—through the power to renew licenses periodically—a certain supervision over the policies of broadcasting and television stations.

Back in 1935, when the Federal Communications Commission interpreted the law passed by Congress the previous year as giving the commission the right to specify how program time shall be used in relation to political campaigns, this correspondent wrote that such regulation was an interference with freedom of the press. The broadcasting industry at the time, however, was reluctant to wage a fight for its rights. Today the broadcasting and television stations, through their own trade organizations, have shown that they now perceive the dangers arising from the violation of this principle 25 years ago. They are at last ready to do battle on the issue.

Newspapers are by no means protected against similar interferences by the Government. Their acceptance of the second-class-mail privilege is analogous to the licenses granted television and radio stations. Congress in 1912, acting under the postal power, passed a law requiring publishers to disclose the names of stockholders or bondholders owning more than 1 per cent of the total of each publication. This law was upheld in 1913 by the Supreme Court, which said the application for second-class-mail rates by a publisher was in fact acceptance of a "privilege" from the Government itself, and hence renders publishers subject to Federal regulation, notwithstanding the First Amendment.

It's a short step now to the passage of a law that says sources of information must be disclosed. Experience has proved that, by protecting sources of news, information can be published which challenges public authority to ferret out scandals and wrongdoing in the community. The press has risked contempt cases and jail sentences to protect its news sources. But Congress overnight can pass a law that compels the disclosure of news sources under penalty of the loss of second-class-postage rates.

Governmental regulation of the press is today legally permissible because of the existence of a Government-granted privilege. In fact, Chief Justice Taft—speaking in behalf of the Supreme Court in 1926 in the famous Booth Fisheries case—ruled that, by accepting the benefits of a Government privilege granted through any law of Congress, an individual or company is actually disqualified from raising the question of constitutionality in court.

In a paper presented to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in April, 1944—after extensive research of the question—this writer suggested the following as a possible addition to the First Amendment to the Constitution:

"The grant, sale or lease of any facilities, licenses or privileges by the United States to the press, to radio broadcasting, to television, or to any other medium of public expression shall not vest in the Congress or in any executive agency or in the several States the power to limit, restrict or regulate the contents of any printed publication, radio program, or creative work emanating from any medium of public expression except as any of these media may offend against the common law governing fraud, obscenity or libel, or except as acts of treason are committed and punishable under Article III, Section 3."

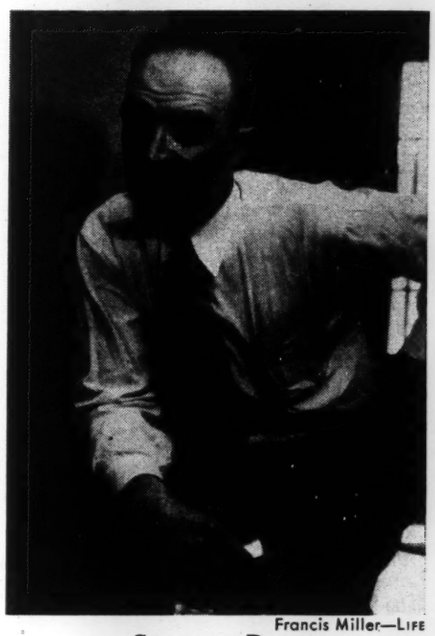
(Copyright, 1959)

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
March 30, 1959

THE PRESS

Free, Equal & Ridiculous

To Chicago's radio and television stations, Lar Daly, an obscure stool jobber with an unappeased appetite for public office, is a chronic squawk of static. Each time Perennial Candidate Daly runs for mayor of Chicago or President of the U.S., he shrilly demands his full free share of the air waves.* By law he has it coming: Section 315 of the Communications Act, the so-called "equal time" provision, requires a broadcasting station to give any political candidate as much time as it gives any other—as Daly knows full well. Last week Lar Daly's insistence had radio and television newsmen across the country in a stew and the President of the U.S. in a state of irritation.



Francis Miller—LIFE
CANDIDATE DALY
A chronic squawk of static.

What generated President Eisenhower's interest was a recent Federal Communications Commission decision handed down after a Lar Daly complaint. Running for Chicago mayor, as usual, in this year's primary campaign, Splinter Candidate Daly howled that the TV stations had slighted him in favor of the other candidates—Democrat Incumbent Richard J. Daley and Republican Timothy P. Sheehan. The FCC agreed, ruled that Daly had time coming. Rather than contest the decision, most stations grudgingly put Lar ("America First") Daly (for legalized gambling, against public schools) on the air. WBBM-TV, the CBS station in Chicago, was one which chose to fight. It fired a petition to Washington, asking the FCC to reverse itself.

WBBM-TV protested that the equal-time provision did not and should not apply to regular news broadcasts—as the FCC had applied it in the Daly case. During the Chicago campaign, the station admitted, it had used film clips of Candidate Sheehan (*e.g.*, filing his petition for nomination) and Mayor Daley (*e.g.*, greeting Argentine President Frondizi) on scheduled newscasts, but as legitimate news. CBS President Frank Stanton, long-time foe of Section 315, pointed out that giving equal time on newscasts would make a farce of radio and television coverage of political news, thereby dealing a serious blow to the principle of freedom of the press. Said Stanton: "[The Daly decision] attempts to substitute a ridiculous mathematical formula for the responsibility of news editors in handling the news of political campaigns."

President Eisenhower echoed Stanton's "ridiculous," instructed U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers to look for solutions. The FCC, in full accord with the presidential action, suggested that any real remedy will have to come from Congress, which has the power to amend or strike out Section 315. But until the Attorney General or Congress finds an answer, Chicago still has Lar Daly on its wave length, and radio-TV newsmen elsewhere are wary. Wiped out in the primary as usual, Daly bought an ad in the Chicago *Tribune* to announce himself as a write-in candidate for mayor: "Eligible to all—free and equal and purchasable TV-radio time. TV-radio licensees—take notice! Forewarned is forearmed!"

* In 1956, Presidential Candidate Daly asked all four major networks for equal time with Candidate Dwight Eisenhower, was refused by all four. Daly's protest is now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court.

NORFOLK LEDGER-DISPATCH
ESTABLISHED 1876
AND
The Portsmouth Star
ESTABLISHED 1891

FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1959

More Than Ridiculous

President Eisenhower was never more right than in his assertion that the effect of a ruling of the Federal Communications Commission that political candidates are entitled to equal time on purely newscasts on radio and television is "ridiculous." He has asked Attorney General Rogers to see what can be done about it.

Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act requires that any radio or television station which permits any qualified candidate for public office to use its facilities must provide "equal time" for all other candidates for that office. This, in itself, can lead and has led to ridiculous situations—situations in which candidates of all sorts of splinter parties are entitled to as much time on the air as is given to a President running for re-election or to some other candidate of a major party. But the application of this law to strictly newscasts carries the situation to the full reaches of absurdity.

The present situation came about in this year's mayoralty campaign in Chicago, when Lar Daly, a perennial and always unsuccessful candidate for public office who was running in both the Democratic and Republican primaries, asked the FCC for equal time after Mayor Richard Daley, up for re-election, was seen on a newscast welcoming the President of Argentina to Chicago. The FCC ruled that Daly should have the time.

The President was not aiming his criticism at the FCC, but at the law itself. If the decision in the Lar Daly case represents an accurate interpretation of the law, then it not only places a ridiculous burden upon the broadcasting stations but is actually an infringement upon the free dissemination of information. One result of it could be to restrict greatly the broadcasting of legitimate, nonpolitical news, involving public officials or serious, competent candidates for public office. It is proper that major candidates should be protected against discrimination in the use of information media which are under government regulation. But it is just as ridiculous as the President says it is to apply this rule to the appearance of candidates on the air in purely news broadcasts, such as that which brought the FCC ruling. And the law should be changed so as to make sure that this situation is remedied.

The Detroit News
EDITORIAL PAGE
10-B— SUNDAY, MARCH 22, 1959

Airwave Chaos

An odd assortment of crackpots is going to be trying to invade the nation's living rooms, by way of the television screen, unless Congress acts soon on amendments to the so-called equal time provisions of the code governing the television and radio industry.

It long has been a legal requirement that if free time is given to the candidate of any party, as a public service, the candidates of all other parties can demand and get equal time.

This has inhibited the public service usefulness of radio and TV stations. They have hesitated to present candidates of major parties—men who have something meaningful to say—because of the knowledge they must give equal time to candidates, let's say, of the Vegetarian Party or the United Nations of Earth Party.

Bad as the situation has been, however, it is now worse. A recent Federal Communications Commission ruling extends the application of the equal time law to routine newscasts. It follows that if any president, governor, mayor or other official who is a candidate gets on the airwaves, all other candidates can get equal newscast time.

Since there are not enough hours devoted to newscasting to accommodate all candidates of the dozen or more national parties, even if all other news were to be excluded, it is easy to see the result. Stations would have to eliminate virtually all political news.

Congress could remedy the situation by adopting legislation patterned on a Michigan statute. No party can get on the Michigan ballot unless it can present petitions bearing signatures equal in number to at least 1 per cent of the total statewide vote for the candidates of all parties in the last previous election. That rules out the candidacies of the obvious publicity seekers, exhibitionists and plain screwballs. At the same time it protects legitimate minority groups.

Congress should copy the Michigan law. And the sooner the better, before the crackpot brigades wake up to the implications of the new FCC ruling.

EDITORIALS CITIZEN-NEWS
HOLLYWOOD, SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1959

False Premise

David Lawrence reports that President Eisenhower has criticized a Federal Communications Commission ruling which requires that equal time be given to political candidates by radio and television stations.

Lawrence believes that the ruling is contrary to the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees freedom of the press.

The FCC ruling originated with the politicians, many of whom do not realize that a radio or television station, in granting free time to anyone, is concerned about the interest a program has to its viewers or listeners. Politicians, most of whom are extreme egotists, assume that the granting of free time is a favor to them. Most of them fail to realize that the time would not have been granted unless the radio or television station felt sure there was a demand for the politician's views among their listeners and viewers.

Throughout the field of public expression, the rule which should determine the amount of space or time accorded to anyone or any subject is "news value." That is the yardstick by which newspapers, magazines and the broadcasting stations determine the emphasis that is given to any subject.

The order which requires equal time for politicians assumes that there is as much public interest in one politician as another. This is not necessarily the case. One politician may have something to say that is of great public interest. His rival, who has to be given equal time, may have nothing to say but meaningless words. There is little reason to require a broadcasting station to waste its time on such candidates.

The operators of broadcasting stations, like the publishers of newspapers, have their fingers on the public's news interest pulse. They determine how much space or time to give to a subject by virtue of their evaluation of its news value.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN Editorial Page
FRIDAY
MARCH 20, 1959

Ridiculous, Says Ike

WE'RE delighted that President Eisenhower has spoken out against the Federal Communications Commission's order granting all political opponents equal time on radio and TV programs, including newscasts.

Ike called the ruling ridiculous—which it is, although it's also dangerous — and asked Attorney General Rogers to decide whether legislation will be needed to rescind it.

By forcing editors of broadcast news to give equal importance to the doings of all the odds and ends that enter political races, the Section 315 ruling would make it impossible to cover big campaigns adequately. Eisenhower's attack on Section 315 made it unanimous —except for Lar Daly, of course—but that's close enough to unanimity to suit us.

THE DAILY REFLECTOR, GREENVILLE, N. C.

Friday, March 20, 1959

An Absurdity In Dictating 'News'

It is ridiculous indeed for the government to seek to expand to news casts the "equal time" regulation governing radio and television stations in their allotment of free time for political candidates, or controversial issues.

Under the FCC "equal time" regulation a station cannot give free time to one candidate to express his views without providing his opponents an equal amount of time to express their views or reply to challenges. Such a rule in itself is fair, reasonable and equitable.

But the recent ruling which says this same philosophy must also apply in the presentation of the news over radio or TV is utterly ridiculous. It cannot and should not be tolerated

In the last presidential election, for example, there were at least a half-dozen candidates for the presidency. In their coverage of the campaign radio and television stations—and newspapers also—devoted most of their news attention to the candidates of the two major political parties. They were the ones in which the vast majority of the people were interested. Most of the other candidates few people ever heard of anyway, and if they had it wouldn't have made any difference.

If the "equal time" regulation is to apply to news casts it will mean one of two choices for radio and television—either they will have to cease any coverage of politics or they will have to devote about all their air time to candidates.

Obviously neither course is practical.

Furthermore, the gesture toward imposing the "equal time" regulation on radio and TV news broadcasts is, in our opinion, an abridgment of the right of a free press guaranteed in the constitution.

Television and radio have, in our opinion, done a conscientious and objective job of covering political news in the past. We do not believe they have used their news casts to benefit this candidate or that. They have presented political news fairly and on the basis of its merit.

For a federal regulatory agency to step in now and dictate what news must be carried and how it can be carried by these mass communication media is indeed a threat to the very foundation of our democratic government.

Newsweek
March 30, 1959

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICS:

'Equal Time'=?

Ever since Congress passed the Federal Communications Act in 1934, the FCC has consistently interpreted the so-called equal-time clause to apply to purely political broadcasts. If a candidate for public office used the air waves to further his campaign, his opponents could demand and get equal time.

In 1957, an attempt was made to broaden this interpretation to include television newscasts. A candidate in Detroit complained that one of his rivals had been pictured on TV taking part in a civic ceremony, and asked for equal time. The FCC turned him down.

Last month, Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, up for re-election, appeared in TV news performing the routine functions of his office. Lar Daly, chronic candidate of the minuscule America First Party, demanded equal time. This time the FCC approved.

The decision was a 4 to 3 split, with FCC chairman John C. Doerfer among dissenters. The majority members never fully explained their stunning reversal. But what they did was open a Pandora's box of complaints to the White House.

Inevitable Reaction: The networks howled that if they had to give equal time to every Tom, Dick, and Harry running for office their news programs would become a shambles. CBS president Frank Stanton branded it "perhaps the most crippling decision" ever delivered against broadcast news.

FCC chairman Doerfer sounded another warning: If the networks rebelled, there might be no television coverage of the 1960 Presidential campaign.

By last week, the clamor was so great that White House press secretary James Hagerty, clutching a batch of adverse newspaper editorials, took the issue directly to President Eisenhower.

The President's one-word reaction: "Ridiculous." He was not criticizing the FCC, Mr. Eisenhower said; the majority members evidently thought they were acting within the meaning of the law. But he thought something ought to be done to exempt news programs.

Just what could be done was not clear, but John Doerfer had a suggestion: Repeal the equal-time clause altogether.

Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 22, 1959

How Ridiculous Can You Get?

The Federal Communications Commission has come up with a ruling which, if permitted to stand, will result in emasculation of television and radio news presentations during political campaigns.

By a 4-3 vote, the FCC last month held that its TV and radio "equal time" requirement for political candidates applies also to purely "news" coverage of events.

The case resulted from a demand made by Lar Daly, a perennial and unsuccessful candidate for office in Chicago, for equal time on a Chicago TV station. Daly's request followed the station's showing of news film of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley welcoming the President of Argentina and opening a March of Dimes campaign. A Democrat, Daley at the time was seeking renomination for mayor. Lar Daly was running on both the Democratic and Republican tickets. The FCC contended that, under a strict interpretation of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act, Lar Daly was entitled to equal time.

Prior to the ruling, the "equal time" requirement was understood to apply only to political appearances by candidates.

Reaction to the FCC decision was instantaneous. Leading the flood of criticism is Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, who has announced the industry will make an all-out fight against the FCC interpretation.

The FCC action will have the result of imposing impossible restrictions on TV and radio news presentations. For instance, there were some dozen political parties offering candidates in the last presidential campaign. Must they all receive equal treatment in radio and TV news presentations? There simply isn't enough time to give all candidates the same coverage. If the Daly decision stands, in will radically abridge both the usefulness of radio and television and their freedom to exercise their own judgment as news media.

Even President Eisenhower is exercised about the FCC's decision. He has taken the unusual step of asking Attorney General Rogers to consider what action can be taken to relieve radio and TV stations of this invasion of their rights. The President correctly terms the situation "ridiculous."

Since the FCC feels its hands are bound by the law, we contend the law ought to be changed. The President thinks a remedy ought to be provided either by legislation or by other appropriate means. FCC Chairman John C. Doerfer, who voted with the minority in the Daly case, would go so far as to repeal the "equal time" section of the communications act.

The Daly decision, by imposing government controls on news, infringes on the right of Americans to know freely and fully about what's happening in their country. It should be promptly wiped from the books.

BROADCASTING
THE BUSINESSWEEKLY OF TELEVISION AND RADIO

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CHANCE FOR CURE OF SECTION 315

At last major political figures come to aid of broadcasters
President orders investigation of political broadcasting law
FCC chairman urges repeal; Congress begins to take interest

A wave of powerful support mounted last week behind the campaign for repeal or correction of the law governing political broadcasting.

• The President called the law "ridiculous."

• The chairman of the FCC asked for its repeal.

• In the Senate and House there were demands for reappraisal of a law which caused broadcasters more headaches than any other.

Here's how the week's events went:

"Ridiculous!"

With that one descriptive word, President Eisenhower last Wednesday (March 18) described the effect of the FCC-Lar Daly decision that a candidate is entitled to equal time when his opponent appears on regular news broadcasts. And, the President ordered Attorney General William Rogers to "consider whether any remedial legislation can be drafted or whether any other appropriate action can be taken in this connection."

The President made his comments a day after FCC Chairman John C. Doerfer had called for repeal of Section 315.

Bipartisan Capitol Hill approval of the President's statement—as far as it went—was quick in coming. However, almost all of the solons recommended the equal time provisions should be amended and cleared up on many facets other than straight news shows.

The Senate Commerce Committee is expected to discuss the old broadcaster headache in an executive meeting this Wednesday (March 25) with a view toward future public hearings. In the House, the chairman of the Commerce Committee already has promised hearings as soon as the committee schedule permits.

The Chief Executive made known his views through Presidential News Secretary James Hagerty. Since the FCC's 4-3 decision of last month (BROADCASTING, Feb. 23), two bills have been introduced in the House excluding newscasts only from Sec. 315 (equal time provision) of the Communications Act.

No Criticism Intended • Mr. Hagerty stressed that the President was not criticizing the Commission. "Without in any way talking about the decision of the FCC, which was made under the present law, the President thinks that this [decision] is ridiculous," the news secretary said. He also pointed out the White House mandate to the Attorney General does not go beyond the newscast question and does not take up the problem of requiring the sale of equal time to splinter and "crackpot" candidates.

The President's request that Mr. Rogers study the situation evidently was made in person as the Justice Dept. said Thursday it has received no formal written notification from the White House. A Justice spokesman said nothing has been done on the matter, as yet, but promised the White House will get an opinion as "expeditiously" as possible.

The two House bills were introduced by Rep. Glenn Cunningham (R-Neb.), HR 5389 (BROADCASTING, March 16), and Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R-Calif.), HR 5676. Rep. Oren Harris (D-Ark.), chairman of the House Commerce Committee to which the bills were referred, sponsored much broader legislation in the 84th Congress. He said Thursday he plans to study that legislation with a view towards re-introducing it. Rep. Harris referred the Cunningham bill to the FCC and Justice for comment and promised hearings as soon as they could be worked into the committee schedule.

No Opposition • Rep. Cunningham said that "with all the comment on the Lar Daly case, I don't see why there would be any opposition." Of the President's statement, he said: "I think it's fine." He said exempting news shows from Sec. 315 is not a controversial matter.

"If allowed to stand," Rep. Cunningham stated, "the recent FCC decision would be disastrous to the tv and radio industries in their efforts to cover the news as it develops. If the decision is not corrected it will mean the almost complete blackout of straight news events involving political candidates and will deny the general public access to the news. This would mean that the public would be in almost complete ignorance of what is happening in government. Surely, with such emphasis being placed on the principle of 'the public's right to know', this legislation [HR 5389] must be enacted."

Rep. Cunningham said the reaction

Once a candidate himself

Dwight D. Eisenhower in this picture had just won 1956 election to the Presidency. Twice a candidate and twice a victor, he has ordered investigation of the political broadcasting law.

Sec. 315: 'ridiculous'

to his bill had been very favorable, with many station owners outside Nebraska having written him. He urged other broadcasters to write their congressmen on the situation. The congressman also acknowledged that many other revisions were necessary in Sec. 315 but said his "piecemeal" approach was the best method to take. If his current legislation is enacted, Rep. Cunningham said he planned to push for further reforms.

The Nebraska Republican has been pulling all stops to get early action on his bill. After the President's statement Wednesday, he wrote both the White House and Justice; previously he had conferred and written to Rep. Harris.

Changing Policy • Rep. Harris noted the FCC vote, reversing a long standing Commission interpretation of Sec. 315, was 4-3. Next week, he said, it may be 4-3 the other way so "how are broadcasters supposed to know what the policy is?"

He said Congress should clarify the equal time rules and give the FCC more concrete guidance in its application. His 1956 measure failed after hearings, Rep. Harris said, because of a "crosswind" of opinions which prevented congressional action. He took issue with Mr. Hagerty's claim that the President was not criticizing the FCC. "You can't get anything else out of the President's statement except criticism," he maintained and felt it was unjustified to attack a single decision.

Rep. Younger said the President's statement "showed that he agreed it's an absurb situation which should be corrected. That situation should not exist in the matter of news." Rep. Younger is the third-ranking minority member of the House Commerce Committee.

Rep. John Jarman (D-Okla.), a Commerce Committee member, stated: "The most recent FCC decision would seriously and dangerously restrict radio and tv newscasts. It merits serious congressional consideration and action and I will urge our committee to schedule early hearings."

Moss Wants Broader Action • Rep. John Moss (D-Calif.) said that he would agree with the President as far as he went but that much more significant changes are needed in Sec. 315. He said it is the duty of Congress to define a "qualified candidate" or to give the FCC the authority to do so. "I am inclined to feel, however, that Congress should face up to the definition," Rep. Moss stated. He said the Commerce Committee, of which he is a member, should act very early.

Rep. Moss also took sharp issue with the FCC's latest interpretation of Sec. 315. Congress did not ever intend to include newscasts under the section, he said. "The commissioners are entitled to their opinions but I disagree with them," he said.

Rep. Charles Brown (D-Mo.), a former broadcaster (see page 92), said that he was "amazed to see the FCC interpret the law in that way." Newscasts, he maintained, should be handled free of interference by management—"that to me is a fundamental part of news coverage." He also praised the President's statement and urged Congress to take corrective action to provide stations with more guidelines on the entire equal time problem.

"I would agree with the President insofar as he refers to strict newscasts only wherein no political views are expressed," Rep. William Springer (R-Ill.) stated. A member of the House Commerce Committee, he agreed Congress should clarify Sec. 315 but urged "extreme caution" on a wholesale revision.

Leave It Up To Stations • Rep. William Bray (R-Ill.) said that individual stations should be given clear authority to exercise their own judgment in applying Sec. 315. Broadcasters will lean over backward to be fair, he said, with common sense and public opinion as the common denominator. He stated that revision of Sec. 315 is overdue.

Frank Stanton: his speech moved Ike

Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.) said that he is "inclined to agree with the broadcasters' position on equal time." He said the subject should be thoroughly aired by the Senate Commerce Committee, of which he is a member, but he has no plans to bring up.

Mr. Hagerty said that Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, sent President Eisenhower a copy of his (Stanton's) speech in Chicago to CBS affiliates 10 days ago in which he strongly attacked the Daly decision (BROADCASTING, March 19). It was because of the Stanton speech, newspaper editorials and public discussion that the White House action was taken, the news secretary said. The President thanked news media for bringing the matter to his attention.

The Cunningham-Younger bills were not mentioned by Mr. Hagerty in his statement on behalf of the President Wednesday, although he said the White House was aware of their existence.

Doerfer urges repeal

FCC Chairman Doerfer issued his appeal for repeal of Section 315 during a news conference before his speech to the NAB in Chicago.

For the first time he said flatly that he favored wiping the controversial 31-year-old law off the books and, instead, following "a rule of reason" for "some years." If abuses developed, he said, safeguards could then be written into a new law.

In any case he felt distinctions should be drawn to keep the equal-time requirements from applying to other legitimate news coverage even if political candidates were involved. One test he suggested: Did the candidate (or his party, backers etc.) initiate the coverage, or was he included because, in the station's news judgment, he was newsworthy apart from political considerations? If the latter, Chairman Doerfer indicated the equal-time provision should not apply.

No Commitment • Mr. Doerfer did not commit himself on whether he would formally recommend to Congress that the equal-time law, Sec. 315 of the Communiations Act, be repealed. He noted that in the past he had proposed substantial revisions. Moreover, he said, as FCC chairman he tries to represent the "combined" views of the Commission when appearing before Congress. And in this case he thought some of his colleagues were opposed to repeal, on grounds (1) that repeal would increase FCC's administrative workload and (2) that the law has been on the books since 1927 without proven harmful effects.

The FCC chief disclosed his views on repeal at a news conference last Tuesday during the NAB convention in Chicago. In a formal address to the convention a few hours later he did not go quite so far. But he went to the brink.

In an extended appraisal which also set forth his views as a minority member in the celebrated Lar Daly case—in which FCC by a 4-3 vote held that Mr. Daly, a perennial office-seeker campaigning for nomination for mayor of Chicago, was entitled to equal time because the two major parties' candidates were shown in newscasts of non-political events (BROADCASTING, Feb.

Handicaps

Section 315 • NAB took an official stand against Section 315 of the Communications Act during its Chicago convention.

A resolution adopted at the business session called on broadcasters to continue their fight for complete freedom in electronic journalism and to urge Congressional action "that the right of the people of America to know may not be impaired."

The resolution said Section 315 handicaps the broadcaster in fulfilling his responsibility to keep the people informed.

Editorializing • A "tremendous surge" of editorializing by broadcasters has occurred in the past few years, NAB's convention held last week in adopting a resolution calling for a clearing of the uncertainty that surrounds this type of programming.

The resolution, adopted at the Wednesday business session, specified that NAB, through its Editorializing Committee and Board of Directors, "continue to pursue with the FCC, members of Congress and federal government officials the development of a sound and workable approach to editorializing by broadcasters."

23). Chairman Doerfer told the convention:

Let Broadcaster Decide • "The important point is that the broadcaster should be given the right and the duty to make the judgment as to what constitutes news or what programming fills the needs of the public and not the candidates. The latter should have no vested right in the airwaves, to extoll personal privileges far out of proportion to the public interest. Why should this judgment be delegated to those opportunists whose sole qualification is a disposition to aggrandize their personal interests, indulge their idiosyncrasies or harass a broadcaster who felt it was his duty to provide a meaningful program about which he knows the public has an interest?

"In this capacity the broadcaster is disseminating information—not entertainment. I sincerely doubt that a broadcaster who must stake his license every three years against his record would take a chance of resorting to chicanery or unduly promote a favorite candidate under the guise of legitimate newscasting or a public interest panel discussion.

"It is true that a rule of fairness or reason takes more time to interpret and may vary; but over a period of time sufficient experience should develop sound and consistent precedents. Initially, it may be difficult to define standards of fairness in presentations of political candidates in news or Lincoln-Douglas types of debates, but this has not deterred the Commission from attempting it in the field of editorializing and controversial matters. We have adopted a policy that in this far larger and more difficult field a broadcaster must strive for fairness and impartiality.

"Finally, the longevity of a statute is no valid defense, in my opinion. Who knows for how long and to what extent Sec. 315 has been a palpable obstruction to public information at a time when it needs it most.

"The broadcaster has never been given the opportunity to demonstrate his ability to be fair and reasonably discriminatory in this situation. The law has been on the books since 1927. It may very well be that some broadcasters use Sec. 315 as a shield against the extra effort necessary to program in this important field. But with the ever-present dangers of losing a public audience by being compelled to bore it with an over-abundance of political programs, I can't blame them. Some radical revisions or outright repeal proposals seem to be ripe for serious consideration."

Stanton Position • Chairman Doerfer's position appeared to jibe with the arguments advanced a few days earlier by Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS Inc., who had told the CBS-TV affiliates convention that FCC's Daly decision could "abridge radically" radio-tv's usefulness as news media and that CBS not only would ask FCC to reconsider but, if necessary, would carry the fight to the courts, the Congress and the public (BROADCASTING, March 16). In similar vein Chairman Doerfer said:

"The broadcasting of news is definitely in the public interest. But often it involves governmental officials who do not initiate the news. A continued course of interpretations which would dissuade the viewing or presentation of any news incidentally involving some qualified candidate under all circumstances may be to the detriment of the public interest.

"An informed public is indispensable for the continuance of a democratic society. If every presentation of a duly elected public official who happens to be, at a given time, a qualified candidate for an office must automatically be matched by an equal amount of free time by all other such candidates, then the essence of governmental news will be emasculated during campaign periods. The broadcaster will be completely shorn of any journalistic judgments in this most important field.

"In my opinion a broadcaster should be given some discretion other than a Hobson's choice. This is either a plethora of bland political programming ad nauseam or a complete blackout. This will be the ultimate result if Sec. 315 is meant to be construed in an inexorable mannner.

"It would in my opinion be most unfortunate to deprive the public of the benefits of a medium which has the peculiar power to unmask insincerity, lack of candor or, on the other hand, to show outstanding qualifications. There is a large difference between a canned speech and a real debate—between a poster and a panel show."

What Fairness Means • Chairman Doerfer described the "rule of reason" or "fairness" which he said he had advocated to Congress as a substitute for "the present inflexible mandate." It would not mean, he said, that a broadcaster "could indulge in his biases or prejudices with impunity—even in respect of crackpots or rank opportunists." Rather, the broadcaster "would, under any interpretation of fairness and in his responsibilities as a journalist, be obliged to equalize opportunities regarding an intentional or a designed use by such candidates, such as speeches, rallies, etc., whether paid for or not."

Knowles

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

PLEASE REPLY TO:
POST OFFICE BOX NO. 1139
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

June 24, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

You are mentioned in the enclosed article about television written by John Fischer, Harper's editor-in-chief, and appearing in the July issue.

I thought you might like to see a copy. I'm sure Mr. Fischer would like to hear your views on the subject he's writing on.

Sincerely,

H. A. Knowles

H. A. Knowles

HAK/cb
Enclosure

JOHN FISCHER

the editor's EASY CHAIR

TV and Its Critics

IN THE hurt tones of a misunderstood man, Robert W. Sarnoff recently complained that television is getting a raw deal. Its critics, he said, are calling it bad names—"mediocre" . . . "unworthy" . . . "time-wasting."

This, he intimated, is both unfair and damaging to the industry. TV is giving the public what it wants, and the public loves it. Its critics are either misinformed, or they have a selfish interest in discrediting TV; or they are intolerant intellectuals who despise the mass taste and want to impose their own arcane standards on a reluctant America.

If this keeps up, he warned, TV will face two hideous dangers. Its audience and advertisers may drift away, because they are constantly being told that watching their favorite programs is "a shameful act." Worse yet, the government might start meddling with TV programing.

So Mr. Sarnoff urged his industry to launch "a massive communications effort" to answer its critics. It should explain that "a principal function" is to serve up light entertainment—to "meet the need of most active Americans for relaxation." (Well, all right, maybe it ought to provide something for "minority tastes" as well —but that is secondary.) And the industry ought to make clear that it finds no conflict between serving the public and serving advertisers; what is good for the sponsor is good for the United States.

Since Mr. Sarnoff is boss of NBC and since he was talking to the broadcasters' trade association, he got action. Committees were set up, money was raised, and the industry is now planning a heavy-caliber campaign to defend itself.

MR. SARNOFF has a point. Four points, to be precise.

Much criticism of TV *has* been misinformed. Some of it has come from professional intellectuals whose main stock in trade is lament over the malodorous decay of American culture. (A classic example is Gunther Anders' essay in *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America,** in which he deplores TV for 4,500 words without once touching on anything so vulgar as a fact. One of his conclusions is that "because the world is brought into our homes, we do not have to explore it . . . modern man travels only as a last resort." To preserve his intellectual purity, Dr. Anders evidently avoids not only TV, but also highways, airports, trains, and docks.)

Perhaps it is also true—though hard to prove—that some of the newspaper and magazine criticism of TV has been snide and hostile, because TV is a strong competitor for audience and advertising.

Surely, Mr. Sarnoff is right in fearing that government domination would be a bad thing. The Federal Communications Commission has made sorry use of what power over broadcasting it now has; and foreign experience—notably in England—suggests that government-operated TV has about as many (though different) failings as the American system. Then, too, it is always dangerous to let politicians or bureaucrats get their fingers on *any* channel of communication. The temptation to use it for propaganda is too great a strain to put on any conscience.

Finally, for whatever one man's opinion is worth, it seems to me that TV is better than many of its critics are willing to admit. In a slow and spotty way, it may actually be improving. At least in the New York area, where the network programs usually originate, anybody willing to hunt a little can now find one or two worthwhile programs almost every day—ranging from history lectures to Eugene O'Neill, from first-rate jazz to Leonard Bernstein. (True enough, local stations in the hinterland often refuse to carry the best of the network offerings; they can make more money by running ancient

*Edited by Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White; published in 1957 by the Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

movies.) In the household I know best, TV has caused none of the disasters predicted by the gloomier sociologists. My children haven't turned into videots, or even neglected their homework much. And if my own brain is softening, I can't honestly blame it on my watching an occasional prize-fight, baseball game, or Phil Silvers comedy.

BUT if we grant all this, the fact remains that Mr. Sarnoff and many of his fellow broadcasters don't seem to understand what their responsible critics are really saying. These critics too have some valid points—and they cannot be answered by any "communications effort," however massive. The only possible answer would be a basic change in the organization of the industry.

The true indictment against TV is not that it is all bad, but rather that it is not nearly as good as it could be—nor as good as the public has a right to expect. The public is now paying a high price for something it has been promised, and is not getting. With the best will in the world, the industry *in its present form* evidently is powerless to deliver what it has promised—solemnly and legally—that it would deliver.

Some specifications of this charge were set forth most vigorously, not by a cloistered intellectual, but by one of the most respected and successful executives in broadcasting, Edward R. Murrow. Last October he scandalized the industry by saying, right out loud, that its performance is timid, trivial, and escapist. He pointed out that in the all-important prime time period—the hours between 8:00 and 11:00 P.M., which are the only ones when most people are free to use their sets—the air is full of froth. Normally all three networks and all local stations offer much the same fare: frivolous entertainment, consisting of Westerns, vaudeville, quiz shows, and an occasional detective story.

In practice, then, during the prime hours you and I do not have that "freedom of choice" which Mr. Sarnoff speaks of so reverently. Candy is dandy, as Ogden Nash has observed—but what if you want beef steak for a change? You won't get it. The sponsors in their infinite wisdom have decided that most people want candy between 8:00 and 11:00 P.M.—and you will, by God, take it or go hungry.

The result is that the best brains in television, its best hours, and its best dollar are dedicated to making the American people fat, dumb, and happy. Or, as Mr. Murrow put it, to "decadence, escapism, and insulation from the world in which we live."

Is this good enough? Can we afford to use our best resources in this way, at a moment when the Soviets are straining all their resources to make *their* people lean, smart, and tough? Even if most of the customers (and sponsors) do eat it up, does it really make sense? Isn't it like feeding candy to a diabetic—without warning him that sugar may kill him? For, as Mr. Murrow pointed out, prime hour TV makes "only fleeting and spasmodic reference to the fact that this nation is in mortal danger."*

MANY people in television are aware of these questions, and uneasy about them. One is Mr. Sarnoff. Shortly after his speech about the critics, I talked to him at some length, and have no doubt that he is a conscientious and intelligent man, eager to do what he can to improve his industry. So too with the responsible executives at CBS—notably its president, Dr. Frank Stanton, a former professor who is at least as thoughtful as any of his intellectual critics; and its TV chief, Louis Cowan, a former aide of Adlai Stevenson.

The trouble is they can't do much.

As the industry is now organized, *nobody*—neither networks, nor local stations, nor sponsors—has much leeway to attempt anything more than marginal improvements.

Some such modest improvements already are in prospect. Mr. Sarnoff recently announced that NBC is planning seven hour-long informational programs, plus some operas and original plays, to be presented at peak viewing periods. Dr. Stanton has said that next year CBS will schedule "regular hour-long informational broadcasts once a month in prime evening time," and that later he hopes to offer such programs twice a month and eventually every week.

These are remarkably courageous steps. Even if the network chiefs get away with them, however, that will still mean that only about one twenty-eighth of the prime hours will be salvaged from the froth. And to judge from past experience, many of the networks' affiliated stations will refuse to carry such programs.

The reason why such improvements are so daring and difficult is, in a word: Money. Those prime hours are enormously valuable. Their sale to advertisers brings in most of the network's income. From this profit it pays for unsponsored

*On rare occasions the networks do venture to slip a morsel of protein into the evening menu—a documentary, a prestige show, an interview with Robert Frost. But ordinarily, as we all know, if you want to get your teeth into something, you have to search for it at unearthly hours—such as 6:30 A.M., midnight, or Sunday afternoon.

Even then we don't have much freedom of choice. On Sundays, for example, the sponsors assume that all right-thinking consumers are outdoors playing golf or inhaling exhaust fumes. Consequently these relatively worthless hours can be used as sops for the intellectual—and all the sops are tossed on his plate at once. On May 10, for instance, if you had wanted to listen to Senator Javits and Bergen Evans and Tom Mboya and the *New York Times* Youth Forum and a panel of scientists, you couldn't do it. All were scheduled on different channels at the same hour.

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programs, for its costly news service, and for those cultural items which appear at dawn and on Sunday afternoon. From this same profit it must pay its dividends. If the networks give away too many of these golden hours for "informational broadcasts," the stockholders will soon want to know why. They may even want a new president. After all, TV is not a philanthropic enterprise.

Each local station is under similar pressure. When it carries an unsponsored network public-service program it is actually out of pocket; but if it rejects that program and sells the time to half a dozen local sponsors, it makes a tempting profit. What would you do if you were the station manager?

Why, then, don't some of the big corporations sponsor an occasional program dealing with "ideas and information," as Mr. Murrow suggested? Again, because they feel they can't afford to. It costs a sizable fortune to put an evening program on a national network. The sponsor will get his money back only if he draws the largest possible audience. If horse opera sells more autos than Ed Murrow—as it does—then the advertiser has to go for horse opera. The fact that he, personally, may prefer Murrow makes no difference. If he should yield to such a whim, his harder-headed competitors will soon run him out of the market.*

Actually the sponsor doesn't even have the freedom to take that chance. Once in a long while some advertiser may be rich enough—or stubborn enough—to put on a program which strikes his fancy, even though it does not fetch a whopping audience. One such was Firestone. Until recently it presented a program of semi-serious music—not great art, but certainly a high cut above the quality of most evening shows. Although its audience was relatively small, Firestone was content.

The ABC network was not. It was afraid to carry a low-rating show at 9:00 P.M., because millions of viewers might switch to a competing channel—and stay there for the rest of the evening. So ABC told Firestone that it would have to shift to a less strategic hour or get off the air. No other network could find a place for "The Voice of Firestone" in prime time either—and at this writing the program apparently is doomed.

Everybody feels awfully sorry about this—and everybody is helpless. Them, as Jimmy Durante used to say, is the conditions which prevail.

OUR system of broadcasting was not meant to work that way. When it got started, a generation ago, everybody recognized that radio (and later TV) could serve as an immensely powerful instrument of public education and enlightenment. In theory, every station is supposed to put that purpose first. It is licensed to broadcast, under the Federal Communications Act, in order to serve "the public convenience and necessity."

Such a license is a gold mine. It gives the lucky applicant a monopoly on the use of a particular piece of public property—a radio wave-length or TV channel. It costs him nothing, though it may earn him a fortune. Some licenses have been sold, shortly after they were granted by the FCC, for as much as $8 million.

In return for this magnificent gift of public property, the station owner is supposed to devote a considerable part of his air time to public service programs. Naturally the competition is keen for every one of the available channels, and each of the competing applicants makes impressive promises about the public service he will provide. (Sometimes, as the Harris Committee discovered, he also tries to bribe an FCC commissioner.)

These promises are seldom, if ever, kept. The Federal Communications Commission has made no serious effort to enforce them. No station's license has ever been revoked, or refused renewal, because the operator broke his pledge. In practice, therefore, most stations simply ignore this obligation, and sell every hour they can for as much money as they can get. Much of their programing consists of showing old movies in fifteen-minute slices—

*CBS has been making heroic efforts to interest sponsors in paying for at least some of these informational broadcasts, and has at last found one which is willing to go along with the experiment. Bell & Howell will sponsor six one-hour documentaries on national and international issues, beginning next October.

with as many as six consecutive commercials sandwiched in between all the segments. (Watching one of these mutilated dramas is enough to make a man wonder about Mr. Sarnoff's conviction that "broadcasting's responsibility to the public is harmonious with its responsibility to advertisers.")

If some undesirable time remains unsold, then the station may use it as a cheap gesture toward the public service—often by running a sermon by some local minister.

The upshot is that we are all paying dearly for something we don't get. We are letting the broadcasters use valuable public property, for free—and they are not delivering in return the public service which they promised.

CAN anything be done to stop this scandal?

Well, of course the FCC might try to enforce its own rules—but that seems most unlikely with the caliber of men now on the commission and the political atmosphere in which it operates.

There is, however, another possible solution. It would, I think, meet most of the points raised by the responsible critics of broadcasting. It would give the public real freedom of choice in programs. It would avoid the dangers of government control. Finally, it would remove the economic pressures which now bear down so painfully on people like Sarnoff, Stanton, Murrow, and others who would like to improve TV and radio, but can do so only with great difficulty and risk.

In bare outline, it might work something like this:

(1) Instead of giving away its air channels, from now on the government would rent them. Each local TV and radio station would pay a modest percentage of its annual earnings—say 10 or 15 per cent. This would be no great hardship, since most broadcasters are now making very comfortable profits. For example, CBS earned $7 million in the first quarter of the year, a gain of nearly 8 per cent over the same period in 1958. Radio Corporation of America, the parent company of NBC, reported first quarter earnings of nearly $13 million, for a 44 per cent gain; but some of this came from the sale of TV sets and other equipment, rather than from broadcasting.

The earnings of all the hundreds of local stations are hard to discover, so I have no idea how much money such rentals might bring in. Certainly it would be substantial. For the sake of illustration, let's assume that they might total $50 million a year.

(2) This money would be turned over to a National Broadcasting Authority—a public body chartered by Congress but carefully insulated from politics. Its directors would be five men who already hold responsible positions in the fields of education, culture, and information. They must not be governmental appointees; they must be free from economic and political pressures; they must not represent any competing media; they should represent a broad spectrum of the public interest; and they must command respect.

Such a board might include the president of Harvard, the heads of the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations, the director of the Metropolitan Museum, and the chief of the National Radio and Television Center at Ann Arbor. (Again, this list is merely illustrative; no doubt it could be improved upon.) The essential point is that the men who hold such jobs at any given moment would *ex officio* become directors of the National Broadcasting Authority. They should be well paid for their part-time services. I can think of no better method to select a board of assured competence, and above suspicion of any interest except the public welfare.

(3) The board would hire a Program Manager, and would give him general policy directives—much as a corporation board of directors deals with the company's president. This manager would, of course, be an experienced broadcasting executive. Mr. Murrow, for example.

(4) The main job of the Authority and its manager would be to produce public-service programs—news-in-depth, top-quality music and theater, documentaries dealing with science, the arts, and public affairs, plus any kind of experimental features they might want to try. In the beginning, they might attempt three

UPS AND DOWNS

Sisyphus, king of ancient Corinth, was subjected to one of the most frustrating tortures in all mythology. He was condemned by the gods to spend eternity rolling a huge stone up a hill—only to have it roll down again each time he reached the top. For sheer futility, the plight of Sisyphus seems hard to beat.

But there are people who do to themselves for no reason at all what Sisyphus had done to him as punishment for his crimes. Such people scrimp and save in order to invest in common stocks that show promise of growth. They see their holdings begin to increase in value, and then they relax in the belief that their stocks will go up forever and their fortunes will be made. That can happen, of course, but there's no guarantee. Some stocks, like the stone of Sisyphus, go up only to roll down again. That's why an investor should keep a watchful eye on his holdings. It's fine if you can sell at the high, but that's more easily said than done, largely because there is no sure way of knowing in time how high is high.

We have one suggestion that may be helpful. If you own stocks that have risen so high in price that you would not buy them now, you should at least consider the possibility of selling them.

Sisyphus had no choice but to watch his stone roll down to the bottom of the hill after each climb, but *you* can exchange your holdings whenever your judgment tells you the time is ripe.

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hour-long programs each week for TV and an equal number for radio.

(5) Each program would have to be carried by one of the major networks and all of its affiliated stations, in prime evening time. Monday's program, for example, might be assigned to NBC, Wednesday's to CBS, and Friday's to ABC. This hour would be an additional rental-in-kind, demanded of the broadcasters in part-payment for the privilege of using the public's air waves. (Unaffiliated stations might be required to devote an equal amount of time to showing the Authority's kinescopes.)

Thus the viewer would have genuine freedom of choice. If he is not interested in the Authority's report on the Berlin crisis, scheduled for 9:00 P.M. Monday on NBC, then he can turn to a western on CBS or a song-and-dance act on ABC. And *vice versa*. (He would even get a chance to see an occasional program uninterrupted by commercials, since the Authority would have no need for advertising.) Such an arrangement would, moreover, expose the Authority's program producers to the bracing effects of competition for their audience.

(6) This system would cost the broadcasters far less than you might think. For the networks and the few conscientious local stations would be relieved of the painful and expensive duty of producing public-service programs. And those stations which now evade this duty would be forced to bear their fair share of the Authority's cost.

All broadcasters could then go merrily about their primary business of selling advertising—undistracted by the present conflict between their duty to their stockholders and their duty to the public service. Nagging consciences would be stilled, snarling critics would be silenced—or, at least, largely diverted to watching the Authority's programs—and ulcers might no longer be the TV man's occupational disease.

(7) The Authority would open up a stimulating new opportunity for broadcasting talent. I personally know a dozen top-flight producers, writers, and actors who would jump at the chance to work for such an outfit, even if it meant a cut in salary—simply because they are tired, as one of them put it, of "producing garbage."

(8) The plan would not cost the taxpayer a penny; it could be put into effect with a simple piece of legislation; and it would require no governmental machinery to operate it.

DO YOU think such a plan might be worth a trial?

If so—or if it strikes you as a bad idea—I hope you will drop me a postcard or a note. Better yet, let me know how you think it might be improved; as sketched here, it probably has a lot of flaws I have not been able to see.

I am eager to know how many other people feel, as I do, that our broadcasting system might be made to serve us better. Any comment that readers of this column may care to send me will get careful attention—and later they will be turned over to a member of Congress who is interested in the possibility of doing something about it.

HARPER'S
Special Supplement

NEXT October, in addition to its regular editorial content, *Harper's* will publish a special 64-page supplement on Writing in America.

This supplement will try to do something that, so far as we know, has never been attempted before. It will take a hard critical look at a wide range of writing—for movies, for television, and for the theater—as well as at the fiction, non-fiction, and poetry published in books and magazines. In addition, it will discuss what happens to writing when the commercial world takes hold of it and publishes it, reviews it, and tries to sell it.

Some of the articles we expect to publish are: Alfred Kazin on the Fiction of the 'Fifties; Budd Schulberg on Writing for the Movies; Frank Yerby on the Art of the Costume Novel; Archibald MacLeish on the Teaching (and non-teaching) of Creative Writing; Elizabeth Hardwick on the Decline of American Reviewing; Vance Bourjaily on the Literature of Television; and Stanley Kunitz—winner of this year's Pulitzer Prize for Poetry—on the state of poetry in America.

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EDC1297/CBS3 ED MUR 2/50

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E ADMITTED COMMA WE AT CBS HAVE BEEN AT LEAST AS RESPONSIBLE
AS ANYONE ELSE

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TOP PARAGRAPH ALL I HAVE ASKED OF YOU IS THAT YOU INFORM THE
EWEING PUBLIC OF THE PRODUCTION PRACTICES ON PERSON TO PERSON
THAT THE PROGRAM CAN BE EXACTLY WHAT IT PURPORTS TO BE
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BURKE

Sorry

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7 November 1959

Dear Judge;

This has been the God damdest three weeks I have ever spent. I wish one could credit one's masters in CBS with some subtle, diabolical plot to bleed Person to Person to death — at least one could admire their cleverness — but it isn't that at all. They are simply stupid, afraid, and confused. There is nothing to admire at all.

The latest idiocy is that each program is now prefaced by a solemn rubric about how it had been planned in advance with the guest. This, you may imagine, has reduced some of the guests to purple-faced rage. The purplest has been Averell who finally only consented to go on out of friendship. I myself have gone through the purple phase and now sit hunched at my desk waiting for the next implausible blow to fall.

Johnny and Jesse's departure is going to make it all much more difficult. I've got a new producer who will, I suppose, be all right. But [illegible] kind of a sentimentous

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"GLADSTO"

fellow, but well-meaning and good enough at his job. Not the same, though — not the same.

We are continuing under forced draft with the European project. He will come to London next week and I shall arrive about the 20th to embark on a hectic series of interviews. I hope you and Janet will still be there and I can give you a fill in on what's been going on. Its all quite mad — Stanton making manly statements in Washington, Cowan plucking palely at his coverlet, Paley absolutely invisible, and vice presidents and lawyers in endless conferences about everything. I have never known it so foothing and indecisive. You picked a wonderful time to be away and I think I picked a hell of a time to come back.

Nevertheless, there it is, I'll be in London on the 19th and 20th and if you are there I will make your flesh crep with horror stories.

Love to Janet — Its ever,

Charles

P.S. - Wasn't it you who told me that Person to Person would be fun?

Mayer

The first of two articles by
MARTIN MAYER

How good is TV at its Best?

A critic's report on the most ambitious programs offered by the networks last season —when they were still scared enough to promise the public a vastly improved menu.

BEFORE 1959, anyone who criticized television in public was almost certain to be told (in public) that he was looking for the wrong thing in the wrong place. "There's nobody here but us capons. We give the people what they want."

But last fall, when the quiz-show and payola scandals broke, the TV high command saw that such soft answers would no longer turn away wrath. Congress began to show some signs of rummaging in the chicken coop, and the critics were whetting their axes more fiercely than ever. At this point The Industry asked its enemies to wait a minute, on the grounds that there were really some roosters in the coop, too. If only the critics would watch what was *good* on television, instead of wasting their evenings reading books on mass culture, they would realize how dangerously misguided they had been in their attacks on broadcasting. Take a look this year, the networks urged, we have some real good stuff coming this winter and all through 1960.

It seemed fair enough. Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley once observed that there were very few things you *had* to do for a man—but if he wanted to fight, you had to oblige him. Similarly, in the war of ideas, any man has a right to insist that people take him seriously. Consequently, the editors of *Harper's* asked me to look with an open and attentive mind at that part of the past season's television schedule which seemed to be aimed at the man who, if he were not watching TV, might be reading a book or reading *Harper's*.

Between October and the end of May, I spent something like 250 hours watching television programs either on the screen in my own living room or in screening rooms at the networks and elsewhere. What follows is a personal critical appraisal of the public-affairs programs I saw. Next month I will submit a similar personal commentary on 1959-60's more ambitious dramatic offerings.

"PUBLIC AFFAIRS" programs—apparently such a natural use of the television medium—are inevitably a headache to all. They must somehow avoid one of the conditions of human existence—the damnably dreary time scale on which reality presents itself. Whether or not Thoreau was right about the generality of mankind, people who sit through entire telecasts of political conventions certainly lead lives of quiet desperation. Except on rare occasions, anyone who wishes to produce a successful non-fiction program must reorganize reality to the time scale of drama. And it is always a difficult job, more difficult, probably, than anything done in the entertainment end of television.

Basically, there are only two known ways of applying the necessary art to the unwieldy reality—and of the two, the better by far is the technique which has come to be called "documentary." The name is unfortunate, because television documentaries are only distantly related to the pictures which men like Flaherty and Lorentz made for distribution through movie houses. The film documentary is a romantic piece of work, showing the unsuspected beauties of distant civilizations, apparently denuded countryside or barren lives, slums and wilderness. Walt Disney's nature series for the movies was a knock in the center of the tradition; the giant scripts tend to be embarrassedly fine, ours having become an unsentimental age. To compare Disney's films with television's glory, the series *CBS Reports*, is to see the difference between the two kinds of "documentary." The one deals with the unchanging, what was and is and will be; the other tries, hopefully, to find a present pregnant with a startling future. (Unlike the more romantic documentary films, *CBS Reports*, on principle, uses no music.)

Some television documentaries do operate within the established film tradition, most note-

bly the programs produced by *Project XX*, NBC's organizational equivalent to *CBS Reports*. At its best, *Project XX* turns out an emotionally charged show, using every trick in the movie-maker's magic bag. In 1958-59 a *Project XX* show on Abraham Lincoln brought to network television for the first time the technique of the art film. The story was told by means of still pictures with narration, the camera panning across to achieve an illusion of motion, approaching for the significant detail, backing away for the grand sweep. This technique was employed again last season, against the handicap of more diffuse material, in a program on *Mark Twain's America*, beautifully photographed under the supervision of Daniel Jones, handsomely written by Richard Hanser, and appropriately narrated by Howard Lindsay. The program's tone was one of legitimate, muted nostalgia for the attractions of that nineteenth-century America which has become a myth. Everyone knew precisely what he was doing; toward the end of the show Mr. Hanser stressed Twain's line about "the pathetic past, the beautiful past, the dear and lamented past." Those who missed *Mark Twain's America*, by the way, will probably receive another chance; though it was produced for a specific occasion (Twain's centenary), it was the sort of program that can be and usually is given repeat showings.

Project XX also continued its survey of recent history, presenting *The Thirties* and a show about the period between the end of World War II and the outbreak of the Korean War, called *Not So Long Ago*. A good deal of courage, both artistic and personal, went into the production of *The Thirties*—a tricky subject, because its clichés are still too recent to be charming, its hatreds still too fresh to be quaint. Reaching for poetry here, producer Donald Hyatt occasionally overreached himself—especially with the head-in-hands, cigarette-toppling-from-fingers stuff, people picking up shovels, the faces of the miserable listening to Roosevelt on the radio, all in pictures which did not have the feeling of thirties photography. But within its relatively limited compass *The Thirties* was remarkably honest, so much so that Frank McGee's editorial comments at the end seemed wholly in place. This program also contained, incidentally, one of the most cheerful surprises of the season. Who would have thought that any network had the guts to put out for all to hear H. L. Mencken's wonderful comment on the abdication of Edward VIII, that it was "the greatest story since the Resurrection."

Not So Long Ago, hampered by Bob Hope's ludicrous if not very funny narration, was a far less honest piece of work. "No part of American life seemed free from alien infection," intoned Mr. Hope, speaking of the Red scares of the late 'forties—"not even Hollywood." And, "nothing did more to brighten the postwar scene than the reconversion of the hosiery industry." The program seemed to have been made mostly to find air space for some footage left over from *The Thirties*. Among its major points was the fact that Babe Ruth and Fiorello La Guardia died during the period under examination, and an appreciable proportion of *Not So Long Ago* was given to films of La Guardia reading the funnies and Ruth pointing to the place where he hit the home run.

All *Project XX* programs are grievously marred by the wholly mechanical musical scores supplied through the Robert Russell Bennett atelier. Running continuously through the program, lushly harmonized, over-orchestrated, they consist entirely of popular songs strung together like sausages. Because each moment is completely predictable, each moment falls flat. In *Not So Long Ago*, for example, Mr. Bennett & Co. offered "Roll Out the Barrel" for the celebrations attendant on V-J Day; "East Side, West Side" for La Guardia; "Take Me Out to the Ball Game" for Babe Ruth; "That Old Black Magic" for television; "The Thing" for flying saucers; "The Missouri Waltz" for Harry Truman. Even when compared with the customary feeble television music, this is shockingly cheap work.

PROVINCIALS ABROAD

WITH its best talent tied up in *Project XX*, NBC tends to do a more casual job on its current-affairs programs. The *Journey to Understanding* series which ran sporadically through the season, covering the comings and goings of the heads of state, never rose above a level of genteel poverty. The viewpoint was consistently that of State Department spokesmen, and each show dragged along from episode to episode with no more than verbal unity—if that. It is impossible to forgive the television reporter who, approaching a distinguished journalist of a country where intellectuals call each other by their first names only at moments of sexual passion, began an interview with the words, "Paul, as a Catholic and a newsman, how do *you* feel about the Khrushchev visit?"

The NBC public-affairs staff as a whole suffers from this sort of fuzzy-faced provincialism. The

CBS *Eyewitness to History* series—occasional half-hours and hours paralleling *Journey to Understanding*—was not on the average an outstandingly successful effort. But nearly all the CBS programs assumed a level of comprehension deeper than anything NBC attempted. Interviewing the same people, the CBS reporters looked like men trying to get information for their viewers, while the NBC staff looked like men honestly interested in what was going to be said—they'd always hoped to learn something about this subject, but they'd never had the chance. NBC's pose of plain, blunt Americanism was acceptable enough when practiced locally with the intelligence of a Chet Huntley or a David Brinkley. (Though Mr. Brinkley should not have wound up his tough-minded, entertaining travelogue, *Our Man in the Mediterranean*, with the words, "In 1492 Columbus set out from Palos, and that, after 5,000 years, finished the Mediterranean as the center of civilization.") Abroad, the pose often seemed silly, and produced from the people being interviewed (even from Nehru) patient, simple-minded answers spoken as though to a child.

ABC last season took its first baby steps in the field of the TV documentary, and, as babies will, tore apart two excellent subjects—Africa and Korea. The program on Africa was little more than a series of relatively ignorant interviews strung together by a low-level narration. The Korean story, more ambitiously organized, suffered from amateurish editing and an unfortunate choice of scenes to present. There may have been an element of rush in the production, too—nobody who had thought twice could have regarded a recently returned non-com as the proper person to question about the grand strategy of Korean containment. ABC was also sufficiently ill-informed not to foresee anything like serious trouble on the South Korean domestic scene, though the program appeared only a month before the students flunked President Rhee. There were a couple of Korean students at American colleges interviewed on the show, with their backs to the camera, and they said they were not happy—but John Secondari failed to educe *why* they were not happy. Apparently everyone in Korea knew that the March election had been shamelessly rigged—but ABC's people had not spent enough time in Korea to find out about it.

In two backstage reports on television's Lords of Creation ("Harper's," 1956) Martin Mayer asked "What becomes of the talent?" He now examines the state of TV programing as the viewer sees it: public-affairs programs this month, dramatic shows next month. He is the author of "Wall Street: Men and Money," "Madison Avenue, U.S.A." and two novels. He is now completing a book on primary and secondary education, for which he has traveled over the United States and Europe.

CBS' STANDARDS

BETTER organized and far more plentifully supplied with talent, CBS can be held to higher standards—and tends to meet them. CBS had triumphs (notably the program on Brazil and Brasilia) even in *Eyewitness to History*, though the series contained many too many failures. Its *post-facto* summaries, when reporters at a loss to fill the time fell to interviewing one another, were case histories in the bad journalism which results when newspaper or magazine editors or television executives commit themselves to a story before finding out whether or not the story is there.

CBS last season even produced an admirable weekly half-hour documentary, *Twentieth Century*, which, as its title indicates, dealt mostly with recent history, piece by piece, from Mussolini to Mao. It was on the whole the outstanding educational program in network television. (The famous *Sunrise Semester*, *Continental Classroom*, and other course-credit programs which run in the early morning are worthy efforts, especially the physics class; but they are all a little too teachery to qualify as educational.) Cleverly edited and unusually straightforward, *Twentieth Century* benefited vastly from the narration of Walter Cronkite, whose voice, timing, and impeccable sense of what he can say make him one of the most valuable artists on television. The show *is* used educationally, by the way—I ran into it in high schools all over the country, in 16-mm. film, distributed as a public service by Prudential, which has been careful to keep the commercials just where they were in the original broadcast.

Another weekly half-hour, *Conquest*, all about the Wonderful Things scientists are doing in their laboratories, was a much less satisfactory program. If the depiction of something real is the necessary qualification for a "public-affairs" program, *Conquest* ought not to be here at all. Unlike most live non-fiction television, it was heavily scripted. The scientists whose work was on display in the show plowed through their lines with obvious difficulty and insincerity. The decision to write out these shows in advance

was apparently dictated by a desire to keep everything on a level which would allow easy comprehension by an early adolescent of low-average intelligence. The format chosen, meanwhile, added insult to injury. The typical *Conquest* program opened with the scientist at work in his laboratory, twisting dials nervously, dreadfully conscious of the camera behind him. The broad back of Charles Collingwood walking into the laboratory then appeared on the screen; and without so much as a Hello, Collingwood began to ask simple questions. I kept waiting impatiently for one of the larger scientists to throw him out.

THE BEST TEAM

WHEN CBS felt called upon to defend itself last year—and such occasions kept coming up—its president pointed with pride to Fred Friendly's monthly series of *CBS Reports*. Rightly so. The best of these programs—Ed Murrow's *Biography of a Missile* and Eric Sevareid's coverage of the elections in Nigeria—were among the greatest achievements of the reporting genius of our time. Even the least of the series—Arthur Morse's talky *Who Speaks for the South*—was television journalism of a highly creditable variety. Each show was careful, thoroughly prepared, and (except for the doubtless valid but highly editorial blast at Trujillo) essentially fair to its subjects. Each show had a number of points to make, and made some of them with a subtlety never before attained on television, and hard to find anywhere else.

Biography of a Missile, for example, was experienced by a viewer as a dramatic story ending in tragedy (the missile Murrow's crew had followed around the country barely got off the launching pad at Cape Canaveral and had to be destroyed). But while the story was unfolding Mr. Murrow conveyed much more than an hour's worth of the facts and atmosphere of the Army's missile operation. Each of the many gadgets that go into a missile was shown, described, dissected and given a price tag. The listener absorbed, casually, the jargon and the slang of the subject —"clearance to load lox."

One of Murrow's points, never mentioned in the script, was the preponderance of Germans on the missile team. It was an easy point to get across—carried simply by the "Zis iss right, zis iss right" with which the scientists responded to Mr. Murrow's leading questions about the missile. What drove the point home forever, though, was an action scene rather than an interview. In a desert canyon in Southern California a team was testing the main propellant chamber of the missile, locking it in a test frame to blast out its gases. Fuel was loaded, instruments adjusted, and the time came for everyone to duck into the blockhouses or be caught in the furies of hell. The cameras focused on the missile tube in the great frame, the empty canyon was silent—and from the loudspeakers, echoing back and forth on the bare rocks, came the final warning: *"Achtung! Achtung! . . ."*

Friendly's choice of subjects was nearly perfect; he guessed wrong only once, when *CBS Reports* made an excursion to Iran, obviously in the expectation that this kingdom was about to become a headline trouble spot. Designed as a background for news stories, *Iran: Brittle Ally* became little more than a political travelogue when the stories failed to appear. But it was a fascinating show nonetheless, Mr. Murrow and the hard-voiced Winston Burdett at their best; strong in the contrast between the comments of an American military adviser and an American dam-builder (Gordon Clapp of TVA); affecting in its portraits of village leaders learning to govern themselves and of the Shah's embarrassment at peasants trying to kiss his feet as he distributed certificates of land ownership to the beneficiaries of agrarian reform. There was also a hilarious and terrifying interview with Iran's richest plebeian, owner of the local television station, assorted import franchises, and six Pepsi-Cola bottling plants ("one of the things our country needs very badly," he said earnestly). The kicker at the end, arriving without warning like everything else in the interview, was the gentleman's residence—"I am living in the United States since 1941, at 480 Park Avenue."

Domestically, the most important program in the series was *The Population Explosion*, a presentation of the upper-class Indian point of view on birth control. The program was shown twice, and was one of the forces which propelled the Catholic issue into the Democratic primary campaign. Though a trifle light in weight (nothing much was done to explain the psychology or sociology of the Indian family unit), it was on the whole a courageous piece of work, reflecting great credit on CBS and on Charles Percy of Bell & Howell, which sponsored the entire series, including this program and the equally dangerous *Who Speaks for the South*. (While crediting sponsors, by the way, let us remember Purex, which paid for Merle Miller's fictionalized history of Ira Hayes and for the two Reginald Rose programs on the Sacco-Vanzetti case.) Howard

K. Smith, who ran the population program, stuck to the facts, neither arguing that the rising birth rate was responsible for India's poverty nor claiming that greater food production would enable India to raise the standard of living of a population expanding at current rates.

Birth control is a difficult subject to present graphically. Mr. Smith was on camera a little too often, pulling the strings, and he was unable to carry through the technical principle that illuminated the other programs in *CBS Reports*—the proposition that each point should be made by the picture or by the script, but not simultaneously by both. Each of the two showings of the program presented an argument between Bishop James Pike of the Episcopal Church and a Catholic priest. The appearance of a dialogue was created by filming each man's statement separately in advance, and then cutting back and forth between the two. The debate was most unsatisfactory the first time around because of the flashing eyes, hellfire manner of the priest chosen (by Cardinal Spellman) to present the Catholic position; but it was much improved on second showing, when the civilized president of Notre Dame was substituted. Nothing much came out of these clerical arguments, but they may have been revealing to people who had thought this disagreement an easy one to settle if only good will or a good pill were applied to it.

Some later shows in *CBS Reports* were a cut below standards achieved at the beginning of the season. *Biography of a Cancer* suffered from the paucity of new information on this much-discussed subject, and relied a little too heavily on the engaging personality of the cancer patient, Dr. Tom Dooley. (Mark on the credit side, however, Mr. Friendly's realization that Dr. Dooley needed an excuse for his appearance on the program, and the blunt question to Dr. Dooley as to why he was permitting the cameras to follow him around at so private a moment in his life.)

Who Speaks for the South was more disturbing, because its weakness was one against which television reporting must incessantly fight—the notion that an important facet of reality can be presented if you merely show people, talking.

HOW "LIVE" IS THE "GUEST"?

FOR there is a second way to reorganize reality to the time scale of drama, without introducing anything obviously spurious or losing simultaneity. This second way is simply to train the camera on people gathered in your studio—live celebrities, authorities, opinion leaders, notorious characters. People—as the quiz-show scandals revealed so vividly last fall—can be controlled while on the screen. Yet watching them we feel they *must* be real: if there is a fundamental article in the American credo, it is the proposition that people are real. Even Ed Sullivan is real.

Interviews, press conferences, discussion shows take up most of the time in public-affairs programing. They are cheap to produce, because no "guest" ever gets paid for his time, and because the permanent interviewer or "moderator" needs little preparation to play his part. Most viewers believe that when they watch a public figure on television they "learn something" about him, beyond simply seeing what he looks like. This belief, which is usually erroneous, goes back to the early days of television, when its critics saw in the medium an opportunity for people to get to know their leaders. Television, it was said, "exposed phonies," and would thus clean up whatever facet of American public life most annoyed the critic. After watching Frank Costello's hands move while Estes Kefauver asked him questions, one supposedly knew something about Frank Costello that had been hidden before. Even today, after months of newspaper headlines gleefully exposing the phonies television had promoted, it is generally held that people will reveal something true and important about themselves when placed before television cameras in an artificial situation.

But they don't. They couldn't if they wanted to. And most of the time they don't want to.

The people who appear on interview or discussion shows are all more or less well known, because names with "marquee value" are necessary to draw an audience. They have taken public positions, and they have been summoned before the cameras to defend these positions, either against newspapermen or against equally prominent citizens who have taken opposed positions. *McCall's* sponsors a segment of David Susskind's *Open End*, "in the interest of bringing people and ideas together." But people and ideas come together only in private. Public confession of error has never been a specialty of the human race, and at its best, when pertinent questions are being asked, the interview or discussion program inevitably drives the respondent into more and more extreme statements. As trial lawyers and terriers like Mike Wallace have demonstrated, it is possible to drive *any* respondent to flabbiness or extremity simply by asking questions which can be answered only at greater

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length than time permits. When the respondent is much more intelligent or much better prepared than the interviewer—*viz.*, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Susskind—debating points can be made and the "guest" can emerge justly pleased with himself. After applauding such a performance, I would gladly hire its hero as my attorney—but not on the grounds that I now knew something significant about him as a person.

Typically, the discussion programs are the worst offenders. In the interview, at least, question and answer tend to occupy the same plane, and to be directed at each other. The televised discussion, however, commonly presents the sad spectacle of intelligent people unable to make even peripheral contact with each other. They are talking about the same "issues," but not about the same things. Everything is further complicated by the producer's desire that such programs shall be "good shows." Guests are matched like so many prize fighters, and the moderator is briefed to be able to get away fast if the antagonists seem about to agree on something—or to recall the ethos of television, that people *really* like one another, if the participants threaten to retreat to an unfriendly formality.

Interview and discussion programs shot in advance and then edited for sense and drama could, in theory, avoid the worst inaccuracies of the live presentation. Simultaneity would be lost, of course, and everyone would have to drop the pretense that there is something in nature which makes people reveal themselves before a television camera. Unfortunately, it may be impossible to edit such films impartially, and it would certainly be impossible to convince anyone who came out of the final show with a black eye that the film *had* been edited impartially. When such techniques of editing are used, therefore, it becomes vital that no one emerge from the experience even lightly damaged—which makes programs like Mr. Murrow's *Small World* about as informative as fan magazines.

There are occasional exceptions to the rule against discussion programs. The exceptions occur, I should guess, when the showmanship factor is eliminated (*i.e.*, under academic rather than commercial auspices, when the moderator is sometimes [illegible] the participants respect, and when the star of the evening is someone previously unknown to the audience (because any information about an unfamiliar figure is better than none, even if the information received has been distorted by the artificiality of its context). At any rate these three elements would seem to account for the relatively higher level of Eleanor Roosevelt's *Prospects of Mankind*, a monthly program produced by Brandeis University for WCBH in Boston and distributed nationally via the educational network in Ann Arbor.

One of these programs, featuring Julius Nyerere, the future prime minister of an independent Tanganyika, was positively triumphant. The other participants were Ralph Bunche, Saville Davis of the *Christian Science Monitor*, and Barbara Ward, now apparently "a citizen of China." Was it perhaps too soon, Mr. Davis as devil's advocate asked Mr. Nyerere, for the African nations to be given their independence? To which Mr. Nyerere, with a cheerful smile and a beautifully trained voice, drew the analogy of the thief who has stolen a man's overcoat, and then asks whether the time has yet come when he should return it. Mr. Nyerere would go far on any nation's political racecourse. Not all the other programs in the series came up to this standard, but they all maintained a dignity no commercial presentation achieves—if only because the participants, some of whom know each other quite well, did not stoop to the chumminess of first names.

WHAT'S IN THE WINGS?

HOW does it add up, then? I am glad I saw about thirty hours of the public-affairs programing I watched—though most of those thirty hours contained moments that were little less than infuriating. For three or four—maybe five—hours of the total, I am grateful to the networks and to the men who produced the shows. These few programs justified a lot of the blather about television. They gave a quality of experience, a sweep and density and vitality of information, which cannot be obtained

through any other means of communication.

That the average was low is, I think, unquestionable. Whether or not it was much lower than the average of articles in magazines or of nonfiction in books is a matter I gladly leave for argument between the television executives and the editors. In all these cases, the economics of the situation is against the quantity production of first-class work. But I suspect that the editors, living closer to their product, are more conscious of their problems. Television executives, I think, have been trapped by their own propaganda. They believe that their medium is naturally suited to public-affairs coverage, and that "the staff" can turn out such programs in the time left over from reporting on the news.

But if you want reality, you must have art—it is convention, not art, which deforms the truth. And when you talk about collaborative arts, you speak of very high-priced goods. The television giants lose money now on their public-affairs programing—but they could lose more, and still regard the costs as a moderate franchise tax for the use of the public air. The profits on the total operation would still be gratifying to the stockholders.

Actually, the networks *are* prepared to lose more money on public-affairs shows next year. The danger is that their grasp will shrink as their reach expands. Public-affairs programing can too easily descend to the clap-trap of personality. Discussion and interview programs, as Mr. Susskind has demonstrated, can be highly entertaining; and they are often popular—*Meet the Press* has been running about as long as anything on television. It is hard for a showman to see why he must hire artists when the crowd still likes his bear pit.

Even if television plumps for responsibility and expense, it is painfully easy to lose the money on bad programs. At present, there is not enough talent in the industry to fill many hours with great documentaries. Television journalism in 1959-60 certainly did not cover everything that could and should have been covered; but what was attempted strained almost unbearably the resources of the people working in the field. NBC's attempt at a weekly hour-long public-affairs show, *World-Wide 60*, was a catastrophic failure. Each program was so thin you could see right through it—to the wretchedly insufficient research job if you were analytically inclined, or to the western on the next channel if you were merely watching television of a Saturday night.

Next year *CBS Reports* will go from once a month to once every two weeks, perhaps even to once a week. Mr. Murrow will therefore give up *Small World* (thank God) to devote himself to larger matters. But has CBS given him and Mr. Friendly a staff large enough to handle the artistic problems involved in so frequent a production of so excellent a program? At a rough guess, fifty highly-skilled people, exclusive of secretaries, grips, vice presidents, and so forth, would be necessary to produce a show like *CBS Reports* every week. Even if Frank Stanton, the network's president, could reach into his hip pocket and pull out the money, are there as many as fifty people of such skill available to the television industry?

Most of the public griping about television comes down to questions of quantity—all those horrid westerns, and so little time for serious drama, public affairs, music, and art. In fact, the horrid westerns are technically pretty good, because they can be routined, and they require so little in the line of new ideas from week to week. But a good public-affairs program cannot be routined or faked, and I, for one, cannot see that a bad public-affairs program serves any purpose at all.

I WRITE as someone who feels no compulsion to watch television every night, or even every week. What *I* want, then, is the once-in-a-while, fully-informed, hand-crafted insight I can admire, not the steady flow of machine-tooled, chemically-treated, gee-whiz ideas. I cannot bring myself to feel like an idealistic scoundrel for holding such attitudes, because I see no reason to believe that good public-affairs shows will lose more money than bad ones. *CBS Reports*, though several times as costly to produce, showed far less debit per hour than *World-Wide 60*.

The networks have enough talent now to do more first-class work than they did last year; and one must assume, for the sake of sanity, that there is fresh talent in the wings, awaiting such cues as "serious purpose" and "cash money." We could even do without fresh talent next year, if only the networks would concentrate on quality, ask the existing producers and writers and photographers and researchers for the best they have in them, and then supply the time and staff to give people a chance to do their best. It does not seem too unreasonable to ask that "specials" should be special.

But we are now in the middle of a problem which the public-affairs department shares with the drama department—and I would like another month to think about it.

Mayer, Martin

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How Good is TV at its Best?

PART II: MORE THAN PLENTY OF DRAMA

A frank assessment by a reporter who—somewhat warily—took on "Harper's" assignment to watch the 1959-60 television season . . . Last month he examined network "public affairs" . . . this month, the plays and the prospects.

THE moment of greatest excitement and pleasure in the 1959-60 television season came, as it often does in the theatre season, when the starving Florestan saw a hallucinatory image on the walls of Pizarro's dungeon; and sang of his love for his wife; and screamed for freedom. John Alexander sang the aria well, too. Like all NBC Opera productions, Beethoven's "Fidelio" was admirably staged and at least adequately sung throughout, and the musical direction of Peter Herman Adler (known in his trade as "the good Adler" to distinguish him from some other Adlers) is always lively and distinguished. "Fidelio" can take English stress patterns and vowel sounds better than most operas, and Joseph Machlis' translation of the libretto was a superior piece of work.

Television seems to adapt itself more easily to opera than to any of the other older art forms. Opera does not benefit from audience reaction—though singers will never complain about a big ovation—and the music imposes a time scale which not even a new medium can alter. Certain problems of scope and unity are inescapable, and "Don Giovanni," a more unified and a bigger opera, was less successful on television than the notoriously disorganized "Fidelio." But with all its faults, the NBC Opera "Don" on Sunday afternoon was a more powerful piece of work than any of the season's nighttime dramatic efforts. One wonders why on earth Leonard Bernstein's illustrated Chautauqua talks on music appreciation receive so much attention, while the incomparable service given by the NBC Opera passes virtually unremarked.

"Fidelio" sets itself apart in my recollection of the season simply because it was art, communicated almost intact by the talents of the performers and the techniques of the medium. One does not come across art very often, either in television or anywhere else. Half-a-dozen really first-class plays would constitute a theatre season better than any in my time, and no nation has ever made more than three or four wholly admirable motion pictures in a single year.

But even if the number of excellent television dramas should hit the half-dozen mark (which it hasn't), anyone examining a season as a whole would be picking needles out of a haystack. Among them, the three networks must fill 2,457 hours—an abyss of time—between 7:30 and 10:30 P.M. during the course of a thirty-nine-week fall-to-spring season. Most programs, obviously, *must* be mere fillers of no serious interest to anyone except the relatives of the people involved. Something like a tenth of this "prime time," however, is actually set aside for the presentation of relatively unusual work—more than a tenth at NBC and CBS, less at ABC, which like many poor boys driven to the top has picked up distressingly acquisitive habits. These 250 "serious" hours would be enough to exhaust in a few years the creative and acting talents which the theatre has found in three-and-a-half centuries. And the present period, in which television must live, has been relatively fallow for the drama. Indeed, it is no great shakes in music, art, or literature, either—especially by comparison with the first two decades of this century, which some Asian humanist of the future will proclaim the Golden Age of Western Civilization.

Television was not born great and has not achieved greatness, and there does not seem to be anybody around who can thrust greatness upon it. But how high may standards be set before they become ludicrously unfair to people who are doing the best they can? During the 1959-60 season, television—the networks, the independent stations, and the producing organizations under contract to advertisers—attempted a good deal of serious work. A New Yorker could see "Medea" as filtered through Robinson Jeffers and "Volpone" as bourgeoisified by Stefan Zweig, Shakespeare's "Tempest," Ibsen's "Doll's House" and "Master Builder," Strindberg's "Miss Julie," Chekhov's "Cherry Orchard," Shaw's "Misalliance" and "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," Wilder's "Our Town," original plays by Archibald MacLeish and Reginald Rose, adaptations of stories or novels by Cervantes, Dickens, Turgenev, Conrad, James, Faulkner, Maugham, Hemingway, Sinclair Lewis, and many, many others including the author(s) of the Bible. *Sub specie aeternitatis,* everything was lousy. Nothing I saw made me regret that my children would not see it. By comparison with what was going on elsewhere, however, much of last season's television was pretty good.

Walter Kerr of the New York *Herald-Tribune* recently wrote that he was not greatly interested in television drama because he knew he could see better in the theatre. One wonders which theatre he was talking about. Maybe Berlin, which is supposed to be interesting. My own more or less recent experience includes samplings in New York, London, and Paris, and I would guess that American television is doing about as well artistically as the commercial stage in any of these three cities. Mediocrity reigns on the stage as on the little screen, and when the mediocrity line is pierced I find it much easier to turn off the television set than to crawl over the knees of my fellow-citizens to get out of a theatre. There is no question that the best of television has yet to approach the best work done on stage, but the last example of such work I remember is "Long Day's Journey into Night," which takes us back almost four years.

Television does not offer the quality to be found in the movie theatres of a big city, which can present—thanks to subtitles and revivals—the pick of the dramatic effort of a dozen countries and four decades. And the motion picture is a far greater art form than television. But if comparison is restricted, for the sake of judicial fairness, to a season's productions on television against a year's output from Hollywood, television has no reason to feel ashamed of itself.

And yet . . . When the big numbers from "Fidelio" were on the screen, a viewer became conscious of the enormous gap between the best that man can do and the best that nighttime television actually does.

THE MISSING AUDIENCE

AMONG the theatre plays transmuted to television, there were no triumphs.

Both Shakespeare and Shaw suffered at the hands of people who just wanted to help them. None of the three efforts—"The Tempest," "Misalliance," and "Captain Brassbound's Conversion"—was actually discreditable to anyone, but all three were badly hurt by a failure to sense what television can and cannot do. It must have seemed to George Schaefer, who produced and directed "The Tempest" as part of his series for Hallmark on NBC, that electronic gadgetry would be ideal for showing Ariel as a real sprite, the size of Prospero's thumb. But Ariel is on stage a little too often to be almost invisible throughout, so Roddy McDowall had to keep changing size, which was disconcerting. The musical opportunities were completely muffed, both the songs and the dance numbers owing their inspiration to mock-Mendelssohn rather than to any contemporary of the playwright or the actors. And the enchanted island was equally Victorian to look upon. Television close-ups apparently demanded that the lovers be young and handsome, whether or not they could handle Shakespeare, with predictable results. On the whole, the play was well cut, though there were two major blunders—the pusillanimous excision of Caliban's "Prithee, be my God," and the switch of "We are such stuff as dreams are made on" from the fourth act, where it belongs, to the epilogue, where it jars. Maurice Evans' Prospero was, inevitably, Mr. Evans. Much of what was wrong, however, was redeemed by Richard Burton's Caliban, a fine performance tailored to the flexibility of the medium.

The worst problem in "The Tempest" was the staging of the comedy scenes, which were written with audience participation in mind.

Martin Mayer has developed his own kind of evaluative reporting in articles and books on television, music, business, education, and advertising. His best known books are "Wall Street: Men and Money" and "Madison Avenue, U.S.A."; his next will be about secondary schools.

This problem dogs television whenever it gets into theatrical comedy. The difficulty is at its worst in Shaw, whose magnificent sense of comic timing wrote audience reaction into the plays as clearly as if the text contained periodic [laughter]s. There is an interesting study to be done on the difference between the rhythms of Shaw's gags in his essays, reviews, and novels and the rhythms he used in the theatre. Neither "Misalliance" nor "Captain Brassbound's Conversion" is one of Shaw's best plays, and even Shaw's best is not at the moment so enjoyable as it was thirty years ago and will be again thirty years hence. What he does best is now commonplace (the cheerful cutthroats of "Captain Brassbound," for example), and what he does worst now offends (the veddy-English Berber tribesmen in "Captain Brassbound" or the idiotic view of war in "Heartbreak House," which was revived last season on Broadway). Nevertheless, there are some wonderful speeches in both of the shows television attempted, and none of them made much effect, largely because the pacing was wrong when the audience was a camera. When Shaw's upper-class New Woman says, "He tells only one side of the story—it's his training as a lawyer," *something* from the spectator must intervene before she can proceed. Otherwise the speech gets to be more than a little embarrassing.

All attempts to take the theatrical ambiance away from a theatre piece run into this block, which also stopped Art Carney's efforts on "Our Town," many of the productions on the National Telefilm Associates much-discussed Play of the Week, and the attempts at Ibsen, both the network "Doll's House" and the NTA "Master Builder." Television would seem well suited to handle Ibsen, because its genius in its own original efforts has run almost exclusively to the talky domestic tragedy. Ibsen's closed-in atmosphere fits the small screen, as does the collection of attitudes David Riesman has taught us to call "inner-directed."

Yet something went wrong with both productions, and it was more than Julie Harris' overwhelming Americanism as Nora or E. G. Marshall's startling conception of the master builder as a Norwegian Jack Benny. Arthur Miller objected to "Doll's House" in a letter to the *New York Times,* on the grounds that ninety minutes was not enough time—"a profound work, the orchestration of whose themes is quite marvelous, becomes a superficial 'story' at worst, and a hint of something more at best, when it is told by leaping from one highpoint to another." While admitting the dangers of condensation, I would doubt that it was cutting which did the damage (especially to "Master Builder," which had two full hours). Ibsen works like a whirlpool, catching the spectator at the edge of the scene and carrying him in diminishing circles at an accelerating rate toward a depth of revelation at the center. Ibsen's greatness is not in the orchestration of themes, but in the controlled pace —and that control is almost inevitably lost when the immanent audience is taken away.

On the basis of a year's looking, I would be tempted to say that great plays cannot be done successfully on television: the medium is wrong. But it seemed equally apparent that Shakespeare could not be mastered by the movies, until Laurence Olivier came along with "Henry V." What can be said, I think, is that the existing techniques for adaptation will not carry the weight which a great play puts upon them.

AS GOOD AS A MOVIE

MOST of television's more serious efforts are dramatizations of novels rather than adaptations of plays, and here the averages run a little higher. The two forms are sufficiently separated so that they do not clash. Unfortunately, television's techniques for dramatizing novels do not differ in any important way from the techniques proved out by the movies in the 1930s. Often, if you did not recognize the faces, you would be hard put to tell whether you were watching the newest "special" or a rerun on the late show, which makes the "special" less interesting than it might be.

Two adaptations of novels ran away with the season's prizes, and deserved them. Of television's more ambitious attempts in 1959-60, "The Turn of the Screw" on Ford Startime was probably the most successful. Jamesians of my acquaintance were not entirely happy with it, on the grounds that the James Costigan adaptation stressed only the ghost-story aspects of the novelette. But it was the ghost story which first fascinated James, too, and the script permitted any interpretation anyone wished to make. Indeed, Ingrid Bergman's nervousness as the Governess, even at the beginning when she had no real reason to *fear* her job, led directly to the theory that the whole ghost business was a figment of a girl's disordered imagination. Miss Bergman's performance, though not without admirable qualities, was less of an asset than the prize-givers thought; if anyone deserved a prize for acting in this production, it was Alexandra Wager, who is in reality not much older than the

little girl of the James story and who gave a performance of ultimate polish and skill. The production as a whole bore those marks of full professionalism which distinguished Hubbell Robinson's work for Ford Startime on NBC until the series sank under the weight of weekly scheduling and resorted to flounderings by big-name attractions.

Television's best male acting job also came out of a novel, when Laurence Olivier impersonated Somerset Maugham's idea of Paul Gauguin, in "The Moon and Sixpence." Olivier was splendid as a stockbroker and as an artist, as a drunk and as an old leper, and he even managed to rise above the maudlin fumbling of the Polynesian scenes. The program as a whole was successful, if not remarkably so—but it was so much a movie, and tasted so little of television, that anyone not experienced in all those late shows must have been shocked by the intrusion of commercials. The film feeling, however, was probably what Olivier wanted; and it is unquestionably what the David Susskind organization does best. And by giving us Mr. Olivier in so juicy a part, the program paid its way.

Other 1930s-style movies-for-television varied greatly in quality. The two medical-research stories, "Arrowsmith" and ABC's "The Citadel," were striking examples of the genre, complete to the great old clichés. ("They didn't miss a thing," says the young doctor of "The Citadel" ruefully, looking at the laboratory ruined by the miners he was trying so hard to help. "I feel sick," says his young wife.) The American Heritage series on great figures of America's past reminded me at every turn of a movie on Andrew Johnson I saw while I was still in high school. Many programs—Art Carney's efforts at Conrad's "Victory," for example, or the staging of the Ruth Gordon autobiography, "Years Ago"—were infused with the essence of the old B-picture.

The best of these standard-movie-style programs, to my taste, was an original teleplay: "To the Sound of Trumpets" on the Playhouse 90 series of CBS. It was more bitterly pacifist than anything which would have been considered polite even in the 1930s, its ordinary love story sensitively written by John Gay and beautifully played by Stephen Boyd and Dolores Hart. The subsidiary cast included such artists as Judith Anderson, Sam Jaffe, and Boris Karloff. Buzz Kulik's direction and Herbert Brodkin's production could not have been improved upon—even the musical score, by Jerry Goldsmith, albeit conventional, was for once a help rather than a hindrance to the mood. But I could not escape the view that it all added up to no more than a reasonably good movie—I was glad enough I had seen it but I would not wish to see it again—broken intolerably by the many commercials which testified to the financial viability of Playhouse 90.

FROM AMBLE TO GALLOP

IN ITS short history television has achieved its best results in plays written specifically for the medium rather than adapted from elsewhere. Within this category, the most successful pieces have been in the neo-Ibsen, lower-middle-class drama pioneered in the theatre of the 'thirties by Clifford Odets, in whose large footsteps Chayefsky and Rose and most of their followers have trod. The masterworks of the school are Odets' "Rocket to the Moon" and Arthur Miller's "Death of a Salesman," and these two stage plays still overshadow the best which has been written for television. Unfortunately, the industry is supported by advertisers who feel a certain distaste for this sort of play, which deals typically with people who consume little and that little unhappily. Hence the much-publicized war between the best-known television writers and the industry, with the network program directors caught in between but listing toward the side on which their bread is buttered. We had no such plays on television in 1959-60.

Instead, the networks gave us, as their most satisfactory work of the year, a fairly large collection of artistically lightweight semi-documentaries, true television plays which ducked the issues of creativity by basing themselves on recorded reality. Among the best of these ventures were Playhouse 90's unusually skilled study of psychiatric group therapy, "Journey to the Day" (a Fred Coe production with John Bartlow Martin assisting as consultant), the Reginald Rose pair on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, some of the Armstrong Circle Theatre "problem" plays, an Australian murder story called "The Gray Nurse Said Nothing" (Fred Coe again), and the essentially trivial but continuously exciting two-part adventure story which "The Untouchables" series made out of the attempted assassination of Franklin Roosevelt in 1933. This one had a narration written for and spoken by Walter Winchell, which set a perfect galloping pace for the program; it was a much better evening's entertainment on any standard than all but a handful of the season's more profound endeavors.

Two adaptations also struck me as particularly well adjusted to the odd environment of

television. One of them was the Play of the Week production of "A Month in the Country," an Emlyn Williams version of a Turgenev story, which ambled along so slowly that it would have been intolerable in any other dramatic medium —with the result that the evening broadened as it passed and the bittersweet Turgenev flavor, despite weak acting, cramped sets, anachronistic dialogue, and an abominable musical score, moved intact through the electronic tenderizer.

The other was NBC's "What Makes Sammy Run," with its short scenes and quick cuts within them, creating a frenetic atmosphere appropriate both to the story and to the breaks for commercials (though the week-long break between the two halves was not helpful). This program was as loaded with decayed dialogue as anything done all season—but the subject called for it. Larry Blyden played a fearfully convincing Sammy Glick and Dina Merrill was equally chilling as the rich tart, and the rest of the cast was saved, most of the time, by Delbert Mann's direction. (Nothing could save Barbara Rush as the heroine weighed down with lines like, "If I could only break through that harder shell . . .") Oddly enough, Budd Schulberg, who adapted his own novel with Stuart Schulberg, insisted on inserting some specific 1950s references (Sammy has an appointment with Tennessee Williams), despite the overpowering late 'twenties atmosphere of the story. The score by Irwin Bazelon was school-of-Stravinsky but none the worse for that, and producer Robert Alan Aurthur deserves credit for realizing that the usual cream-cheese music would not suit the subject.

Among the novels adapted for television last season, Cervantes' *Don Quixote* occupies a category by itself. The television show based on it should also be set apart, preferably in a prominent place where it can be allowed to molder alone as a warning to everyone concerned with television that pretentiousness is death. "I, Don Quixote" was probably the worst television show of the season, and perhaps the worst in the history of the medium.

A well-meaning soap opera with a very elevated tone, this ninety-minute extravaganza was written in imitation Jacobean English most of the time, with occasional descents to Jewish humor ("being born—for that you get punished your whole life"). It presented the notion that Cervantes saw himself as Don Quixote, thus eliminating Sancho Panza as a real factor, and rested its case on the proposition that people of the Spanish sixteenth century were really just like you and me only there were some things they didn't know yet. Anachronisms lay as thick as frost on the pumpkin. At one point we were asked to accept a sixteenth-century Spanish priest defending Don Quixote with the statement, "You could say Jesus was possessed—or Buddha." The point of the play was nothing less startling than the beautiful right of "disagreement with the majority," so phrased. Considerable talents —most notably Lee J. Cobb as Cervantes-Quixote —were wasted on this stupidity, which came out of the David Susskind shop like so much else, indiscriminately good and awful, on last year's television screen.

IS IT WORTH WATCHING?

HOW much we can expect from television next year, or the year after, is a question to be answered after the event. Certainly, though, we cannot hope for any great increase of first-class writing and directing. Television cannot command that kind of talent. It must compete with both movies and the theatre for a limited pool of highly-skilled people, and it competes at a financial disadvantage. Despite the enormous sums television pays, it must limit producers, writers, and directors to a portion of a fixed budget—while movies and the theatre offer a percentage of box-office grosses which can run twenty times as high as the biggest budget in television. Television may be a great gamble for advertisers, but it is a modest, though secure, berth for talent, which can play for much higher stakes elsewhere.

When it comes to actors, television's talent shortages are proportionate to the amount of time a program demands from the individual. An actor will put years into a hit show and months into a movie, while a television play takes at most three or four weeks of his time, and usually less. Television therefore can count on a full basket of acting talent. Very highly skilled people will undertake supporting roles, and the level of acting in minor parts is higher than anything achieved either in Hollywood or on the stage.

Producers, directors, and writers are in much shorter supply, and more likely to desert to rival forms. For a writer, the work involved in a television play is only marginally less than the work on a stage play or a movie. The most impressive playwright developed by television—Paddy Chayefsky—has virtually abandoned the medium. If they are going to play it safe with television, many writers want the ultimate safety of a regular program. Weekly shows like "Have Gun, Will

Travel" and "The Untouchables" are turned out by writers more skilled than the authors of most of the "specials."

Producers, too, must give almost as much time to a television play as they would to a Broadway attraction—if their work is to be done properly. Fred Coe was not available for much television work last summer and fall, because he was producing "The Miracle Worker" for Broadway. Directors are a separate problem, because they tend to identify their situation with that of the actors, and to feel that television requires much less of their time than either movies or the stage. Arthur Penn directed television plays last year as well as "The Miracle Worker" and "Toys in the Attic," but his television work was not up to his best standards. Dan Petrie, whose direction of "The Cherry Orchard" was outstanding (and it wasn't easy, Helen Hayes and Chekhov not being made for each other), also took responsibility for "Victory," which appeared not to have been directed at all.

People looking for a guide to what is worth watching are probably best off, however, if they follow writers, producers, and directors. No category is wholly reliable—even Reginald Rose turned out, in "The Cruel Day," a script false to its subject and characters for the sake of its ideas. But anything produced by Coe or Herbert Brodkin or Robert Alan Aurthur or George Schaefer is almost certain to have some quality, whether or not the totality is satisfying. And directors like Petrie and Penn, Delbert Mann, John Frankenheimer, Sidney Lumet, and Franklin Schaffner are likely to get the best out of whatever a producer gives them.

At present, everybody is trying to do too much. One or two plays a year is absolute maximum for a writer, three or four for a director, two or three for a producer. Money alone will not give us better television—"Mayerling" and "Eloise" demonstrated that in other seasons beyond dispute—but it would be helpful if the networks found half a million dollars two or three times a year for each of a handful of producers, so that people could give as much time as a first-class play demands and still make a living.

What is needed most is a change of attitude toward the work itself. Television specials must seem more important than they do today—to audience, participants, executives, and to sponsors as well—before they can possibly be more important. In this regard, the trend to tape is a hopeful sign, because the evanescence of the live product has acted subtly to discourage everybody but the actors and technicians. The drop in the number of specials planned for next season is also encouraging, despite the obvious motives of economy. The fewer the specials, the more important each one can be, and the greater the chance that everybody will give his best to the work at hand. Perhaps the most irritating phenomenon in the relations between television and its better-educated public is the short-sighted selfishness of the drive for "more good television." Don't these people, of all people, ever have anything else to do at night except look at that silly little screen?

It is the networks themselves, however, which must make the major commitment, and in so doing they must break the habits of the business. An hour is a neutral unit of time, and to people who have not analyzed the texture of their lives all hours are equal. To the television executive, all prime-time hours cost advertisers the same money. So long as a television play is only ninety minutes out of one thousand, two hundred, and sixty which each program director must fill between 7:30 and 10:30 each week—so long as it is no more than "one of the thirty-four specials this network will present this season"—little first-rate work can be expected from television.

We need a cast of mind which sees one great hour as more significant than one hundred hours of routine, the way a good publisher sees the one great novel on his list as justification for the murder of the trees to make the books that fill his catalogue. On the major executive levels of television, is there anyone capable of taking so civilized an attitude toward his work?

Saving Radiance?

THE news of television, however, is what I particularly go for when I get a chance at the paper; for I believe television is going to be the test of the modern world, and that in this new opportunity to see beyond the range of our vision we shall discover either a new and unbearable disturbance of the general peace or a saving radiance in the sky. We shall stand or fall by television—of that I am quite sure. . . .

—E. B. White, "Removal," July, 1938

6-B-25

January 12, 1961

MURROW'S LAST SPEECH, AS A BROADCASTER, WAS MADE AT A RADIO-TELEVISION EXECUTIVES SOCIETY NEWSMAKERS LUNCHEON IN NEW YORK.

"Several months ago, in what must have been a period of reasonably tranquil absent-mindedness, I accepted Dick Salant's invitation to speak here today. A recent item in VARIETY causes me not to regret that decision, although at the end of twenty minutes you may regret it. For it was announced in that esteemed journal of record and rumor VARIETY that there will shortly appear a new television program titled 'Mr. Ed' featuring and indeed starring a talking horse. The writers are said to be numerous and excellent. Being of a non-controversial temperament - desiring no argument with a horse, particularly one with good writers - I desire to state at the outset that this is not an audition for that program, although others may hold an opposite view.

"Slightly more than two years ago this reporter ventured a few comments in Chicago on the state of radio and television in this country. Said remarks were regarded by some as critical of the industry, but I would point out I criticized no horses. At that time I suggested that we should have a little competition, not only in selling soap, cigarettes and automobiles, but in 'informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public'. We are now getting that competition between the networks, and it is a very good thing. May the area of competition increase to the end that the viewer may be increasingly involved and concerned about the world in which he lives.

"In the four months that ended last year - that is, from the first of September through the end of December - the networks, according to their own tabulations, aired public service programs in prime time - that is between 7:30 and 11:00 P.M. - at an unprecedented rate. C.B.S. lists 35 hours during that period; N.B.C. 38 hours and a half; and A.B.C. almost 25 hours.

"It would be churlish to question the validity of some of those listings, and no real purpose would be served by questioning the motives which produced this agreeable and impressive increase in night-time programming of a serious nature. However, mention should be made of the fact that according to their own figures, well over half of these programs were commercial. And this fact causes one reporter to raise an abrasive voice in a salute to sponsors, including some selling consumer goods, who put up the money or at least part of it. It should further be noted that at last report both the sponsors and the networks remained solvent.

"The improvement in network radio has also been substantial. The number of news programs has increased. There is, I think, a greater willingness to deal with ideas, although I am told there is a certain reluctance on the part of the stations to deal with the networks in this area. Still, the improvement is noticeable and agreeable.

"If this mild praise ill behooves one who has been critical of certain practices in the past, you should, I think, remember that during the war Mr. Winston Churchill said: 'If Hitler were to

invade Hell, I would find opportunity in this House to make passing and not altogether unfavorable reference to the Devil'.

"Before trying to deal with the future, more than passing reference should be made to television's contribution during the recent political campaign. I refer to the mis-named great debates. It was, in my opinion, a puny contribution - capsuled, homogenized, perhaps dangerous in its future implications. Still, it was a beginning - did arouse curiosity and interest, and may have affected the outcome. I am disposed to agree with Professor Henry Steele Commager, who wrote, 'The formula of tense and concentrated confrontation, even at its best, is not designed to discover in candidates those qualities really needed for the conduct of the presidential office. What are those qualities? They are patience, prudence, humility, sagacity, judiciousness, magnanimity. But these qualities, or many of them, are a positive handicap in a tense television interview. These televised question hours put a premium on glibness and fluency - qualities not of great value in a President'.

"It is true, of course, that the candidates determined the ground rules. The networks, to a large extent, abdicated their responsibility and became merely a conduit. But the instrument was used, however superficially - the republic survived - and it is to be hoped that lessons were learned. Whatever the shortcomings or the dangers, those who urged the temporary suspension of Article 315 of the Communications Act deserve full credit, for had the instrument of television existed at a somewhat earlier period in history, that

provision would have required that equal time be given to Jesus and to Judas.

"Enough of the past. The new frontiers for radio and television promise no tranquility....There is no ready-made remedy for the kind of headaches radio and television will suffer. In spite of the improvement in programming, to which I referred earlier, networks, station owners, sponsors and advertising agencies are going to have to consult not only their balance sheets and their ratings, but their consciences as well. We are an imitative society. We suffer from bigness. In the mass media we are too much concerned with the body and not enough with the mind. We are, in fact, bloated with statistics, concerned about our underarms and the middle colon, and too largely indifferent to what our words and pictures are doing to the mind of America. We seem to research everything except the important. We measure the things that are easy. Some of us appear to regard this nation as some kind of economic plot where the mind is no longer master and where things are in the saddle and ride mankind. Responsibility has to a degree become a refugee. We are so busy doing that we have neither the time nor the interest to study the effect of what we do, except in purely economic terms. For this state of affairs we all share the blame. But at least fifteen percent of it belongs to the advertising agencies. The rest can be distributed as you like.

"This slippage in the field of the mass media is not confined to radio and television. Our newspapers become fewer in number. Our one-newspaper cities increase in number. We suffer from bigness. We are probably stifling regionalism. In short, we are not examining

what we and our competitors are doing to the people who read us, listen to us and look at us. Someone ought to examine what it is we are doing.

"This then is a proposal for the creation of a privately financed National Information Institute. Its purpose would be to better the whole pattern of information in America. It would be an organization staffed by men experienced in public affairs, journalism, probably the law, and certainly the appropriate social sciences. They would devote themselves continuously for an experimental period of seven years to independent measurement, study, exploration, experimentation and public education in the methods used, and the results obtained, by the principal media of mass communication of information.

"Thus, this institute would be the only organized and independent body in the entire world wholly devoted to continuous study and examination, solely in the public interest, of the methods and the results of written and spoken journalism, including discussion on the air and news on the screen. In the period of its experimental life, it would be continuously gaining skill and experience. It would develop expertness in techniques and procedures, and it would gradually acquire authority and standing which would give it a growing influence for good. It would therefore be enabled year by year to make larger and larger contributions to the public welfare.

"Vast sums are devoted by foundations and individual philanthropists

to education and to many other worthy social causes. Yet the immediate day-to-day impact on men's minds of the radio, the press, television, the movies and the magazines is of at least equal importance in the critical years now upon us. The information field as one for independent research, study, analysis and public education has been unbelievably neglected....

"This institute would have four main purposes:

I

"To encourage and help to bring about improvement in the purveying of information, discussion and argument by existing publications both written and oral. It would do this in two principal ways. One is by making the public more and more aware of what it wants and needs, thus creating consumer demand which is bound to react on all the information disseminating industries. The other is by finding out and also helping others to find out by experimental methods what the public wants and needs, what helps and what hurts it, and what economically feasible methods can be developed to serve it better.

II

"Such an institute could create a more favorable climate in the form of readier public acceptance and reward for all those now controlling or managing oral or written publishing enterprises; that is, those who want to do a better public service job in the information field, and for all who wish to come into the field with higher ideals and higher purposes.

III

"Such an institute could also analyze and publicize threats to the public welfare that take the form of assaults on freedom of the press, including all efforts or factors tending to hamper or limit the purveying of information to the American people such as legislative, regulatory or economic factors, and efforts at censorship or suppression by individuals or organized groups.

IV

"It would make ever larger numbers of the public more and more proof against bad news handling, bad editorials or poor arguments by teaching people to weigh and judge for themselves in reading, listening and looking, and to detect at least the more obvious devices of inadequacy, unfairness or intellectual dishonesty.

"Such an institute would be modern in its methods so as to serve effectively in these times of swift change. Its techniques would be as nearly scientific as qualified experts can possibly make them in a field which to a certain degree is always subjective. Its spirit would be wholly scientific, since it would seek to make no preconceived notions of its own prevail and since it would publish its results whether it or anyone else liked them.

"To sound techniques, acceptable to reasonable men of science, would be wedded lively, interesting, forthright and ingenious promulgation of its work and of other pertinent work in the field. Information about information would be made news. The widest possible public interest in information would be stimulated so that there would

be increasing discussion of all problems and points of view. Thus specially interested groups and the public as a whole would become more and more aware of what it needs, when it gets it, when it does not get it - and why.

"There are many reasons why such an institute would be useful in our society today.

"First the faith on which our democracy is founded -- and on which great numbers of thoughtful persons think it must always be founded -- is this: There can be no real, lasting and improving democracy unless the people understand the basic political, social and economic issues upon which their welfare depends. Understanding, the people can intelligently exercise their voting right and exert the force of public opinion. Thus they can choose and change their Government and affect its actions, as well as the actions and influences of large organized groups, to the end that the public welfare is served.

"If a deceived or confused public is betrayed into creating or allowing to be created an America in which it loses faith, democracy will not survive. Neither will it survive if the combined effect of all the skilled and the unskilled, the selfish, unselfish and in-between efforts to inform people, to enlighten them and to argue with them, finally convince them that the nation's problems are beyond their grasp. If the people finally come to believe either that they cannot grasp or they cannot cope with America's

problems, or that those who inform, those who argue and those who act are inept or malign or both, then distrust, dissatisfaction, fear and laziness can combine to turn them in desperation to that 'strong man' who can take them only to destruction.

"There are many faint-hearted students of the American scene who believe that our form of government, at least to the degree that free private enterprise is a major element in our present structure, cannot survive another severe economic collapse. The more the pattern of information contrives to be confused, distorted and manipulated, the more likely are these prophets to be right, because cynicism, distrust and despair will be added to the physical sufferings and the fears of the population.

"Furthermore, there obviously are many penalties short of the extreme one that the nation pays, and will continue to pay, for an information job that is less adequate for modern means than it could be.

"I should like to label that proposal as my own. It has been in my files since 1947. Most of it was the work of Ed Klauber, one-time Executive Vice President of C.B.S. - a great editor, committed to the pursuit of truth wherever it might lead him. I had a small hand in it. It was urgent when we hammered it out together thirteen years ago, it is certainly more urgent today...."

Wilmott Ragsdale

January 18, 1961

Dear Rags:

Thanks for yours of January 12th. I am afraid I have never shared the view that we have the best news coverage in the world. It is true that we throw at the public more unassorted, more undigested, more unevaluated information than is true in the case of other countries, but that doesn't necessarily mean that the public is well informed.

I was in London about ten days ago doing a chore for the B.B.C., and again it seemed like going home.

Any chance of seeing you here in the near future?

As ever yours,

Mr. Wilmott Ragsdale
18c University Houses
Madison, Wisconsin

ERM:gw

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS CLUB OF THAILAND

President: Michel Field
Vice-Pres. Alex Wu
Secretaries: D. Lancashire
Udom Yenrudi
Treasurer: Lydia na Ranong

P. O. Box

Bangkok.....

18c University Houses
Madison, Wisconsin
Jan. 12, 1961

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
CBS, New York City.

Dear Ed,

I came back from 2½ years in Asia to find you not at the old stand and the CBS news staff no longer definitely in the lead. This is a great loss, but I hope not for long.

The U.S. believes it has the best news coverage in the world. But looking from Asia, I became aware of how much more coverage we need.

Coming back through Europe I stopped in London long enough to remember the good days.

All the best,

Wilmott Hagsdale

Publicity - Future Reference
Program Operations

for Wesley Price

In answer to your general questions on "problems of the show".. development of script, how stuff is put together, here is general picture:

If you get from Ed his story on what he's trying to do I think you'll have the basic "problem of the show." The technical set-up and its problems are roughly this:

One of the twi secretaries comes in at about 10 a.m. and starts opening the mail for Ed. A half hour later Aaron comes in to start cutting agency copy, reading cables from abroad, answering "editorial" phone queries as distinguished from routine. Zousmer in at 11 and starts reading copy Aaron has cut. Sometime before this Murrow usually calls from home to check on what's happened that has not been in the morning papers. We tell him. He tells us when he'll be in what his program is for the morning or he comes right in. By this time Ed, JZ and JA have read all the morning papers.. started reading the agency copy.. started reading a dozen or so newspapers we get from various parts of the country to check on what interests them out there.. how they're "playing" various news stories.. what they're touching in editorials.. what's doing in sections of the country as differentiated from cities. For example, we'll fine the weather getting a terrific play in Kansas, Iowa, etc while we don't see any such stories on our regional or trunk wires. JZ and JA also clip from these "exchanges" and Washington or foreign columns not generally available in New York newspapers or our normal day's file of publicity handouts. Some of these we just file for the day Ed will decide to take off on that particular subject. Some we call to his attention the same day. In this general process, JA and JZ will go through the handouts: from just about every nation's information service.. from the Republican and Democratic committees.. the Congressional record.. Bulletin of atomic scientists.. releases from the national military establishment, other govt agencies... the AF 1 and the CIO.. from private and semi-official Washington letters, and business tips sheets. In addition each morning we receive two or three cables from our own correspondents abroad, depending on what's going on in their area of the world, perhaps answering a query of the previous day, perhaps pointing up the latest development in a letter said correspondent had sant to Ed sometime earlier. In this pre-lunch period we'll check Washington to find out what hearings on the Hill are being covered by their correspondents (out o station WTOP.. what they know in general that might interest us.. what may be avilable later in the day in the way of tape-recordings of the various hearings. Sometimes Washington will come through with a suggestio that Ed might be interested in talking about.. offer to supply the information either by telephone or through a teletype machine that connects with the Washington office. Perhaps we'll get similar suggestion from CBS newsmen in various sections of the country. The guy in Chicago may send us a teletype message saying he thinks he has a good yarn building on the stock markets(this , of course, particularly during the post-OPA period when hog prices were big news.) San Fransisco (as of late) has been trying sell us detailed story on the Hawaii strike. Los Angeles may relay the latest statement issued by the Hollywood people who had the run in with the Un-American activities

Ed of course is in by this time.. has asked his sectreatry to place calls to some people who could fill him in on news of the day.. arranged luncheon meetings(if not done previously) .. reads papers he doesn't get at home.. that means, first editions of afternoon sheets.. Re "problems of the show" on some mornings Ed will have definite idea of what he is going to talk about. I don't know that we've told you we generally call this "the think piece" of "ed's piece" or "what are you gonna talk about." If Ed knows what he wants to do at this pre-lunch time, he'll tell us. JZ will start collecting agency copy available on that subject. J.A. will dig up background and research from our own files,, start the balling rolling at our research department (which is actually the CBS reference library downstairs).. perhaps call information service of country concerned (uf its's a foreign subject) to ask for details.. or official statement.. By that I mean when at all available we prefer to have the full text say, of a Bevin or Schuman speech.. the official breakdown, for example, of Britain's economic situation.. This, instead of just relying on meagre information carried on agency wires or perhaps the Times and Trib. (we generally get our out of city papers from one to three days late). If the subject Ed's tentatively decided to give a whirl concerns a European country where we have a correspondent.. or a stringer.. Ed will put in a phone call for later in the afternoon. This, both to give long distance operators a chance to get ready.. and give correspondent a few more hours to work out details we'll want. Sometimes we send correspondent a cable in morning telling him we need, for that day, whatever he can contibute to the story we tell him we're thinking of doing. In some cases, Ed may decide that the story overseas can best be told by having the man on the spot tell it. For example, the foreign ministers conference in Paris. We then told Howard Smith., the head of CBS's European staff, and David Shoenbrun, the Paris correspondent, that in the event the conference broke up (on day it was expected to) we wanted them to record a three minute summary for us at say 6 p.m... that would be an hour and 45 minutes before our air time. As soon as this is out of the way, and we've made tentative plans about what to do in case the overseas signal from Paris is so bad that the stuff we get will not be of broadcast quality, we move on to the next step.

Maybe, now that I've started on this Paris thing, we can work from there on. Our total show runs 14 minutes and 45 seconds. That includes everything from the more international code that opens the show (it actually spells out "n..c...w..s" until the traditional "system" that ends every radio program.. "system" means "This is the Columbia Broadcasting System" (said by announcer, of course. Of this over-all 14;45 we actually get 12 minutes for Ed.. That includes every word he says. In the past we have started every show with "This is the news." You will notice that on the recordings you have made of the June 25 week we have varied the opening.. sometimes with one minute of headlines.. sometimes with 30 seconds of headlines and a general statement of what the "think piece" if going to be. We have been experimenting this week.

To get back to the Paris story. We have ordered three minutes from abroad. That leaves us with nine minutes to go. We generally keep the "word for today".. the last thing Ed does before he says "good night and good luck" to thirty seconds. Sometimes, of course, it varies ten seconds either way. But for book-keeping.. "makeup" purposes.. we count on 30 seconds. So now we have three minutes coming from Paris.. and a 30 second "word for today. That leaves us 8:30 to go. Now what we do with that 8 minutes and 30 seconds depends on many things.

Perhaps JZ or JA will suggest to Ed that we ought do a few minutes on a local problem.. almost anything. Perhaps Ed will decide in

reading the agency copy that he'd like to talk about something a congressional committee, the House or the Senate has done.. perhaps a speech made on the floor of either House.. perhaps a witness at one hearing.. perhaps a speech being made by a government official far from Washington.. Maybe Ed gets the "urge" from something he's seen on the way to work. (Once he did a very effective piece, on an effectively hot day, because while riding to work in a cab he saw two guys struggling with a refrigerator that had broken down.. the piece was along the lines of what-could-be-wor-se-in-the-world-than-to-have-one-of-our-prize-machincal-gadgets-go-busted-on-a-hot-day.. with overtones or overtones on this civilization and its dependence on mechanical things and how people got along withuthem in the old days. So.. we had a piece built on something observed on the way to work.

Let's suppose that in addition to the 3 minutes from Paris Ed had decided on this hypoethical day to do the thing on the broken refrigerator. He doesn't decide how long or short its going to be until much later in the afternoon. If I don't lose my "continuity" we may pick this up later. But first to tell you what happens when we get ready to start for lunch.. which (without punching a clock) generally starts, depending on where each of us wants to or has to go) at about 12;30.

Ed may come into the JZ-JA room and just shoot the bull.. or protect himself against ideas we're trying to "sell" him.. or test an idea he has nebulously on us.. i.e., "what do you guys think".. frequently at these sessions an idea may be born that will need a few days, perhaps a few months, to mature.. frequently we may all let the thing drop.. only to have one of us bring it up later. Of course when Ed knows what he wants to talk about for the particular day.. that's that.. half the day's work is done. When he doesn't we're sorta in the position of the newspaper news editor who knows damn well that he has to fill so many pages but has no idea what's going into them. So we go to lunch. You'll have to get Ed's dope on his lunches.. from our knowledge its usually with a name we recognize as being of news value.. or a club he belongs to.. or a visitor from a foreign country(many old friends from England) or a correspondent for a newspaper.. or an CBS radio ex c he met when he traveled through the country as a VP of CBS.. or a testimonial luncheon he's got to go to.. or a speech someone is making at some sort of meeting.. and so on.

By the time lunch is over, the agency wires having poured out more copy, and copy concerning TODAY's news, rather than re wirtes of last night's stories, JZ has to "catch up."..i.e., tear the new copy, see what's happened in the world since we've been out to lunch, read new cables that may have arrived from corr spondents overseas. JA. will check reference library downstairs to see how they're coming along on particular problem , request, we gave them in the morning. There will be more mail. (CBS mail boys deliver mail about six times a day from a central office downstairs. Rough guess we get 100 pieces of mail of all kinds a day.. that includes fan mail, invitations, personal letters, handouts, newspapers, magazines, solicitations, and so on.. about 100 pieces of all mail a day.)

So--we're back from Lunch. Maybe there's been an interesting development in a "trial".. or in a European capital.. or Truman has sent Congress a message.. or any number of new news.. Ed is informed, looks over the available agency copy, either decides he doesn't want to play with it other than in the news portion of the show (as distinguished from "the think piece". Or maybe he'll find something that interests him, make a few phone calls, in this country or abroad. Sometimes this will mean he decided to drop say, the refrigerator piece, and work on the new news.. for example, let's say its a Truman messge to Congress on the need for new highways. If he says he wants to work on the highways, JA. will call reference, change signals, tell em to work on highway background.. and incidentally keep going on whatever the first order was, because we may be able to use it at a later date.

Now I'm coming back to our hypothetical three minutes from Paris. We ordered a correspondent there to do a recorded piece for us because we had been informed the conference was going to break up. After lunchwe find out that the ministers have decided to meet again tomorrow. That means there's not much the crspt in Paris can say so we send him a cable cancelling his recording.. and we have to start anew. We know now that Ed wants to talk about highways. He had an idea on refrigerato story but decided to cancel it because of highways. But now that the Paris story has fallen through he theoretically brings back the refrigerator story.. and he's going to do the highway story. I know it gets complicated. But we're not through yet. Because the news isn't all in.. things are still happening.. we keep up with them. And in telling you all of this I'm trying to d scribe some of the "problems" of the show" and the "development" of it.. and how its "put together."

I think I've made it clear that after lunch, which is, say 2 p.m., although peliminary think and researching in the morning, we may find ourselves playing wing back instead of T formation. We don't decide what the news is.. at this point.. we just let it happen (mostly because we can't stop it) and we try to keep up with it.

To get back to our present theoritcal daily show position. And partyly to help me follow myself, We have now decided: to cancel the Paris pickup.. to do a piece on Truman's highway message and to add a piece about the busted refrgigerator. I use the editorial "we" because Ed does all the deciding.. we buttress his decisions with what facts, present or past, we can get. Let's say the highway plus refrigerator thing is going to run six minutes. What do I mean by "going to run." I mean that's a rough guess. We won't actually know until 6;45.. a hour before air time.. or later.

Because: the news is still coming in.. visitors are still streaming into Murrow's office.. either trying to tell him something or sell him seomthing. Maybe--and we're being hypothetical again--one o of the visitors is an old friend. Maybe its Dr. Peter Zenkle the former Lord Mayor of Prague who has recently escaped from his country.. made his way to the American zone.. and now has arrived in America. (Wesley: I think next time you talk to Ed the Zenkle story will interest you. We did have the guy on the air in an interview.. Ed found him at Buchenwald when it was liberated)

But I was saying maybe Dr. Zenkle called on Ed.. renewed old freiendship .. talked about that DAY at Bucnenwald..got from him the inside story of life in communist czechoslovakia. So, Ed decided we'll interviewed Zenkle tonight. He and the Dr. start sketching the interview. That means something has go to give. Because m if we interview Zenkle for four minutes.. plus 3 for highways.. 3 for refrigerators.. 30 second for the "word for today".. that's a total of 10;30 and leaves only one and a half minutes for all the other important news in the world. And one and a half minutes, by Ed's reading pace, is roughly 19 lines... a pretty difficult squeeze.

But no one is worried. Because we're still on top of everything. Its early.. let s say 4 p.m. That's a lot of time.. three hours and 45 minutes until air. Now, Brother Price, we could get this continuity so damned bawled up by meereley detailing what COULD happen that we're gonna make believe nothing does. Although obviously: the foreign ministers may decide to hold a nigh meeting in Paris (so we might want the Paris 3 minutes).. the hot weather could turn so damned cool, that it might be ridiculous to tell the story of the refrigerator... Congress may pass any of a number of bills that would make Truman's highway message comparatively insignificant.. anybody of any importance anyplace in the world could shhot off his mouth and mmmm create a real "headline." But we're being easy on you. None of that's going to happen on this theoritcal day.

About 4:30 Ed comes out of his office--the news has been coming in all the time, and the phone calls, and maybe some cables.. and Ed comes out of his office and says :"What's doing?" So we show him the news that has developed since we last saw him. And he says: Dr. Zenkle had got a good story.. I'd like to take him four four minutes. Can we do it? The answer will probably be yes if we can drop the refigrerator story or the highway business. So Ed will decide: well, Zenkle is pretty "heavy".. with his story of commies in Czecho.. maybe we ought balance it with the light summery piece on the refrigerator.. let's drop highways. Done. We tell refrence to hold up on highways. J.A. carefully puts his notes and summaries on the side.. in the back of his head he'd been think of finding a "word for today" on highways.. now he has trouble.. should he aim at something to tie in with Dr. Zenkle and the Commies in Czecho.. or should he work on summer or refrigerators. But no worry yet.. lots of time to go.

Ed goes back into his office and starts working out the interview with Zenkle (you'll have to get him to tell you how he does it right onto the typweriter.) The news is still coming in (but don't get the idea its all important or significant or useable.. we don't play with the gory stuff (see the piece Ed did the first night of this show.) When Ed comes out again its probably to check on how heavy the news file is; i.e., can he take more time on the Zenkle piece or should he shorten it to get in the essential news. Its a dull day.. he can take all he wants.. he decides just how much interview is "right".. when it would become too "long." So he goes back to the interview questions. And he writes the refrigerator piece.

Anytime from 6;30 to 7 p.m. Ed will come out all done. Miss Campbell will count the lines.. make allowances for the nature of the copy.. that is guess if Ed will read if faster ob slower than normal.. tell this to JZ. Let's say Zenkle plus refigerators adds up to 7 minutes.. JA by this time has slected half dozen possible "words". Ed looks em over, selects one that meets his fancy.. goes back to office and dictates it. It runs 30 seconds. So we how have seven minutes and thirty seconds of copy.. leaving 4:30 to go.. one minute equals 13 lines so we need 58 lines of news. Generally, as you suggested other day, we try to do more NY Times or Herald-Trib news than mirrow or Daily News or afternoon sheet stuff. We do the important news with little or no attention to murders, rapings, shootings, accidents, and the like. Its got to be of national appeal in a sense. I think you can sum this up best for yourself by reading past scripts and if possible comparing them with newspapers.

J.Z. bats out 58 lines of news.. JA. keeps last minute eye on wire for late stuff.. JA edits JZ copy then takes it to Ed who fixes it up again.. changing words here and there.. crossing out a sentence.. putting in a new one.. perhaps dropping an item.. suggesting that an item be included. When Ed is finished we are ready to go to bat-- almost. When he takes news copy he gives us his stuff. We check it for any errors of fact.. maybe call his attention to something that's not clear or might need amplification.. he's a very easy guy to see the light when our suggestion is valid. There's no argument. He either makes change or says: "yes, you're right.. but let's let it lay." By this time.. perhaps 7;15 or 7;30 the CBS newsroom editor comes in to Ed's offive.. reads over everything.. maybe he has a suggestion.. or catches a wrong fact. When He's through, Commercial announcer Bob Dixon comes in to work out the words Ed will use to turn the show over to him for the second commercial. Then we all sit back and gab.. about the merits of today's piece.. hunches for tomorrow.. what struck us funny or sad about the day's news files. Actually we start filling Ed in on the gory stuff we omitted from the script. Every few minutes JZ or JZ walks up to news tickers to see that no late bulletins have come in.. nothing that might change anything we have in the copy. Then Ed waits until about 7;44 p.m.. takes a drink of water.. goes into the studio.. braces himself.. waits the cue.. and says This is the news:

John Secondari

Other letters in file. This included here because it gives opinions on T.V. procedure

Secondari, John

John N. Secondari

No ans.

Dear Ed:

For what it's worth:

1. Residual value of TV material is almost inevitably tied with the use of color. Use of color lifts footage out of the usual class and puts it in one of its own-- especially when it is your material. Color establishes a wider market-- it gives more, and possibly because it costs more.

This extra cost is only a fraction of what is normally imagined. In your type of operation, I suggest it would be no more than 30%.

2. The use of color requires:

a) Critical photography -- this is essential in any large screen projection, as you know better than I;

b) Careful organization-- in my limited experience with Technicolor; it isn't the raw stock that costs so much more-- nor even the greater requirements in fine shooting-- the excess in cost comes from plain, ordinary bungling and not knowing what the hell you're doing. ("You" used most editorially.

3. The new Kodachrome Mazda Lighting negative, available in June, costs 12½cents a foot and gives low level lighting possibilities with almost any camera. It puts Technicolor within the reach of anyone in almost any condition-- provided they are critical cameramen.

4. It seems to me that shooting the story of a squad offers the following problems:

a) Choosing one squad from many;

b) Knowing what one squad does-- not in the military sense but pictorially;

c) Outlining the various footage sequences in terms of: 1) material to be filmed while you are there; 2) material that can be filmed before you arrive-- so called background.

d) Choice of equipment to be used: testing; this applies to not only lenses but the film which will give a different color result in any given latitude;

e) familiarity with the ground, for camera crew and sound units.

5. I suggest that a possible procedure might be:

a) Once you have definitely decided on the story, ship someone you can trust to Korea: someone who knows film, color film, camera work, has a certain acquaintance with the operations of an Army, and can string together not a story, but a logical sequence of events in terms of time, place and camera possibilities.

b) This done, he showed ~~outline~~ the results in terms that are easily understood and can serve as a shooting guide. This is not a script-- dammit-- just a guide: soldiers shaving, digging foxhole, coming down a ridge into a valley, being briefed, etc. In other words, items essential to your story that Must be shot for effective completeness.

John H. Secondari

c) Once you approve this sequence, the unit already overseas should start filming background material: landscapes, establishing shots-- the everyday essentials that should be got out of the way so that when you arrive you can concern yourself with the meat of the story exclusively. This material should be rushed to the States for immediate processing.

d) By the time you arrive, the unit manager, overseer, assistant director, dragoman-- or whatever you want to call him, should know the human and geographic material he will have to work with so well that he can instruct the camera crew in what lens to use and at what angle in any given sitauation and time. This small item will spell the difference of several thousands of dollars when shooting, and especially color. It makes it possible to use 35mm movie camera with the same flexibility as a candid machine.

6. I strongly suggest that you do NOT use newsreel cameramen. They are wonderful, but theirs aren't the critical requirements for this type of work. You must have critical photography. Sequences must be shot from solid supports and not on the fly in the best newsreel traditions. And in no way, can shooting from a support injure either the spontaneity or diminish the range of what you want to show.

7. It seems to me that two-- and only two-- cameras should be used. Filming should be done in coordination so that the same action is recorded from two angles and with two different lenses. It gives variety and a greater editorial choice. At 12 and a half cents a foot, the cheapest thing you will have is film.

8. Shoot abundantly. What cannot be used for TV will make good big-screen fare. This calls for a delicate choice of lenses and their tasteful use. I suggest that almost the entire footage be shot with telephotos of varying lengths, with wide angle possibly used for establishing sequences. A good telephoto shot has a flat quality of realism that cannot be equaled by any of the shorter universal lenses. By all means use a Zoomar for the dramatics-- albeit a little hammy-- that it can result.

9. And-- whatever you do-- do this in color. Your purpose is to tell the drama of the times. What you will produce is a human document, so difficult to absorb-- as war is always difficult to absorb when viewed off-scene-- to hard to appreciate-- as the value of human life is hard to appreciate when your own is not in the immediate balance-- that it seems to me every break should be given the audience in recreating the mood, the tensions and the sacrifice of what you project. I believe this-- oh, how this I do believe-- and I don't own any color stock.

And now a brief statement which, born of my new independence, I hope will be taken for what it is-- appreciation-- when at some other time it might have been interpreted as compliment. You-- Ed-- are outstanding not for what you do alone, but the way in which you do it. Dignity is an almost lost virtue and to see you bring it back to life and symbolize it on the screen with your presence, is a contribution to making life a little more liveable. It may even be a heeded lesson. Certainly it should be, because you are the living proof of the great law that good befalls to those who do good.

Hey

March 14, 1961
10:00 a.m. Hearing

Statement by Edward R. Murrow at Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing regarding his nomination as Director, U. S. Information Agency

My name is Edward R. Murrow. I was christened Egbert but abandoned that name at the age of 16 while working in logging camps in Western Washington.

Most of my adult life has been spent ~~in~~ ON the periphery of the academic world and in the field of radio and television. These activities have involved considerable travel, at home and abroad, and some acquaintance with statesmen, educators and newsmen in many countries.

As a foreign correspondent, I am more familiar with the work of the U. S. Information Agency abroad than here in Washington.

At the conclusion of a trip around the world several months ago, I gave it as my opinion that the work of USIA abroad had improved ~~very~~ considerably under the direction of Ambassador George Allen

and am pleased to have the opportunity to repeat that opinion here.

If I am confirmed in the office to which the President has nominated me, I shall attempt to discharge the duties and responsibilities of that office to the best of my ability.

The Agency will attempt to make United States policy, as designed by the President, everywhere intelligible and wherever possible, palatable. We shall endeavor to reflect with fidelity to our allies, to the uncommitted nations, and to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals.

We shall operate on the basis of truth. Being convinced that we are engaged in hot and implacable competition with communist forces around the world, we will not be content to counter their lies and distortions. We shall constantly reiterate our faith in freedom.

To the emerging nations we shall say, "We share your dreams." There is a dynamism in freedom which permits and encourages progress

without binding the individual to the wheel of the state. We shall try to make it clear that we as a nation are not allergic to change and have no desire to sanctify the status quo. This nation not only has a birth certificate, it holds the patent rights on change and revolution by consent.

The Agency will try to speak on behalf of all the American people with restraint and reason. All of us in the Agency recognize that inspite of electronic developments, the best form of communications is still face-to-face. To that end, any men and women we recruit and train must be able and eager to serve the cause of freedom which we regard as being indivisible.

The voice of this country should at all times be steady -- firm but not bellicose -- carrying the conviction that we will not flinch or falter in the face of threats or provocations.

In the end of the day it may well be that the example of this nation will be more important than its dollars or its words. If we,

in this generous and capacious land, can demonstrate increasing equality of opportunity, social justice, a reasoned concern for the education, health and the equality under law of all our citizens, we will powerfully affect, and probably determine, the destiny of the free world and that freedom may be contagious, may incite those who have lost that most precious of all possessions to strive to do likewise.

No man can set either a time or dollar limit upon this contest between the forces of freedom and those who would demean and brutalize mankind. The contest will be prolonged and it will cost much treasure. There is no guarantee that we will win it. If we should lose, it will be by default, and history will take its revenge. We cannot imitate the tactics or the techniques of the dictatorships that now ride the backs of most of this planet's people. We cannot threaten, we must persuade. Freedom cannot be imposed, it must be sought for, and frequently fought for.

We live in a world we didn't make. We are honored by an awesome responsibility of leadership we did not seek. We must defend and expand that leadership in company with our allies and other like-minded peoples because that is what our history and our heritage demand of us. We are the pivot upon which the history of our time will turn. Our task is formidable and difficult but difficulty is one excuse history has never accepted.

We must, I think, approach the task with patience and fortitude and with an abiding belief that not only our own ancestors who bought our freedom for us but all those who have suffered and struggled and died in the pursuit of freedom throughout all time are watching to see whether we be worthy of our heritage.

If I am confirmed in the office to which the President has appointed me, I will, together with my colleagues in the Agency, attempt to be worthy of the trust.

STATEMENT BY EDWARD R. MURROW
AT SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HEARING
REGARDING HIS NOMINATION AS
DIRECTOR, U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1961

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(more)

We shall operate on the basis of truth. Being convinced that we are engaged in hot and implacable competition with communist forces around the world, we will not be content to counter their lies and distortions. We shall constantly reiterate our faith in freedom.

To the emerging nations we shall say, "We share your dreams." There is a dynamism in freedom which permits and encourages progress without binding the individual to the wheel of the state. We shall try to make it clear that we as a nation are not allergic to change and have no desire to sanctify the status quo. This nation not only has a birth certificate, it holds the patent rights on change and revolution by consent.

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(more)

the destiny of the free world and that freedom may be contagious, may incite those who have lost that most precious of all possessions to strive to do likewise.

No man can set either a time or dollar limit upon this contest between the forces of freedom and those who would demean and brutalize mankind. The contest will be prolonged and it will cost much treasure. There is no guarantee that we will win it. If we should lose, it will be by default, and history will take its revenge. We cannot imitate the tactics or the techniques of the dictatorships that now ride the backs of most of this planet's people. We cannot threaten, we must persuade. Freedom cannot be imposed, it must be sought for, and frequently fought for.

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Triple space

ed: this is superb. It thrills me and I'm sure it will thrill all who hear it and read it.

I have two suggested changes:

1/ instead of "electronic journalism# say"television and radio".

2/ I would completely cut out "...wherever possible, palatable" Ittbs defensive.

don

XX I think you should take it up as a written statement that could be distributed after the hearing.

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To the emerging nations we shall say, "We share your dreams." There is a dynamism in freedom which permits and encourages progress without binding the individual to the wheel of the state. We shall try to make it clear that we as a nation are not allergic to change and have no desire to sanctify the status quo. ~~We hold the patent rights on Revolution & Change.~~ This nation not only has a birth certificate, it holds the patent rights on Change & Revolution by consent.

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BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSEAS INFORMATION PROGRAMS

STATEMENT BY JUSTIN MILLER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD AND GENERAL COUNSEL, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTERS

My name is Justin Miller. My home is in Pacific Palisades, California; my Washington address is 1771 N Street Northwest. I am Chairman of the Board and General Counsel of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters. I am now, and have been for approximately five years, a member of the United States Advisory Commission on Information which was set up pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 402 of the 80th Congress, the Smith-Mundt Act. This Commission is charged with the duty of appraising the United States International Information Administration and advising both the Congress and the Secretary of State concerning its operation. As a member of the Commission I have attended its meetings, heard many reports from representatives of the State Department, and participated in the preparation of the Commission's Reports. In addition, I have inspected, personally, the operation of the Information program in Latin America, where I have listened to the Voice of America and to local radio broadcasts, visited libraries, Cultural Institutes and Information Centers; interviewed ambassadors and embassy staffs, staffs of the Information Service, officials of the various governments, local radio and newspaper establishments, American news service representatives, American businessmen stationed in the several countries and other interested persons. I have heard and read reports made by other members of the Commission who have visited other countries. At the request of the Commission, I set up a Radio Advisory Committee composed of American broadcasters, engineers and educators, which committee has made special studies of several phases of the Information program.

In my testimony I wish to speak in terms of the programming of the United States Information Administration; namely the finished product delivered to other countries pursuant to the provisions of the Smith-Mundt Act "to disseminate

abroad information about the United States, its people, and policies promulgated by the Congress, the President, the Secretary of State and other responsible officials of Government having to do with matters affecting foreign affairs."

Before speaking of programming, however, I wish to note that, necessarily, such an inquiry as this tends to take for granted and to disregard the achievements of the agency under investigation and to emphasize its failures and inadequacies. This is natural and proper, just as it is proper for a pathologist's report to emphasize the presence and nature of diseased tissue in a human body. However, I want the record to show that there are, and have been, high-caliber men in this IIA who have worked sympathetically, intelligently and earnestly to achieve the purposes of the law. The same is true of some ambassadors and Foreign Service people. In my opinion some phases of the Information Administration have been well carried out.

Preliminarily, also, I wish to restate five premises which I regard as fundamental: First, in my opinion, the United States Information operation must be thought of and carried on as a permanent part of our government; Second, in my opinion, the intent of Congress as expressed in the Smith-Mundt Act cannot be carried on successfully under the wing of the State Department; Third, in my opinion, a permanent joint Committee of Congress should be set up to provide legislative planning in determining how and where such an agency should be fitted into the executive structure, and to provide continuing legislative guidance of its operation. Fourth, in my opinion, only if such an agency is established on a high level in government can it be expected to speak for "the Congress, the President, the Secretary of State and other responsible officials of government" as contemplated by the Act; Fifth, my present belief is that the operation of the Information Service, in foreign countries, must head up in a single person, responsible directly to the ambassador and clothed with sufficient power over his budget, his personnel and all other phases of administration that

he shall not be subject to the limitations and controls imposed by Foreign Service regulations.

At this point, then, let me direct my testimony to the method and content of our international information programming. Let me begin by using the analogy of information programs which are well known and generally used in our own country.

Anyone who has conducted a successful political campaign knows how important it is to understand the backgrounds of our people and to guage the tides of emotions which run constantly through the cities, towns and countryside of his own state. Would a man running for Congress in Iowa or Arkansas or South Dakota or Wisconsin or Rhode Island or California set up his campaign headquarters in New York City and let his speeches be written by clever young men who have trained for work in the State Department? The question answers itself and reduces the proposition to an absurdity. If a candidate wished to appeal to groups in a community who are of particular racial origins, would he recruit for this purpose expatriates -- far removed in time and distance-- bitter and narrow from their own unfortunate experiences, or would he depend upon members of the community, known and respected by their own groups? Again, the question answers itself.

Now, multiply and complicate the situation which faces a candidate in an American state, by the hundreds of situations which exist in the various countries throughout the world, and it becomes obvious how impossible is the idea that our information program can be conceived, written and delivered from a New York headquarters. No matter how well-intentioned such a method may be, it is bound to fail. This is the essential weakness of the Voice of America. It would be hard to devise a less effective information service than one headquartered in New York City, whose programs are hatched in the brains of a group of intellectuals who have been trained for service in the State Department;

translated into forty languages by a group of dispossessed people, and broadcast indiscriminately to all nations.

Our Information program should be affirmative, positive and consistent with carefully established policies. A program which is largely defensive -- answering the big lies of other nations -- gives greater circulation to the big lies and suggests that we are on the defensive, off-balance, unsure of ourselves. A program which attempts the subtleties of irony, sarcasm, or double meanings is frequently mangled in translation and becomes meaningless to those who hear it. A program which attempts to reach all Spanish-speaking people in the world without regard to the differences in pronunciation, idioms and dialects may offend more people than it persuades. The same would seem to be true of programs designed for all the Chinese in the world, or all the groups of people who have been brought under the yoke of Russia.

Obviously, the planning and carrying out of an effective information program must be done by persons of real ability and of "super-grade" rating who know the country, its people, its language and all such contributing factors. Each program must be so responsive to changing conditions in the country that its impact will be timed to the emotional reactions of the people; almost on a day-to-day basis. There should be the closest possible collaboration with local people and the use, wherever desirable, of local facilities, radio, television, newspapers, magazines, motion picture theaters, cultural institutes, social clubs, labor organizations, professional associations, schools, colleges, and other media and agencies of information.

Programs should be prepared in lay language understandable by the people, avoiding the "professional mystery" and the governmental gobbledegook which so frequently destroys the effect of the message. In Latin America, for example, the so-called "soap opera" is very popular, generally accepted and an ideal

medium for reaching the people. The story of American life could be told in such serial programs most effectively and such programs are hungrily accepted by local broadcasters. On the other hand, speeches of President Truman and Secretary Acheson were received in silence for a few moments and then turned off. On several occasions, during my trip through Latin America, I tuned receiving sets to Voice of America programs and other such offerings, only to have the programs tuned out, immediately, in favor of musical and serial programs.

The fullest possible use should be made of information acquired by the embassy; the ambassador should participate in the high level logistics of the operation; other embassy officials should advise -- but not direct or interfere with the operation; American businessmen and representatives of American news services should be encouraged to give information and suggestions.

Obviously, the men in charge of these country information operations must be "super-grade" personnel; and their services should be recognized as important and of high prestige value in the embassy, and in the recognition of qualities which are involved in promotion. At present, this is definitely not the practice. Instead, these country operations are frequently staffed by Foreign Service apprentices; usually they are rated low in protocol status, both by the embassy and by the officials of the foreign nations. Sometimes they are diverted from their proper duties, for publicity work on behalf of the embassy. Men in the Information Offices who are not Foreign Service officers are frequently resented by the latter. To some extent there is overt hostility to the Information operation upon the part of Foreign Service men in the embassies; to a greater extent, administrative obstacles and delays are put in the way of the fast action which is necessary for an effective information service.

I do not suggest that the Voice of America is a failure or that it should be abandoned. There are at least two very important reasons for its continuance. First, we have no other way to get behind the Iron Curtain than by

the use of broadcasting facilities. Unless we are willing to abandon our effort to reach the Russian people, then broadcasting must be continued. The improvement of Voice programming is, of course, another question. My impression has been that a more effective job could be done by broadcasting from bases in countries adjacent to Russia. But I have insufficient knowledge of the technical problems involved to give a useful opinion upon that subject.

The second reason for continuing the Voice is the necessity of preserving our rights in the frequencies assigned for the purpose by the International Communications Convention. Presumably, if we abandoned the use of these frequencies we would lose them. However, it must be recognized that in some parts of the world the Voice signal is unheard; in others, the signal is so poor that it is not acceptable; in still others where the signal is good, the programs are not accepted.

Several remedies suggest themselves. First, the programs should be improved; second, technical improvements in facilities and operation should be made; third, in some areas, the broadcasting could be reduced to a skeleton operation. Among other things, such a skeleton operation might perhaps be used for transmitting the Wireless Bulletin. This bulletin provides a very useful service; it forms the foundation for much of the local broadcasting and press dissemination of information. Presently, the Wireless Bulletin is received in the various countries on a hit or miss basis, through such facilities as those provided by our Navy, or of amateur operators, or of foreign governments.

Even discounting completely the more aggressive attacks which have been made recently upon the Information Administration, the foregoing comments indicate pretty clearly that there is much room for improvement. For five years the State Department has been struggling with it. For five years the United States Advisory Commission on Information has been pointing out to the State Department these and other inadequacies. Generally speaking, the Department has

either disregarded our recommendations or acted upon them reluctantly, indeed. There has been some open hostility and a large measure of indifference to the whole operation; there has been an apparent hope that the Information operation is a mere passing phase and will soon pass out of existence; there has been continuing insistence that the whole operation must be whipped into conformance with the slow-moving "tell-them-nothing" administrative policies and practices of the Foreign Service which apparently dominates policy and administration, not only in the field, but in Washington.

Our Commission has concluded, therefore, that there is no hope of carrying out the intent of the law so long as the operation remains in the State Department. In order to challenge the thinking of Congress, we recommend that the IIA be lifted out of the Department and established on Cabinet level. We think that unless this is done the job cannot be performed as Congress intended.

Our recommendation, obviously, contemplates a permanent IIA. We see no possibility of escape from the obvious, continuing need for an affirmative, positive program to advise the people of the world concerning our good will, our honest and peaceful intentions. We have strong evidence that Russia has succeeded, so far, in convincing the people of many nations that we are an aggressive, imperialistic, materialistic and ruthless nation; in spite of all our declarations and in spite of our heavy material contributions to the under-developed areas of the world.

We think it is equally obvious that Congress should now assume a larger degree of responsibility for working out a solution to the problem. This cannot be done by the devastating methods of the prosecuting attorney. It cannot be done by the techniques of a sub-committee of the Appropriations Committee. It cannot be done by a casual, occasional glimpse from an already over-worked permanent committee. Provision should be made for a liaison contact with Congress

which can come only from a committee specially charged with the task. Provision should be made for evaluation procedures to check the validity of methods used; to determine the value of results achieved or the damage of failures suffered. Provision should be made for the prevention and correction of mistakes; for understanding and sponsorship, in Congress; and for protection against unwarranted and destructive attacks.

All these considerations argue in favor of an agency which can stand on its own feet, prepare its own budget and justify it, without getting tangled up in the prejudices and preconceptions of an old, established, tradition-ridden executive branch. They argue also for a permanent joint committee of Congress which can concern itself with the proper planning and continuing development of a highly important agency of government; equally important as the production of atomic energy or of the control of international trade and commerce, or of other governmental developments to which similar congressional attention is being given.

* * * * *

March 18, 1953

March 1953

BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSEAS INFORMATION PROGRAMS

STATEMENT BY EDWARD R. MURROW OF THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

My name is Edward R. Murrow. I reside at 580 Park Avenue, New York City. I am an employee of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and appear here today at the request of the chairman of your committee. I am a director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, but this is in no sense a corporate statement. It is purely personal.

During the period from 1937 to 1946 I was the European director of the Columbia Broadcasting System with headquarters in London. Subsequently I was, for a period of about a year and a half, vice president in charge of news and public affairs for CBS. For the past five years, I have been employed by that organization as a news broadcaster and analyst. Being conscious that radio commentators have been described, with a degree of accuracy, as men who think with their tonsils and never know what they believe until they hear themselves say it, I have informed your chairman that I have had no considerable firsthand knowledge of the detailed operation of the Voice of America

for the past five years. Nevertheless, he graciously bid me to appear here today.

It is my purpose, with your permission, to confine these remarks to the international dissemination of news and information by radio, for it is in this area that my experience, if not competence, resides.

I venture to suggest that the basic problem that confronts us is the operation of a worldwide news service that is accurate, capable of achieving credibility, and designed to reflect with high fidelity American policy and purpose. News is difficult to define. I think it was Mark Twain who said that news is anything that causes a woman to say "My goodness". But news in the international arena can be recognized and measured. It is not advertising, and it is not psychological warfare. It is ascertainable fact, subject to confirmation by varied and independent sources.

An adequate and effective news service operated on behalf of a government must be staffed by competent newsmen, adequately paid. It cannot be the plaything of advertising men or "psychological warriors". The men who direct it must be able to hire and fire as is

done in privately financed news organizations. Civil service security for newsmen has not yet produced a competent and flexible news organization.

I am not persuaded that newsmen can function effectively with congressmen looking over one shoulder, or diplomats, or men trained to the foreign service, looking over the other. No one can deny that Congressional scrutiny is essential to our overseas news service, but that scrutiny should perhaps be performed by something in the nature of a permanent watchdog committee which would concern itself primarily with the product, rather than the past personal idiosyncrasies of staff members.

If it is to be a good news service, it must have access to the sum total of news available. It is remarkable, to say the least, that the Voice of America operates without the service of the Associated Press or the United Press. Surely a method could be found to compensate these two great organizations for any economic loss they might sustain in making their services available to their government.

I do not believe that we can or should slant or angle the news broadcasts from this country. We are not operating a controlled

society. There are too many alternate sources of information in the western world to permit the successful slanting of news. We should, above everything else, attempt to achieve credibility, for the measure of our success will be the degree to which we are believed. We are not obliged to be first with the news, but we must be right when our voice is compared with other information available.

There is an occupational antipathy between those trained in diplomacy and those trained in news. The diplomats are disposed to say "Don't"; the newsmen are disposed to embarrass the diplomats. I know of no newspaper or radio network that would be likely to trust the post of editor to its diplomatic correspondent. I believe that the Voice of America should be removed from the control and responsibility of the State Department. This suggestion is not meant to imply that the officials of the Department charged with the responsibility are incompetent or inflexible, but the handling of news requires a freedom and flexibility which is, in my experience, foreign to the training and disposition of career men in the foreign service. Nor is this suggestion intended to imply that private radio could adequately discharge this function or responsibility. Perhaps what is required

is is a quasi public service corporation whose officials would have editorial access to the editor-in-chief who is, in the last analysis, the President or his spokesman. No matter how able the official news organization, there is no substitute for clear cut and official statements of national policy.

In terms of program content, I am persuaded that the Voice of America can do no more, and should be satisfied with no less, than the holding of an accurate mirror of sound behind events in this country. For example, we could make more widespread use of mature scholars and businessmen from abroad who have spent several months in this country by permitting them to talk freely and frankly to their own fellow countrymen. I would place no prohibition on them except those required by the national security. If they report aspects of American society and civilization that they find unpalatable, so be it. Their fellow countrymen listening to them might be refreshed and uplifted with the knowledge that they enjoy a greater freedom sitting before our microphones than they would in their own country. We profess freedom of speech, let us practice it.

It might be useful to concentrate more on our friends than on our enemies. We are unlikely to create any revolutions by words. But the Russians have laid it down in clear language that their primary purpose, one of their principal articles of faith, is to create division, disunity, and finally conflict, among the allies of the free world. Unless our policy and our purpose is understood, accepted, and approved by our allies, as among good neighbors, we waste our time and our substance in attempting to persuade our enemies.

In this connection, we should devote more effort to arranging for the broadcasting of news and information about this country over the domestic broadcasting facilities of our allies. This is difficult, because they are as reluctant as we to turn over their broadcasting facilities to a foreign power. But, for my own part, I would trade ten minutes of time on the domestic network of France, Turkey, or Great Britain, for ten hours of shortwave broadcasting directed to those countries.

It has been my experience that broadcasters, whether operating in the domestic or international field, are disposed to

overestimate the size of their audience. There is certainly sufficient evidence to indicate that the Voice of America has substantial impact behind the Iron Curtain. But this impact, considerable as it is, is not likely to be decisive. But the creation of a more favorable climate of opinion in what is left of the free world might well be of the utmost importance.

There is, of course, implicit in this suggestion an obligation which I believe is now being reasonably well discharged, for the American networks to give adequate opportunity for the expression of news and opinion by representative spokesmen of our allies.

At the moment, primarily for technical reasons, the opportunity for the use of television in the field of international communications is limited. But if opportunity affords, we should make available to our allies a fair cross section of what American television presents, particularly those filmed sequences that portray the average, unglamorized life and doing of American citizens and communities. In all our export, either by voice or by film, we should place little emphasis on swimming pools, expensive motor cars, and riotous night life. This suggestion is made in the interest of proper editorial

balance, because most of the people in this country do not have swimming pools, expensive motor cars, or indulge in riotous night life. I dare say, that as the art develops, there will be found both networks and sponsors prepared to make available for foreign distribution film for television, portraying in terms of real people and situations, the way we live and work. Not all of this would be regarded as highly favorable or flattering in allied countries, but the time has surely come when we should cease worrying about that well-worn phrase that anything we may do may possibly give our enemies a propaganda club with which to beat us. Anyone who is reasonably familiar with the output of Radio Moscow is aware that if we do not provide them with a club, they will invent one.

Our problem as I see it, is primarily the reporting through sound and picture what is happening in and to this nation. This is a news job. It should be done by newsmen. It must be done accurately, if for no other reason than that falsification would be found out. The men who do the job, once their loyalty has been established; must be judged by their product, and by nothing else. This major instrument

is, after all, called the Voice of America. If that voice sounds at times to be divided and confused--if it reports dissension in the Congress or in the country, I should not be particularly disturbed. We should remember that dissent, division, and criticism are rare commodities in many countries we address.

So far as our export of news is concerned, I should be contented if the reasonably well-informed American citizen could tune his radio set to the shortwave band, listen to a Voice of America broadcast, and say "That's about right; that's the way it is in our country". For it is as reasonable for the citizen to deplore and distrust the angled or slanted news for export, as it is for him to adopt the same attitude in regard to domestic news.

We have no choice but to try to tell the truth about ourselves There is no other way to make the Voice of America more authoratative, more trustworthy; no other way to persuade our allies and the doubters that we pursue a policy which they can endorse, support, and join.

March 26, 1953 ######

Excerpts of a statement made by Edward R. Murrow, March, 1953, before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Overseas Information Programs:

"My name is Edward R. Murrow.. .I am an employee of the Columbia Broadcasting System and appear here today at the request of the chairman of your committee. I am a director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, but this is in no sense a corporate statement. It is purely personal.

"For the past five years, I have been employed by that organization (CBS) as a news broadcaster and analyst. Being conscious that radio commentators have been described, with a degree of accuracy, as men who think with their tonsils and never know what they believe until they hear themselves say it, I have informed your chairman that I have had no considerable knowledge of the detailed operation of the Voice of America for the past five years....

"It is my purpose, with your permission, to confine these remarks to the international dissemination of news and information by radio, for it is in this area that my experience, if not competence, resides. I venture to suggest that the basic problem that confronts us is the operation of a worldwide news service that is accurate, capable of achieving credibility, and designed to reflect with high fidelity American purpose and policy. News is difficult to define.... News in the international arena can be recognized and measured. It is not advertising, and it is not psychological warfare: it is ascertainable fact, subject to confirmation by varied and independent

sources. An adequate and effective news service operated on behalf of a government must be staffed by competent newsmen, adequately paid.... The men who direct it must be able to hire and fire as is done in privately financed news organizations. Civil service security for newsmen has not yet produced a competent and flexible news organization.

"I am not persuaded that newsmen can function effectively with congressmen looking over one shoulder, or diplomats, or men trained to the foreign service, looking over the other. No one can deny that Congressional scrutiny is essential to our overseas news service. But that scrutiny should perhaps be performed by something in the nature of a permanent watchdog committee which would concern itself primarily with the product, rather than the past personal idiosyncrasies of staff members.

"If it is to be a good news service, it must have access to the sum total of news available. It is remarkable, to say the least, that the Voice of America operates without the service of the Associated Press or the United Press. Surely a method could be found to compensate these two great organizations for any economic loss they might sustain in making their services available to their government.

"I do not believe that be can or should slant or angle the news broadcasts from this country....We should, above everything else, attempt to achieve credibility....Our success will be the degree to which we are believed. We are not obliged to be first

with news, but we must be right when our voice is compared with other information available.

"There is an occupational antipathy between those trained in diplomacy and those trained in news. The diplomats are disposed to say "don't"; the newsmen are disposed to embarrass the diplomats. I know of no newspaper or radio network that would be likely to trust the post of editor to its diplomatic correspondent. I believe that the Voice of America should be removed from the control and responsibility of the State Department... Perhaps what is required is a quasi-public service corporation whose officials would have editorial access to the editor-in-chief who is, in the last analysis, the President or his spokesman. No matter how able the official news organization, there is no substitute for clear-cut and official statements of national policy.

"In terms of program content, I am persuaded that the Voice of America can do no more, and should be satisfied with no less, than the holding of an accurate mirror of sound behind events in this country....We profess freedom of speech, let's practice it.

"It might be useful to concentrate more on our friends than on our enemies. We are unlikely to create any revolutions by words. But the Russians have laid it down in clear language that their primary purpose, one of their principal articles of faith, is to create division, disunity and finally conflict among the allies of the free world....For my part, I would trade ten minutes of time on the domestic networks of France, Turkey or Great Britain for ten hours of shortwave broadcasting directed to those countries.

"There is certainly sufficient evidence to indicate that the Voice of America has substantial impact behind the Iron Curtain. But this impact, considerable as it is, is not likely to be decisive. The creation of a more favorable climate of opinion in what is left of the free world might be of the utmost importance. There is, of course, implicit in this suggestion an obligation, which I believe is now being reasonably well discharged, for the American networks to give adequate opportunity for the expression of news and opinion by representative spokesman of our allies.

"If opportunity affords, we should make available to our allies a fair cross section of what American television presents, particularly those filmed sequences that portray the average unglamorized life and doing of American citizens and communities. In all our export, either by voice or film, we should place little emphasis on swimming pools, expensive motor cars and riotous night life. This suggestion is made in the interest of proper editorial balance....

"I dare say that as the art develops, there will be found both networks and sponsors prepared to make available for foreign distribution film for television portraying in terms of real people and situations, the way we live and work. Not all of this would be regarded as highly favorable or flattering in allied countries, but the time has surely come when we should cease worrying about that well-worn phrase that anything we may do may possibly give our enemies a propaganda club with which to beat us. Anyone who is reasonably familiar with the output of Radio Moscow is aware that

if we do not provide them with a club, they will invent one.

"Our problem, as I see it, is primarily the reporting through sound and picture what is happening in and to this nation. This is a news job. It should be done by newsmen. It must be done accuratelyif for no other reason than that falsification would be found out. The men who do the job, once their loyalty has been established, must be judged by their product and by nothing else. ....We should remember that dissent, division and criticism are rare commodities in many countries we address.

"So far as our export of news is concerned, I should be contented if the reasonably well-informed American citizen could tune his radio set to the shortwave radio band, listen to a Voice of America broadcast, and say, "That's about right; that's the way it is in our country."

"We have no choice but to try to tell the truth about ourselves. There is no other way to make the Voice of America more authoritative, more trustworthy; no other way to persuade our allies and the doubters that we pursue a policy which they can endorse, support and join."

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

April 11, 1961

Dear Bob,

Yours of April 6 reached me today. I don't think we have any disagreement, basic or otherwise. So far as I know nothing has happened to alter my convictions about news and information in the international field which I have held and defended for 25 years.

So far as the BBC matter is concerned, I enclose a copy of a few remarks I ad libbed to a group of broadcasters at the State Department the other day.

My letter to General Sarnoff under date of March 2 was slugged "Personal and Confidential." I was, so to speak, thinking out loud to an old friend.

I have not the slightest desire to interfere with or influence domestic programming on either radio or television. I am hopeful that this Agency can acquire the rights for such programs as your excellent "Meet Mr. Lincoln" for use in areas such as Latin America and Africa where there exists no possibility, or practically no possibility, of commercial sales. We do not have the in-house capability of producing first-class full-length television documentaries and I don't think we should try to acquire that capability. My present feeling is that we should concentrate on acquisition and distribution in areas where normal overseas sales are impossible or unlikely.

At the same time I am hopeful that an infrequent personal telephone call to old friends such as Irv Gitlin and Fred Friendly suggesting a program idea which they might

Mr. Robert E. Kintner
President
National Broadcasting Company, Inc.
RCA Building, Radio City
New York 20, New York

conceivably regard as having merit for domestic production and which we might subsequently utilize would not be regarded as attempted interference by a bloodied bureaucrat.

I hope that we can sit down and talk out many things before long. One area on which we could spend a pleasant evening would be the export of documentaries such as U-2 and Harvest of Shame. I think we might develop a mild disagreement, not between a government servant and a newsman but between a couple of old newsmen. We might list it for the agenda under the title of "Impact Versus Income."

Incidentally, I have heard a description of a committee that was at least new to me: "The Uninformed designating the incompetent to study the unnecessary."

As ever,

Yours,

Edward R. Murrow

ERM/rlp 4/11/61

cell

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

ROBERT E. KINTNER
PRESIDENT

April 6, 1961

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ed:

I have recently returned from a symposium at Middlebury College on "Mass Media: Role and Responsibility," in which Spike Canham, Ed Barrett, Porter McKeever and Dr. Irving Howe of Brandeis University also participated.

Since a discussion arose on that occasion about your attempt to dissuade the BBC from broadcasting the CBS documentary on the migratory workers, I wanted you to hear first-hand from me what I said in that discussion and what my feelings on the matter are.

I think you were absolutely wrong in putting any pressure on the BBC not to broadcast the documentary. Such an action seems completely contrary to the view -- which I share -- that international understanding is fostered and international relations can be improved by making journalistic reports and other types of public information which are available to the people of one country also available to the people of other countries, particularly friendly or neutral countries. Even the fact the program in question was prepared before you were in the Government and might give rise to some confusion as to whether the program approach was that of the Kennedy Administration, to my mind, was not a sufficient reason for the action you took. It could be made clear in the program, and I understand it was, that your role was that of a private citizen at the time.

I also want to express to you our philosophy concerning news and public information programs produced by NBC News, basically for showing in this country. We intend to continue offering these

programs to television stations overseas, the practice we followed on the controversial U-2 program and our last program on segregation. We believe that it is in the public interest for programs seen by people in this country to be made available for broadcasting overseas, even if they contain information that may point up weaknesses and injustices in our society.

To turn to another subject -- the question raised in your March 2 letter to General Sarnoff -- I hoped that you would be at the Radio & Television Correspondents' Dinner where I was anticipating an opportunity to talk with you about this matter, but since I missed you there, I would like to give you our views on it now.

NBC, within the limits of maintaining the independence of its news operation and the integrity of its program structure will, of course, cooperate with the Government on a case-to-case basis. However, I feel I must tell you that we do not believe that programs should be created by the networks for domestic consumption which are designed for propaganda purposes in later showings abroad. Certainly the Government has a perfect right to produce programs on its own for its use in overseas broadcasting to carry forward the mission of the USIA in developing a better understanding of our national purpose and institutions among the peoples of foreign countries; and it also can pursue this objective by commissioning production organizations in the United States to produce such programs to its specifications. However, we think it would be an improper procedure to make arrangements with the networks for the production of programs to be broadcast by them in the United States for the purpose of using those programs for USIA purposes overseas.

Perhaps our position is best clarified by an internal NBC memorandum to Bill McAndrew, with which McAndrew agrees, on the question you raised, and I am enclosing a copy of that memorandum for your personal information.

As you know, I was delighted that you took yournew job, and I am sorry to oppose one of your first actions.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert E. Kintner

Enclosure

INTERDEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENCE

TO Mr. William R. McAndrew

DATE March 9, 1961

FROM Robert E. Kintner

SUBJECT

Ed Murrow, in his new capacity as head of the USIA, has raised a question which Bob Sarnoff and I have discussed, and I am taking this means of passing on to you our reaction on the matter, so that if you have any different views, we can consider them.

The proposition Mr. Murrow advances is that if the USIA could define what would best serve its purposes for television programs to be broadcast overseas -- particularly in the documentary field -- it might persuade the television networks to produce such programs for broadcast by them in the United States in the first instance, with the USIA subsequently making arrangements for the use of the same programs overseas.

We believe that such a procedure would be wrong in principle, because it would involve a direct Government influence on the content and subject matter of network programming to the United States public; and this undesirable situation would be created only in order to achieve a by-product effect of providing the USIA with program vehicles to carry out its overseas information objectives.

Under such a procedure, the Government could justifiably be charged with using the U.S. networks as domestic propaganda instruments, possibly in violation of the spirit of the legislation establishing the USIA which prohibits it from propagandizing the American public; and the networks could justifiably be charged with lending themselves to being used as such instruments, and surrendering -- or certainly diluting -- their independent responsibilities to determine the content and nature of programs they put on the air.

The stated purpose which Mr. Murrow seeks to achieve is to develop television documentaries suitable to the USIA's overseas information mission, without burdening that agency with the production and manpower facilities necessary to create these programs. In our view, that purpose can be achieved, under either of the following procedures, without raising the dangers and objections inherent in his suggestion:

1. The USIA could prepare the specifications, in terms of subject matter and treatment, for programs it desired for overseas use, and commission any one of a number of production organizations to produce the specified programs for it.

2. The USIA could review documentary programs already produced for their own purposes by the networks or by non-network producing organizations, and if any of these programs seemed suitable for USIA's purpose, could negotiate for the purchase of rights to have these documentaries broadcast in the appropriate foreign countries. So far as NBC is concerned, we would want to exhaust possibilities of direct sale of such programs by NBC International to foreign markets. To the extent such direct sales were accomplished, the purpose sought would be achieved without Government intervention; but where NBC International did not succeed in selling abroad, we would be willing to consider negotiating arrangements for the USIA to use these programs.

As between these two alternatives, we believe the first would more simply and directly accomplish the purpose Mr. Murrow has in mind; the second would be effective only to the extent that documentaries already produced and broadcast in the United States also happened to meet USIA's overseas information objectives. In any event, neither of these alternatives would involve Government influence on the subject and content of programs produced for broadcast in this country.

Robert E. Kintner

cc: Mr. R.W. Sarnoff

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RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA
RCA BUILDING
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

DAVID SARNOFF
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

March 14, 1961

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ed:

I have read with great interest the suggestions in your letter of March 2, concerning the possibility of certain working relationships between the United States Information Agency and the television networks.

The questions you raise apply directly to the operation of a network's news and public affairs divisions and I have therefore sent your letter to Bob Kintner for his careful evaluation. Bob has indicated to me that he would like, on one of his next trips to Washington, to sit down with you and give you his thoughts personally.

Meanwhile I want to express my deep appreciation for your generous offer to reconsider the possible use of the words "Freedom and Peace," and then make a decision without reference to any further surveys.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

David

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PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

March 2, 1961

Dear Dave,

SECRETARIAT - has file

I seize this first opportunity to answer your letter of February 20.

I find on the basis of hasty research that the Voice of America did in fact use the words "Freedom and Peace" in its identification for roughly one year. The files do not indicate why it was abandoned.

I have not yet had an opportunity to talk with my colleagues about the advisability of re-instating this identification but I must confess to you that I have certain doubts arising primarily from the apprehension that this might be regarded in some quarters as an indication that this Administration is more dedicated to freedom and peace than was the previous one. In any event, we shall give it our attention and make a decision without resorting to a world-wide survey.

I would take advantage of your being a long time friend of this organization and of mine to solicit your opinion on a matter that I regard as being of some urgency.

As you know, there is a vast export of American television films and programs abroad. I need not tell you that I have no desire to influence or control this export, but I do feel that if we in this Agency could define more clearly than we have in the past what would be useful for showing abroad, particularly in the field of documentaries, we might persuade the networks to produce them for initial showing in this country so that we might then make secondary use of them abroad.

Brigadier General David Sarnoff
Chairman of the Board
Radio Corporation of America
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York
ERM/rlp 3/1/61

We do not have in this Agency the men, the money or the expertise to produce documentaries comparable to those turned out by the networks. I see no reason why we should attempt to develop this capability. It seems to me that whenever the national purpose can be served through established commercial channels, that is the method that should be used.

Once we got our priorities straight, we might hold informal conversations with the News and Public Affairs Directors of the networks and then ask the President to invite you, Bill Paley and someone from ABC down for lunch to discuss the whole matter.

This is a purely personal and informational query to an old friend. I would value your counsel grately.

As ever.

Yours,

Edward R. Murrow

NOTES

27 May, 1961

Mr. Murrow,

While listening to your address it occurred to me that you might be the person to do something about this idea.

I have just returned from a year's study at the London School of Economics and Political Science. While in London I arranged for a trip with a British student group going to the USSR. During my stay I was talking to a student at Leningrad University who (he was a Russian) told me that he reads newspapers from the USA, i.e. overseas editions of the NY Times and Herald Tribune. It seems that some of our exchange students in Leningrad

NOTES

and Moscow receive these newspapers and pass them on to their Russian friends. Hence if a Russian student wants to read a western newspaper he doesn't have to go the library and get his name written down for reading our newspapers.

My suggestion is that USIA make sure that all our exchange students in the USSR receive both the Times and Tribune every day. It would also be a good idea to see that British exchange student in the USSR receive the London Times, Guardian, and Observer.

Russian students knew that Khrushchev was at the UN last year, but they never saw pictures of him pounding his shoe on the table.

Allen Bortel 1954 E. 35 Place
TULSA, OKLA.

UPI A166 WA 1961 U.S.I.A.

WASHINGTON, JUNE 27 (UPI)--SEN. JOHN L. MCCLELLAN TOLD THE U. S. INFORMATION AGENCY TODAY EITHER TO CUT ITS EUROPEAN BUDGET OR GET READY TO HAVE THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE DO IT.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE HEADED BY THE ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT IS COMBING THROUGH USIA ACTIVITIES WITH AN EYE TO CUTTING COSTS.

"SURELY YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO FIND AREAS WHERE CUTS CAN BE MADE BETTER THAN WE," MCCLELLAN TOLD JOSEPH B. PHILLIPS, ASSISTANT USIA DIRECTOR FOR EUROPE.

PHILLIPS MAINTAINED THAT EUROPE "IS THE CENTER OF POWER ON WHICH WE DEPEND" IN THE CURRENT EAST-WEST STRUGGLE. HE SAID THE PROBLEM IS TO CUT BACK AND AT THE SAME TIME TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THESE COUNTRIES.

MCCLELLAN SAID HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY OF INFORMATION CENTERS FOR THE "RANK AND FILE" OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES IF THEIR LEADERS UNDERSTAND U. S. POLICIES.

HE AND SEN. ALLEN J. ELLENDER, D-LA., URGED TURNING USIA LIBRARIES OVER TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO ADMINISTER.

"THEN WE HAVE TO RECONCILE OURSELVES TO THE FACT THAT THESE CENTERS WILL CEASE TO PERFORM THE FUNCTION WE WANT PERFORMED," PHILLIPS SAID. "WE CAN'T EXPECT THESE PEOPLE TO DO OUR JOBS FOR US."

HE POINTED OUT THAT WHEN THE AGENCY HAS TURNED LIBRARIES OVER TO THE GERMANS, FOR INSTANCE, THE BOOKS ARE DISTRIBUTED ON A CLOSED SHELF SYSTEM. THE READER HAS TO KNOW BEFOREHAND THE BOOK HE WANTS AND REQUEST IT.

THIS PRACTICE DOES NOT MAKE FOR THE WIDE DISTRIBUTION THE USIA ITSELF PROMOTES, PHILLIPS SAID.

"I AM CONCERNED WITH THE RISING COST OF GOVERNMENT," MCCLELLAN SAID. "I DON'T THINK WE CAN AFFORD EVERYTHING."

USIA DIRECTOR EDWARD R. MURROW, TRYING TO REMAIN EXPRESSIONLESS, SAT BESIDE PHILLIPS, WHO WAS ASSISTED BY SEVERAL AIDES.

THE AGENCY ASKED CONGRESS FOR $141.23 MILLION (M), WHICH WAS CUT TO $127.15 MILLION IN THE HOUSE. THE SENATE IS BEING ASKED TO RESTORE $9.5 MILLION.

PA111PED

This UPI man must be a pyschiatrist, not a reporter!
LeHeSu

UPI A167 WA

Feature-Biography

EDWARD R. MURROW

Director, U. S. Information Agency

On January 28, 1961, radio-TV's top news analyst and reporter, Edward R. Murrow, ended 25 years with the Columbia Broadcasting System to accept appointment from President Kennedy as Director of the U.S. Information Agency.

But the man who brought world events and personalities (THIS-IS THE NEWS, SEE IT NOW, PERSON TO PERSON) into the homes of millions of Americans has, in a sense, simply "shifted gears" to reach a different audience.

His new assignment: to tell the world about America.

As a top governmental official charged with administering this country's information program abroad, Murrow has at his command USIA's libraries, book programs, radio and television, its press service, motion pictures and many other means of communication to create in millions overseas a sharper awareness of America, its objectives and its people.

He brought to his job an enviable reputation in international reporting and analysis, a strong sense of mission, a passion for realism.

The tall (6'1") news analyst began his career with CBS in 1935, first as director of talks and education, then, in 1937, as an arranger of cultural programs in London. A world-shaking event shaped his future.

The year 1938 brought the Nazi Anschluss with Austria. Chartering a plane, Murrow got to Vienna in time to broadcast the German march into the city. From that day on, he remained "glued to the mike."

Returning to London, he began hiring the CBS corps of radio correspondents. During World War II, Americans tuned in their radios nightly to

(more)

THIS - IS LONDON to hear Murrow describe the war as he saw it. He described an air raid from a rooftop, the bombing of the studio from which he was broadcasting and the 25 bombing missions he went on over Germany. Then, against orders from CBS, he got aboard a mine-sweeper and described that.

Murrow covered much of the major pre-war and war events -- from the fall of Czechoslovakia to V-E day, and when it was over he came home in 1945 to a new job as CBS Vice President and Director of Public Affairs. In the meantime, a selection of his London blitz broadcasts had been published in book form, "This Is London," and his fraternity, Kappa Sigma, had named him 1941's "Man of the Year."

Of his work in London, Ambassador Winant and Harry Hopkins said: "We aren't the ambassadors and interpreters of American ideas and opinions in England. Murrow is the man of our country who is doing the greatest job of all, of interpretation, representation and understanding, of morale-building in England and the U.S."

After THIS - IS LONDON, came THIS - IS THE NEWS, and THIS - I BELIEVE (made into a best-selling book). With Fred W. Friendly, he produced three albums of records weaving together the important and dramatic news stories of three decades (Hear It Now).

In 1947, Murrow resigned from his executive post to return to his news broadcasts. In 1950 he flew to the Far East to report the Korean war.

His postwar news coverage included the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and her Coronation as Queen Elizabeth II, foreign ministers' conferences, the Italian elections, the Berlin airlift, the election of the Labor Government in Britain, subsequent election of the Churchill regime, the 1957 NATO heads of government meeting in Paris, and the American presidential conventions and elections.

Murrow rose to television fame in 1951 with the news documentary, SEE IT NOW, which he narrated and co-produced with Friendly. Scoring an immediate hit with the first live television broadcast from a submerged submarine, the "U.S.S. Sablefish," SEE IT NOW chalked up an impressive list of awards, among them, the 1956 "Emmy" Award from the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

In PERSON TO PERSON, launched in October, 1953, Murrow's cameramen hauled their five tons of equipment into the homes of the great and famous to give Americans a glimpse of how people-in-the-news live. Interviewed by Murrow, many an American and foreign notable with "TV jitters" was made to feel at home in his own living room by the producer's cordial manner and informal questioning.

(more)

Murrow took a year's leave from CBS in 1959 to travel and study with his wife (the former Janet Huntington Brewster, of Middletown, Conn., whom he married in 1934) and his 14-year-old son Casey.

Murrow was born April 25, 1908, near Greensboro, N.C. in a small house near Guilford County's Pole Cat Creek. He was christened Egbert Roscoe. When he was four, his father, a farmer, took his family to Blanchard, Wash., 70 miles from Seattle, where he got a job as a locomotive engineer in a logging camp. Young Murrow ("I can't remember when I didn't have to work") later earned money for college as a compassman and topographer for timber cruisers. He graduated from Washington State College in 1930 with a Phi Beta Kappa key and a reputation as a debater.

Shortly afterward, as president of the National Student Federation, Murrow visited colleges in the U.S. and Europe, setting up a student travel bureau and arranging debates between American and European students. Two years later, in 1932, he went to the Institute of International Education as Assistant Director, serving as head of the institute's foreign offices in London, Paris, Geneva and Vienna. Later, as secretary of the IIE's Emergency Commission for the Aid of Displaced German Scholars, he was instrumental in bringing 90 of the best minds out of Germany. ("The most satisfying thing I ever did in my life," he says.)

Throughout his career, awards and prizes came to Murrow about as easily as his audience. He has at least 100 -- including the Overseas Press Club Award, the One World Award, two George Foster Peabody Awards and the Headliners Award. Add to this some 13 honorary degrees plus honorary titles from France, Great Britain and Belgium. He is also much in demand as a speaker on international affairs and has lectured at Yale, Columbia, Oxford and the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, as well as before American audiences.

He is a reserve Commander in the U.S. Navy, a trustee of the Institute of International Education, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a director of the National Institute of Foreign Affairs. He is also a former president of the Association of American Correspondents in London.

Mr. Murrow's appointment as USIA Director was confirmed by the Senate on March 15. He was sworn in by President Kennedy on March 21.

* * * * * * *

(Chronology Attached)

Chronology

1908 --	Born April 25, near Greensboro, N.C., son of Roscoe C. and Ethel Lamb Murrow
1912 --	Family moved to Blanchard, Wash.
1914-1922--	Blanchard grade school
1922-1926--	Edison (Wash.) High School
1926-1930--	Washington State College (B.A.) (One year on Timber Survey Crew)
1930-1932--	President, National Student Federation
1932-1935--	Assistant Director, Institute of International Education. Married Janet Huntington Brewster October 27, 1934, at Middletown, Conn.
1935-1937--	CBS Director of Talks and Education
1937-1945	European Director, CBS; war correspondent. Son, Charles Casey, born November 6, 1945, in London.
1946-1947--	Vice President, CBS; Director of Public Affairs
1947-1956--	Member of CBS Board of Directors
1947-1961 --	Reporter and news analyst
January 28, 1961--	Appointed Director, U.S. Information Agency.

Memberships

Board of Trustees, Institute of International Education
Council on Foreign Relations
Association of American Correspondents, London. President in 1945
Phi Beta Kappa
Kappa Sigma

Honorary Degrees

LL.D., Colby College
LL.D., Washington State College
LL.D., University of North Carolina
LL.D., Muhlenberg College
Dr. Humanities, Rollins College
Dr. Journalism, Temple University
LL.D., Oberlin College
Dr. Humane Letters - Hamilton College
LL.D., Mount Holyoke College
LL.D., Grinnell College

(more)

LL.D., Brandeis University
Dr. Humane Letters, Colby College
LL.D. University of Rochester
Dr. of Humane Letters - Williams College

Honorary Titles

Honorary Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, appointed by King George VI in 1947.
Chevalier in French National Order of Legion of Honor, decreed by President of French Republic in 1954.
Officer of the Order of Leopold decreed by King Baudouin in 1959.

Awards (among others)

Overseas Press Club: 1940, 1948, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956
George Foster Peabody: 1943, 1949, 1951, 1952, 1954
Radio-Television Daily: 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960
Albert Einstein Commemorative Award in the Humanities: 1957
Emmy Award, Best News Commentator-Analyst: 1958
Radio Television Mirror Annual Poll, Favorite Radio News Commentator: 1951, 1954, 1955, 1959
National Association for Better Radio and TV, Man of the Year in Radio-TV: 1957
National Association for Better Radio and TV, Reporting and Interpretation of News: 1952, 1954, 1955, 1957
Freedom House Award: 1953

* * * * * * *

STATEMENT BY EDWARD R. MURROW
AT SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HEARING
REGARDING HIS NOMINATION AS
DIRECTOR, U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1961

My name is Edward R. Murrow. I was christened Egbert but abandoned that name at the age of 16 while working in logging camps in Western Washington.

Most of my adult life has been spent in the periphery of the academic world and in the field of radio and television. These activities have involved considerable travel, at home and abroad, and some acquaintance with statesmen, educators and newsmen in many countries.

As a foreign correspondent, I am more familiar with the work of the U.S. Information Agency abroad than here in Washington.

At the conclusion of a trip around the world several months ago, I gave it as my opinion that the work of USIA abroad had improved very considerably under the direction of Ambassador George Allen and am pleased to have the opportunity to repeat that opinion here.

If I am confirmed in the office to which the President has nominated me, I shall attempt to discharge the duties and responsibilities of that office to the best of my ability.

The Agency will attempt to make United States policy, as designed by the President, everywhere intelligible and wherever possible, palatable. We shall endeavor to reflect with fidelity to our allies, to the uncommitted nations, and to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals.

(more)

We shall operate on the basis of truth. Being convinced that we are engaged in hot and implacable competition with communist forces around the world, we will not be content to counter their lies and distortions. We shall constantly reiterate our faith in freedom.

To the emerging nations we shall say, "We share your dreams." There is a dynamism in freedom which permits and encourages progress without binding the individual to the wheel of the state. We shall try to make it clear that we as a nation are not allergic to change and have no desire to sanctify the status quo. This nation not only has a birth certificate, it holds the patent rights on change and revolution by consent.

The Agency will try to speak on behalf of all the American people with restraint and reason. All of us in the Agency recognize that in spite of electronic developments, the best form of communications is still face-to-face. To that end, any men and women we recruit and train must be able and eager to serve the cause of freedom which we regard as being indivisible.

The voice of this country should at all times be steady -- firm but not bellicose -- carrying the conviction that we will not flinch or falter in the face of threats or provocations.

In the end of the day it may well be that the example of this nation will be more important than its dollars or its words. If we, in this generous and capacious land, can demonstrate increasing equality of opportunity, social justice, a reasoned concern for the education, health and the equality under law of all our citizens, we will powerfully affect, and probably determine,

(more)

the destiny of the free world and that freedom may be contagious, may incite those who have lost that most precious of all possessions to strive to do likewise.

No man can set either a time or dollar limit upon this contest between the forces of freedom and those who would demean and brutalize mankind. The contest will be prolonged and it will cost much treasure. There is no guarantee that we will win it. If we should lose, it will be by default, and history will take its revenge. We cannot imitate the tactics or the techniques of the dictatorships that now ride the backs of most of this planet's people. We cannot threaten, we must persuade. Freedom cannot be imposed, it must be sought for, and frequently fought for.

We live in a world we didn't make. We are honored by an awesome responsibility of leadership we did not seek. We must defend and expand that leadership in company with our allies and other like-minded peoples because that is what our history and our heritage demand of us. We are the pivot upon which the history of our time will turn. Our task is formidable and difficult but difficulty is one excuse history has never accepted.

We must, I think, approach the task with patience and fortitude and with an abiding belief that not only our own ancestors who bought our freedom for us but all those who have suffered and struggled and died in the pursuit of freedom throughout all time are watching to see whether we be worthy of our heritage.

If I am confirmed in the office to which the President has appointed me, I will, together with my colleagues in the Agency, attempt to be worthy of the trust.

SUMMARY

Nuclear testing in the Pacific produced a climate of opinion which could be described as generally mild with showers and occasional thunderstorms.

After heavy news coverage of the initial atmospheric test, extensive world press comment was characterized by tolerant understanding. Few took a hard position for or against the U. S. action. Most comment included qualifying statements, and the effect was to soften the chosen position.

Headlines and news accounts usually were unbiased, but frequently were accompanied by other stories and photographs of anti-test demonstrations. Both news and comment reflected the sensitive and highly controversial nature of nuclear testing.

Expressions of regret, dismay, and disapproval revealed humanity's deep and emotional concern over the potential dangers of continued nuclear testing as clearly as the rare bitter outbursts.

Beyond the general health hazard, the most common and overriding fear was the specter of a never-ending nuclear arms race leading to world disaster.

Press comment--even the most critical--exhibited an awareness of the U. S. position on testing. The most critical comments came from Africa, Syria, Iraq, India and the UAR where free world defense needs were not considered sufficient justification for resumed U. S. testing. Generally, opposition was to nuclear testing by any power, including the Soviet Union.

Strong moral support for the U. S. action came in comment from Western Europe, Latin America, the CENTO/NATO countries of the Near and Middle East, Israel, Thailand, Taiwan, the Philippines, and South Korea. In these areas and countries the U. S. position was accepted and U. S. testing was thought to be in keeping with its responsibilities toward the free world. At the same time, the Soviet Union was openly criticized for its previous tests which broke the moratorium.

The Japanese press--in marked contrast to current leftist-led demonstrations--continued to take a balanced approach to the question of U. S. tests. While making it clear that U. S. testing could never be condoned, comment emphasized that it was the Soviet Union which broke the test moratorium and has refused to accept international inspection.

Comment from India, most of Southeast Asia, and to a lesser extent the UAR, expressed dismay, concern, and frequently mild rebuke, but at the same time, acknowledged that the U. S. had no alternative in view of the previous Soviet tests. Prevailing comment from the UAR (Egypt), however, voiced a "plague on both your houses" and accused the U. S. of imperiling the peace and the possible effectiveness of the Geneva conference.

African press comment was the primary source of the most denunciatory statements on U. S. testing, but even in this area views were mixed. From Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, and to a lesser extent Nigeria, comment was critical but recognized some justification for the U. S. testing. The strongest anti-test views were held in sub-Saharan Africa where the U. S. was accused of imperiling the peace, endangering humanity and sabotaging the Geneva conference. But even there, editors blamed the U. S. and the Soviet Union.

USIA

BLAIR CLARK
NEWS ANALYSIS
January 29, 1961

This is Blair Clark of CBS News in New York with news analysis ... of a career that has spanned all broadcasting and has focused on truth in an era of propaganda ... in just a moment.

Edward R. Murrow is in Washington tonight where he is about to take on one of the toughest assignments of the new administration and of his own long and distinguished professional life. President Kennedy has appointed Murrow to head the United States Information Agency.

CBS's Murrow is 52 years old, yet he is the pioneer, the originator, the grand old man of broadcast journalism. There is no one to compare with him in venerability, but it has all happened in one generation ... and Murrow, no matter what he thinks, is still young, in everything but experience. This reporter is struggling to be objective about Ed Murrow, as Murrow would insist that he be if he could edit this broadcast. And so, one must go to other authorities for an appraisal of the man whose job it will be to present and focus our nation's image abroad. This morning in The New York Times, James Reston, the top man for that newspaper in Washington, described Murrow as "the most influential reporter of his time." If so, his vast influence ... which has rather worried Murrow, and made him sweat, more than it has tickled him ... is due to two phenomena. One is the fact of electronic journalism itself, which, for better or worse, has made it possible to reach and affect more people faster and more profoundly than any other medium of

communication. And in this medium of radio and television, Murrow has been able to CONNECT events and people far away in a manner and style that no one has been able to imitate. Who that was alive and able to feel, and spoke English, can forget Ed Murrow 20 years ago evoking the situation of the British people standing alone against Hitler's totalitarianism? THIS is the other phenomenon of Murrow .. because he produced this effect, not by sentimentality, and certainly not by editorial pleading, but by the recital of facts about which he cared. He knew it was important that his countrymen should know them. If they concluded differently than he did, then that was a political judgment on their part which it was their right and duty to make ... at least they would KNOW more about the facts to be decided upon than before he went to work. And this same view and spirit has animated Ed Murrow as a reporter ever since he first said, "This ... is London."

Now Murrow will be in a different line of work ... not informing his fellow-citizens on the things they should know, but telling the rest of the world about his fellow-Americans and what they collectively are up to.

It is impossible for this reporter to imagine Ed Murrow deliberately twisting a fact. I have never seen or heard of his doing it. It is not in his nature or in the nature of the tradition here, which he founded. It is natural to conclude, therefore, that the propaganda (if that is what it can still be called when it assays high in truth) that will emanate from Edward R. Murrow's United States Information Agency will be long on fact ... the truth itself as one honest man sees it. And maybe this is the best propaganda.

piece-1 10:00 AM HARRY REASONER
JAN. 30 1961

The mission of the United States information agency under the law is two-fold--to tell the rest of the world the truth about America, and to tell the rest of the world the truth about America's opponents in the cold war. All of the laws setting up the agency and staffing it stress this: there is no requirement or intention to twist the truth or strain it. Therefore, a reporter with a high respect for the truth and a good deal of experience in looking at it clear ought to do all right as the director of the agency, and CBS News Correspondent Edward R. Murrow, named to the job over the weekend, thinks he will. His first comment recalled the effectiveness of wartime reporters in and out of government who told the truth even when it was not very flattering. His aim now, said Murrow, will be to get some of the people in this country with great skill in communication to help the agency build a picture of the United States on a rugged basis of truth.

In the agency, Murrow will find a good many dedicated people who have been doing just that--for nearly 20 years some of them, under a variety of initials and a variety of help and hindrance. He will also find some deadwood of the kind that piles up in any kind of

massive operation and who have nothing against the truth if it doesn't interfere with annual leave. The hope and the assumption is that a man of Murrow's background can tell them apart.

From CBS News, Mr. Murrow, Good bye and good luck.

...

This is Harry Reasoner reporting.

USIA

ROSENMAN GOLDMARK COLIN & KAYE

MEMORANDUM

Date February 3 19 61

To Messrs. Salant, Seward, Fisher and Green

Subject Ed Murrow

From Mr. Doskow

I hand to each of you herewith a draft of the proposed letter to Ed Murrow.

A.D.

AB:AE(S)
2/3/61
DRAFT

February , 1961

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
500 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In connection with your appointment as Director of the United States Information Agency, we shall describe in this letter (1) the status of your employment contract with CBS and (2) the nature of the current business transactions between CBS and the Agency.

I.

Your current employment contract with CBS dated January 1, 1957, as amended, is for a term consisting of two periods. The Initial Period is to terminate on December 31, 1961, and the Second Period runs for ten years from January 1, 1962.

During the Initial Period, the contract provides that you are to perform services, as required by CBS, for radio and television programs to be broadcast over its network. Your compensation is at stated rates per program and is payable only with respect to programs for which you actually render your services. Except for certain permitted guest appearances, you are to render your services exclusively to CBS, and you may not engage in any activity which would inter-

fere with the performance of your obligation to render such services.

During the Second Period, you are not required to perform any services, but there are certain restrictions on your right to perform services in connection with programs broadcast over stations other than those owned by or affiliated with CBS. With respect to each month of the Second Period, CBS is obligated to pay to you a stated sum. The aggregate amount of such payments is the amount of deferred compensation which had accumulated for you on January 1, 1957, under your prior contract with CBS. For this reason, the employment contract provides that neither CBS nor you shall have the right, directly or indirectly, to terminate the contract for any reason whatsoever.

As long as you hold a position with the Government, CBS will, of course, not expect you to perform any services under your employment contract and will release you from the obligation not to engage in any activity which would prevent you from performing services for CBS. You have completed your services in connection with the prerecording of certain programs which are to be broadcast during the current season, and you have received full payment for all such services. Accordingly, on the assumption that you are to be in Government service through the year 1961, your obligation to perform services under the employment contract is discharged

and no further compensation for your services will become payable to you.

During the Second Period of the term of your contract, commencing January 1, 1962, CBS will make the monthly payments to you which are required by the contract. Furthermore, CBS acknowledges that the restrictions imposed by the contract on your right to perform services for others during the Second Period are wholly inapplicable to any services which you may perform on behalf of the United States Government.

Under your employment contract, as well as under certain earlier agreements with the company, CBS has the right to broadcast radio and television programs embodying program ideas and formats which were originated by you. In the event that such programs are broadcast, you are entitled to receive certain royalties. You also have contracts with Columbia Records, a division of CBS, under which you are entitled to receive royalty payments on the sale of phonograph records. The company's obligations to pay such royalties to you will, of course, be unaffected by your Government service.

II.

As far as we have been able to ascertain, the only divisions of CBS which have current contractual relations with the United States Information Agency are CBS Radio and the CBS Television Network Division.

CBS Radio has long operated short-wave radio stations for the U.S.I.A. and its predecessor agencies. Contracts for such operations have been negotiated on a year-to-year basis with Government contracting officers. Since 1942, CBS has been operating stations at Brentwood, New York, and Wayne, New Jersey, and since 1945 a station at Delano, California.

The present contracts for the services of CBS run for a period ending September 30, 1961. In addition, the stations at Brentwood, New York, and Wayne, New Jersey, and the equipment used therein, are leased to the Agency by CBS under leases which are to expire on September 30, 1963, but may be terminated at an earlier date by the Government in the event of the termination of the operating agreements for the respective stations.

In substance, the operating agreements require CBS to broadcast programs furnished by the Agency at its request and in accordance with its instructions. They provide that

CBS is to employ the required personnel, provide executive supervision, maintain and operate the facilities of each station and operate the stations in accordance with the highest standards of the broadcasting industry and in compliance with all applicable Government rules and regulations. In return, CBS receives reimbursement of its costs plus a fixed fee. An estimate of the costs is set forth in each contract and may not be exceeded without written authorization from the Agency's contracting officer.

The CBS Television Network has from time to time furnished to the Agency programs for foreign broadcasts and supplied filmed material to it. Occasionally, it has also done laboratory work in processing prints of programs owned by the Agency. To the best of our knowledge, the only contracts which are presently in effect between the CBS Television Network and the Agency are two contracts granting to the Agency the right to broadcast programs. One of those contracts relates to the debates between the candidates during the presidential campaign and the other to a program in the series called "The Red Skelton Show".

We might also point out that Columbia Records, a division of CBS, has the current contract for the furnishing to

the Government of all sound recording and transcription services, including disc recording and pressing. That contract was awarded by the General Services Administration under competitive bidding. It runs for the period from November 1, 1960 through October 1, 1961.

Since the facts set forth herein may be subjects of inquiry by the Senate Committee which is to consider your nomination, we are furnishing you several copies of this letter which may be filed with the Committee.

Very truly yours,

Joe Johnson

PERSONAL

February 17, 1961

Dear Joe:

Help! I discover that the vast agency which I have the honor to head (assuming that the Senate agrees) has a total annual "representation fund" of $500. There are 40 correspondents in Washington, something like 400 here in New York and as you know, a constant stream of "foreign communicators" passing through Washington. My problem sir is this. I need to find a few thousand bucks a year for entertainment. I don't think I can get it from Rooney and am not asking you for it, but think that perhaps you could suggest some foundation that might be willing to listen. Do you think John Gardner would?

I think I can perhaps handle the home entertainment with my own funds, but as you know from experience, the occasional small lunch or dinner can pay big dividends. I will be grateful for your avuncular counsel.

As ever yours,

Mr. Joseph E. Johnson
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
United Nations Plaza at 46th Street
New York, New York

ERM:gw

Kieve, Robert

February 17, 1961

Dear Mr. Kieve:

I write to thank you for your courtesy in sending me a copy of your editorial for the week of January 30.

I can only applaud such forthright editorial comment. You may be right - maybe time will tell.

I note that in the copy you sent me, my name was misspelled. This is at least one error I hope to avoid in my new post.

Please accept my best wishes for the continued success of your station and the continued candidness of your editorials.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert S. Kieve
Vice President and General Manager
Station WBBF
339 East Avenue
Rochester 4, New York

WBBF
DIAL 95
339 East Avenue Rochester 4, N.Y. HAmilton 6-8920

January 31, 1961

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcast System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed is a copy of an editorial broadcast over Radio Station WBBF. Like our other editorials, this one is, or has been, broadcast on a rotating schedule for a seven day period, at various times of the twenty-four hour day.

Since WBBF editorials are intended to encourage public discussion of important issues, we solicit statements on issues discussed by the station -- and we particularly seek out expressions of opinion contrary to that contained in the WBBF editorial. We hope, therefore, that you might wish to express your opinion on the issue involved in the enclosed editorial. We would be very happy to broadcast any one-minute statement you would care to prepare on this subject -- either in your own recorded voice or in the form of a written statement to be read by WBBF.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Kieve

Robert S. Kieve
Vice President & General Manager

RSK:ve
Enclosure

WBBF
339 East Avenue Rochester 4, N.Y.

EDITORIAL

Week of January 30, 1961

EDWARD R. MURROW

Edward R. Murrow has been selected as Director of the U.S. Information Agency. We're afraid that broadcasting's loss -- in this case -- is not the nation's gain.

Ideally, our chief of propaganda needs three qualifications: ability to formulate propaganda policy, ability to get along with Congress, and ability as an administrator.

Mr. Murrow certainly is capable of formulating policy. But, despite the Eisenhower Administration's determination to change matters, our propaganda chiefs have never really had a voice in formulation of the nation's highest policies -- and without that voice, ability to formulate propaganda policy is pointless.

As for Mr. Morrow's ability to get along with Congress: we fear that he takes himself perhaps just a bit too seriously -- both off and on the screen -- and that he is perhaps too impatient with poor logic to deal effectively with such career critics of the U.S.I.A. as Congressman John Rooney.

And, as an administrator, Murrow -- when he quit his job as vice president of CBS many years ago -- made it abundantly clear that he did not consider himself very good. And if Mr. Murrow couldn't deal effectively with administrative problems at CBS, he is in for a a very bad time when he sets foot in the administrative swamplands of Washington.

So Mr. Murrow misses on two counts out of three.

As we've said in other editorials, most of the President's appointments have been splendid. This one, we fear, is more glamorous than promising.

When editorials are on controversial issues, the station welcomes and actively seeks out for broadcast purposes brief comment by qualified representatives of opinions differing from that of the station.

~~Marlo Lewis~~ USIA

March 8, 1961

Dear Mr. Lewis:

I am replying on Mr. Murrow's behalf in regard to your kind offer to serve within the United States Information Agency.

Mr. Murrow has asked me to thank you and to tell you that in the present confusion he sees no opportunity to utilize your expert experience and services. Mr. Murrow also asked me to tell you that he is most appreciative of your offer and will certainly keep in mind your willingness to serve. He sends to you his best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Marlo Lewis
50 Sheldrake Road
Scarsdale, New York

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

March 2, 1961

MEMO FOR GABY WACHSNER:

Please tell Marlo Lewis that in the present confusion I see no opportunity to utilize his expert experience and services but will certainly keep in mind his willingness to serve. Give him my best regards.

Edward R. Murrow

LOVELL-NUCLEAR TESTS

Carefully coordination
want + me -

JODRELL BANK, ENGLAND (AP)-BRITAIN'S MOST EMINENT SPACE SCIENTIST TODAY DENOUNCED THE AMERICAN HIGH ATLTITUDE NUCLEAR TESTS, SCHEDULED FOR THIS WEEK.

SIR BERNARD LOVELL, CHIEF OF THE JODRELL BANK RADIO TELESCOPE STATION, DECLARED:

"THE MUCH-VAUNTED DEDICATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE PEACEFUL USE OF EXTRATERRESTIAL SPACE WILL NOW BE SEEN AS A VEIL WHICH CAN BE TORN ASUNDER AT THE CONVENIENCE OF THE AMERICAN MILITARISTS AND THEIR ATTENDANT SCIENTISTS."

THE TESTS, EXPECTED AT AN ALTITUDE OF PERHAPS 30 OR 40 MILES, APPARENTLY ARE DESIGNED TO TEST THE EFFECT OF HIGH-ALTITUDE BLATS ON WARTIME COMMUNICATIONS AND MAY KNOCK OUT RADIO COMMUNICATIONS AND RADAR OBSERVATIONS TEMPORARILY.

"IT IS NATURAL THAT SCIENTISTS SHOULD EXPRESS VARYING OPINIONS ON THE SCIENTIFIC USEFULNESS OF THE EXPLOSION. ALTHOUGH PERSONALLY I REGARD IT AS ONE OF THE MOST CLUMSY AND DANGEROUS EXPERIMENTS EVER DEVISED, THIS IS NOT THE MAIN ISSUE," LOVELL SAID IN AN INTERVIEW.

"THE AMERICANS ARE TAKING UNILATERAL ACTION AGAINST THE ACCUMULATED WISDOM AND ADVICE OF THOSE WHO STILL HAVE FREEDOM TO SPEAK IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WITH AN UTTER CONTEMPT FOR THE GRAVE MORAL ISSUES INVOLVED."

SR430PED 5/29

Given to E. R. M. on Latin American
trip - Oct. 1961

THE ECUADOREAN ASSOCIATION OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING

WHEREAS: It is the inescapable duty of this Association to praise deeds in support of the betterment of radio and television broadcasting, and international solidarity,

WHEREAS: During his journalistic life Mr. Edward R. Murrow has elevated the standing of radio and television journalism with programs of Democratic content and advanced techniques.

WHEREAS his journalistic labors have transcended the borders of his country, making of him the leader of radio and television journalism as well as a resolute defender of justice, liberty and human dignity.

IN RECOGNITION THEREOF we praise the permanent contributions of the present Director of the United States Information Agency, Radio and Television journalist, Edward R. Murrow, conferring upon him the title of

HONORARY ECUADOREAN BROADCASTER

Given in Quito, October 12, 1961, Day of the Race, In the year of 1961.

President
Gerardo Brborich

Vice President
Manuel Mantilla

Secretary
Edison Terán

12-19 4;30pm

ERM:

Might want to see these before the Rusk meeting tomorrow morning.

RH

December 19, 1961

REACTION TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S LATIN AMERICAN TRIP

Initial reports of reaction to President Kennedy's trip to Venezuela and Colombia indicate fairly heavy news coverage throughout Latin America and moderate coverage in other world areas. It is still too early for a full assessment, particularly as regards editorial comment. Bloc media carried brief running accounts of the trip's various stages while coverage by Cuba's Radio Havana and Prensa Latina was voluminous.

Generally, non-Communist media spoke of the enthusiastic reception given the President and of the US attempt to put aid to Latin America on a more satisfactory basis in order to preserve democracy in that area. Caracas' Radiodiffusora Venezuela called the trip "an event of world significance" while other Latin American media stressed the "warm" reception accorded the President. Fairly frequent reference was made to Mrs. Kennedy. In Europe, the Italian press characterized the visit to the two countries as "a confirmation of the validity of the Alliance for Progress." British comment was equally favorable, and the French press also had some nice things to say. Arab comment was generally positive but was not lacking in barbs.

Communist media followed what appeared to be a uniform guidance in giving very heavy stress to the security arrangements for the trip. They spoke of brutally repressive police security measures, the use of large numbers of troops (the standard figure was 35,000), warships, submarines, helicopters etc. Radio Havana was violent in its denunciation of such measures and gave exhaustive details about alleged demonstrations against the visit. Radio Moscow said the trip was an attempt to halt "the deterioration of Latin American-US relations, while Peking's NCNA said Kennedy went to Latin America to "peddle" the Alliance for Progress "which is aimed at isolating Cuba."

All Communist media reported that a group of Venezuela students demonstrated against President Kennedy shouting the slogan "Castro si, Kennedy no!," but an Italian correspondent reported that what they actually said was: "Jackie si, Kennedy no!"

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Accra, Ghana
January 18, 1962

Personal

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Director, United States Information Agency
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It was an extreme privilege and pleasure to talk to you during your recent visit to Accra. I had just concluded a visit to thirty-two African countries as Advance Representative for ANTA and the Department of State in behalf of two attractions which are now touring Africa, the George Tapps Dancers and the Golden Gate Quartet.

I have had the opportunity to observe a great deal that might be incorporated into future President Program presentations and these are the most important items on my list:

We must not expect the USIS Posts to be schooled Broadway producers and promoters and therefore we should supply these Posts with as much advance material as possible in order to present the travelling attractions in the best possible light.

POSTERS: These should be 2 feet by 3 feet posters in English and French but not both languages on one poster as this has been done with the Tapps and Quartet posters. We look ridiculous putting up posters with French printing in English speaking countries and vice versa. These posters should have an eight inch wide white strip at the bottom so that the Posts can fill in the time, place, location and ticket prices of the attractions. The posters should be printed in light colors - red on white, blue on white, etc. No dark background as this has happened with the aforementioned posters. If they are fastened against a tree and the poster has a dark background, nobody can see it.

PLASTIC MATS: Very few posts have facilities to reproduce 8x10 glossies and there are no local facilities in the majority of African cities to do this kind of work.

8x10 GLOSSIES: In addition to the plastic mats these are badly needed for displays in store windows, easels in theatre and hotel lobbies, USIS library windows, etc.

PUBLICITY STORIES: These need better preparation for the specific tour in mind. They cannot contain data of forty people groups if only 5 or 10 comprise the company. The talent agencies which supply the State Department with promotional material of their respective attractions should be told to prepare up-to-the-minute stories. Tapps may have had at different occasions companies of forty people but he is not in Africa with forty people.THESE STORIES MUST BE SENT OUT IN FRENCH FOR ALL THE FRENCH SPEAKING COUNTRIES. THE POSTS ARE NOT EQUIPPED NOR DO THEY HAVE THE TIME TO DO MUCH TRANSLATING.

CONTRACTS: All contracts should be sent out bi-lingual. There is no sense handing a contract in English to a Minister of Sports and Youth in Ouagadougou.

FILM CLIPS: 30 and 60 seconds film clips of the attractions are very important for local movie theatres. These film clips should be titled with mentioning of date of shows, location and ticket prices to be shown in local theatres. The titles should be inserted beforehand after the posts send this information to the proper agency. Movies are a great source of entertainment in Africa and Africans will thus see our attractions advertised ahead of time.

TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT: All shows should travel self contained. They should carry their own electronic piano (pianos are hard to come by in Africa) enough sound and lighting equipment and outdoor horns for amplification if the shows have outdoor dates. I feel that great harm is done if we are sending out a good show that can neither be heard or seen due to lack of technical equipment. I'd rather reduce the cast than to sacrifice adaquate technical equipment together with the services of a qualified technician.

ITINERARY OF SHOWS: As you know, Mr. Murrow, Africa is a mighty big country and it is also a very difficult country in regard to climate. I think that the tours of the shows are too long. Someone, at the end of the tour, is getting a lot of tired shows. If a long tour is planned - and the Quartet will do a 22 week tour - then such a tour should be broken up with

a little vacation in strategic places in order to have the attraction relax a little and then go on fresh. I think that this would be a cheaper way than to send out more than one show of the same type to cover Africa. On the other hand though, I think we do not saturate the countries enough. There are countries such as Ghana where we have to travel every day for six days in order to cover the hinterland too. It's impossible to race through a country such as Ghana in six days. More time should be allotted for the shows for each country. The Posts are naturally interested not to bring attractions only to the capital cities. A very important point in this connection is that the shows in the capitals are usually bought out by entertainment starved Europeans while the Africans, whom we want to reach, are left out. This is not nearly so much the case when we go into the smaller cities where we really get to the native population. The only way to lick this problem is to send out a big spectecular show that is suitable for large open air stadiums where anywhere up to 10,000 people can be accommodated.

Type of SHOWS: It has been my experience and oberservation that Africa is not ready for Mozart or Heifetz but it is ready for shows with lots of color, razzmatazz, comedy, speed and loud music. A good Variety Show, a Roller Skating Show (same structure as an Ice Show, only a floor is used in stead of ice and it's much easier to install and to operate), the Harlem Globetrotters are all suitable attractions. If anything musical is sent, it should be a record name. Next to movies, radio and records are the sources of entertainment here in Africa and almost all big American record names are big here too. The name of Mehelia Jackson, Joyce Bryant, Harry Belafonte, The Platters are constantly mentioned to me on this tour. Do not send mediocre attractions. They are in most cases unknown anyway and so much harder to publicize and to sell.

These are my oberservations, Mr. Murrow, and I want to thank you for the opportunity to have been able to voice them.

Kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Original sent to Washington, D.C.

HARRY HIRSCH
Advance Representative
American National Theatre & Academy

CABLES: THEATREUSA

HARRY HIRSCH
ADVANCE REPRESENTATIVE
INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL EXCHANGE SERVICE
AMERICAN NATIONAL THEATRE & ACADEMY (ANTA)

TELEPHONE
PLAZA 7-4133

1545 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

February 9 - Friday - 5:30 p.m.

CIEG

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Resigned for government service.

HARLAN CLEVELAND
ERLE COCKE, JR.
C. DOUGLAS DILLON
LINCOLN GORDON
W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

JANUARY 31, 1962

Yes! accepted DO 2/6/62

THE HONORABLE
EDWARD R. MURROW
DIRECTOR
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

DEAR ED:

ON FEBRUARY 9TH AT 5:30 P.M. WE ARE GIVING A RECEPTION FOR OUR NEWLY ENLARGED BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND FOR THE MEMBERS OF OUR INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL HERE AT THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH, 1720 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE.

OUR TRUSTEES ARE LISTED ON THIS LETTERHEAD, AND I AM ENCLOSING A LIST OF OUR INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL. THIS RECEPTION WILL FOLLOW A MEETING OF OUR BOARD WHICH HAS BEEN CALLED TO ASSESS PROGRESS OF OUR PLANS FOR A WORLD ECONOMIC PROGRESS ASSEMBLY AND EXPOSITION AND TO PLAN FOR A GREATLY EXPANDED ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF CIEG.

AS YOU ARE PROBABLY AWARE, PRESIDENT KENNEDY HAS EXPRESSED KEEN INTEREST IN OUR FORTHCOMING EVENT, AND THE CONGRESS HAS PASSED A JOINT RESOLUTION COMMENDING THIS ACTIVITY. I AM ATTACHING A COPY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO JOIN US.

SINCERELY YOURS,

ERIC JOHNSTON
PRESIDENT

Send letter to DMW

ACCEPT_____ REGRET_____

ERIC JOHNSTON *President* • **ROBERT E. ASHER** *Vice-President* • **HARRIETT S. CROWLEY** *Secretary-Treasurer*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1961

Dear Mr. Johnston:

The Assembly and Exposition described in your letter of May fifth is a most welcome response to the urgent need to broaden understanding, at home and abroad, of the progress and challenges of international economic development. It is my hope that participation in this undertaking will be broad and representative of the many governments and public and private organizations active in the growing cooperative international response to the aspirations of people everywhere for a better life.

The participation of the American people, through various United States Government programs, in the development of the economies of other nations and in the evolution of international institutions devoted to economic growth is an integral part of the story to be projected at the proposed Exposition. I am instructing the various agencies and departments of the Government concerned with this subject to assist in every way possible in contributing to the success of the event and to work with your organization on the U. S. Government participation in the Assembly and Exposition.

Sincerely,

John F. Kennedy

Mr. Eric Johnston
President
Center for International Economic Growth
Washington, D. C.

THE HONORABLE HERMANN J. ABS, DEUTSCHE BANK, GERMANY

THE HONORABLE MIGUEL CUADERNO, FORMER GOVERNOR, CENTRAL BANK OF THE PHILIPPINES

THE HONORABLE ALVARO ALONSO-CASTRILLO, COUNCIL OF STATE, SPAIN

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THE HONORABLE CHRISTIAN A. HERTER, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE, U.S.A.

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HIS EXCELLENCY CHARLES MALIK, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

THE HONORABLE JEAN MONNET, ACTION COMMITTEE FOR A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

HIS EXCELLENCY JOSE A. MORA, ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

PROFESSOR GUNNAR MYRDAL, UNIVERSITY OF STOCKHOLM

HIS EXCELLENCY B. K. NEHRU, AMBASSADOR OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES

THE HONORABLE U NYUN, U.N. ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

HIS EXCELLENCY EGIDIO ORTONA, DIRECTOR GENERAL, ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ITALY

THE HONORABLE LESTER B. PEARSON, HOUSE OF COMMONS, CANADA

THE HONORABLE RAUL PREBISCH, U.N. ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA

KIICHIRO SATOH, THE MITSUI BANK LIMITED, JAPAN

THE HONORABLE ROBERT SCHUMAN, FORMER PRESIDENT, FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

THE HONORABLE VLADIMIR VELEBIT, U.N. ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

February 22, 1963

NOTE FOR: Mr. Malcolm Kilduff
Press Office
The White House

As discussed, please put on the telex to Palm Beach as soon as possible.

Edward R. Murrow

Attachment

D
R
A
F
T

Dear Mr. Moss,

In response to your letter of February 18, 1963, I am pleased to attach herewith our new policy with regard to the availability of USIA foreign public opinion polls. As you will recognize the policy represents a significant departure from prior practice and is in line with this Administration's continuing effort to assure the widest possible availability to the Congress of Governmental information.

The new policy is the result of intensive executive consideration and a most useful discussion Mr. Wilson and Mr. Plesent of this Agency had with you, Congressmen Meader and Fascell and Mr. Archibald on February 21. We appreciate the understanding you and your colleagues gave to the sensitive nature of much of the polling material. As we explained, opinion data is valuable only if it is accurate. We attempt to get an "honest count" by not identifying the U.S. Government as sponsoring our polls. Such identification

The Honorable
John E. Moss
Chairman
Foreign Operations and Government
Information Subcommittee
Committee on Government Operations
House of Representatives

could well terminate our ability to make these polls. Embarrassment to the Government of the country in which the poll was taken and a less open and candid response from the people interviewed would lead to that result. Indeed, the release of certain information which is embarrassing to the host country or to ourselves could seriously compromise our diplomatic position. These reasons underlie the previous policy and the remaining limitations on availability under the new policy.

I am certain you and your colleagues in Congress also appreciate the fact that opinion data is but one of many sources of information available to the government. Hence, unrestricted release of just a portion of the whole could tend to misinform rather than inform.

I trust that you and the Members of Congress will accept our attached policy as an important new step taken by this Administration and will in the carrying out of this new arrangement work with us to protect the various interests involved.

Sincerely,

Edward R. Murrow

USIA POLICY CONCERNING AVAILABILITY OF ITS FOREIGN PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

1. Foreign public opinion polls bearing the classification "Confidential" and the contracts under which such polls were taken will, upon request by the Chairman of any Committee or Subcommittee of the Congress having jurisdiction over the subject matter, be made available to the requesting Chairman and the ranking Minority Member of such Committee or Subcommittee. This availability will be made with the understanding that the material furnished will not appear in the records of the Committee or Subcommittee nor in any way be made public.

2. Polls bearing the classification of "Confidential" will be automatically declassified two years after their completion unless at that time the interests of national security require them to remain classified. The declassified polls will be available at any time upon request of Members of Congress or the Press.

3. Polls bearing the classification of "Official Use Only" will be made available at any time upon the request of Committees and Subcommittees of the Congress having jurisdiction over the subject matter.

4. Documents in which classified material from other agencies of Government is integrated with our polls will not be made available. The polls contained in such documents will be isolated from the other classified material and treated in accordance with points 1, 2 and 3 above.

2/23/63

Dear Mr. Moss,

In response to your letter of February 18, 1963, I am pleased to attach herewith our new policy with regard to the availability of USIA foreign public opinion polls. As you will recognize, the policy represents a significant departure from prior practice and is in line with this Administration's continuing effort to assure the widest possible availability to the Congress of Governmental information.

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The Honorable
John E. Moss
Chairman
Foreign Operations and Government
Information Subcommittee
Committee on Government Operations
House of Representatives

I am certain you and your colleagues in Congress also appreciate the fact that opinion data is but one of many sources of information available to the government. Hence, unrestricted release of just a portion of the whole could tend to misinform rather than inform.

I trust that you and the Members of Congress will accept our attached policy as an important new step taken by this Administration and will in the carrying out of this new arrangement work with us to protect the various interests involved.

Sincerely,

Edward R. Murrow

Attachment: a/s

IGC:SPlesent:mad:2/23/63

RW

USIA POLICY CONERNING AVAILABILITY OF ITS FOREIGN PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

1. Foreign public opinion polls bearing the classification "Confidential" and the contracts under which such polls were taken will, upon request by the Chairman of the appropriate Committees or Subcommittees of the Congress, be made available to the requesting Chairman and the ranking Minority Member of such Committees or Subcommittees. This availability will be made with the understanding that the material furnished will not appear in the records of the Committees or Subcommittees nor in any way be made public.

2. Polls bearing the classification "Confidential" will be declassified automatically two years after their completion unless at that time the interests of national security require them to remain classified. The declassified polls will be available at any time upon request of Members of Congress or the Press.

3. Polls bearing the designation "Official Use Only" will, upon request by the Chairman of the appropriate Committees or Subcommittees of the Congress, be made available to the Members of such Committees or Subcommittees. This availability will be made with the understanding that the material furnished will not appear in the records of the Committees or Subcommittees nor in any way be made public. One year from the completion of these polls, they will be available at any time upon request of Members of Congress or the Press.

4. Since USIA lacks authority to disseminate classified material originating in other Agencies of Government, documents in which such classified material is integrated with our polls will not be made available. The polls contained in such documents will be isolated from the other classified material and treated in accordance with points 1, 2 and 3 above.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

April 22, 1963

Dear Mr. Murrow:

May I express my personal appreciation, as well as that of the International Rescue Committee, for your very kind agreement to sponsor the IRC's 30th Anniversary. For your preliminary information, I am enclosing a list of over sixty distinguished Americans who have joined with you as sponsors of this important occasion. Also enclosed is a reprint of an article which appeared in the March 7th issue of the PROVIDENCE JOURNAL pertaining to the proud record of the IRC.

As the Anniversary Year develops, we shall continue to keep you informed of each significant event. In preparation now is a major booklet describing the work of the International Rescue Committee since its inception in 1933. A copy will be transmitted to you on publication next month.

I know that you are already aware of the magnificent service performed by the IRC during the past thirty years in the cause of freedom. Your sponsorship will help to insure that this vital work is fully appreciated by the American people during the Anniversary Year.

Sincerely,

Reinhold Niebuhr

RN/a
Enc.

Mr. Edward Murrow
5161 Manning Place
Washington, D. C.

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

FRANK ALTSCHUL
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PAUL D. WHITE, M.D.
THORNTON WILDER

4/23 -

Topic for Today

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL
MARCH 7, 1963

The Proud Record of the IRC

By Sevellon Brown

I've just been invited by the distinguished theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, to become a sponsor of the International Rescue Committee's 30th Anniversary Year. Before replying, I read up a bit on the IRC's history, aims and activities, and what I learned was so fascinating that I thought it might interest some of you, too.

The 30-year mark stretches back to the advent of Hitler and his Nazis to political power in Germany. Rightly suspecting that fascist persecution would send thousands of decent Germans fleeing into exile, a small group of private American citizens organized in 1933 the International Relief Association. For eight long years, this agency provided vital help to people on the run from the Nazis.

Then came World War II and, in 1940, the fall of France. This presented a particular problem, because France had been the main haven for European exiles. But the terms of the armistice dictated to the French by the Nazis required the former to "surrender on demand" those who had fled from totalitarian rule, especially leaders in various fields of democratic life.

To try to deal with this problem, a new organization came into being, again the creation of a group of private American citizens. They named it the Emergency Rescue Committee, and in the next two years, in the face of ferocious odds, they managed to smuggle out of Vichy France more than 1,000 of Europe's most prominent leaders, intellectuals and artists.

The two groups merged in 1942 to form what is today the IRC. During the balance of the war, the IRC continued to help anti-fascist refugees who had managed to make their way to Allied or neutral nations. With the return of peace, the committee shifted gears, as it were. The job now became twofold —first, to help thousands of "displaced persons"—war prisoners, forced laborers, expellees and refugees—to find new homes in the United States and other countries; second, to assist other exiles especially those of demonstrated leadership ability, to return to Germany, Austria and Italy to help rebuild their shattered societies.

People in the IRC might have supposed about this time that their work was nearing its finish. But no, far from it. As Dr. Niebuhr writes in his letter of invitation:

"It is a commentary of our times that the IRC—originally founded as a temporary committee to cope with a specific emergency—has by necessity become a permanent and significant institution. Rather than diminishing, the number and extent of totalitarian states has risen sharply since 1933. In turn, what was once a trickle of exiles has swollen to flood proportions—since 1945, more than ten million men and women have fled the Communist states alone."

In response, here are a few of the things the IRC has accomplished in that period:

After the Communist take-over in Czechoslovakia, a new wave of refugees from the Soviet satellites rolled across the frontiers. The IRC organized an Iron Curtain Refugee Campaign to provide emergency help for thousands of these unfortunates along an arc sweeping all the way from Sweden to Turkey.

When Moscow threatened to take West Berlin by force in 1950, the IRC arranged shipment of millions of pounds of milk, butter and cheese to the people of the beleaguered free city. Mayor Reuter credited this effort as giving a tremendous psychological lift to the West Berliners.

Aware that hundreds of thousands of people still remained in DP camps, and that among them were more than 8,000 of the "ablest, best trained men and women of Europe—a forgotten elite," the IRC launched a Resettlement Campaign for Exiled Professionals. In two years, this project had found new homes for some 1,700 professionals who, with their families, totaled 3,227 persons.

Perhaps the IRC's most famous performance came in the wake of the bloody and tragic Hungarian uprising in 1956. In two years' time, the organization collected nearly $3,000,000 in cash and goods for the aid and resettlement of about 200,000 Hungarian refugees.

But the IRC has not by any means confined its work to Europe. It provided notable assistance to many of the almost 1,000,000 Vietnamese who fled from the Communist north after their country had been partitioned. It has labored hard to ease the almost insoluble refugee problem in Hong Kong, partly through direct aid in that city, and partly by resettling Chinese exiles in Taiwan, Brazil, Canada and the United States.

And, of course, Cuba. The IRC has helped 20 per cent of the 200,000 Cubans who have reached this country since the Castro revolution took on its current character, and it has resettled about one-fourth of the 40,000 Cubans who have vacated the Greater Miami area. Today, the IRC concentrates its main effort on helping Cubans in this country, and expects to do so until their nation regains its liberty.

All in all, I'd say a record to be pretty proud of. I imagine you can guess what answer I returned to Dr. Niebuhr.

Seymour (Ind.) TRIBUNE
Feb. 6, '63

Millions Aided

The other day, almost unnoticed, the International Rescue Committee marked the close of its 30th year of activity. And in doing so provided a commentary on three decades of world history.

The IRC was formed Jan. 23, 1933, at a time when nazi storm troopers began persecuting Germans who were in disfavor with Hitler's cohorts. A group of U. S. citizens organized the IRC which subsequently helped thousands of persons escape the nazi terror.

The IRC's founders thought that the need for the organization would come to an end with the close of World War II, but of course it did not. The nazi terror was replaced immediately by communist tyranny.

Since 1945, more than 10 million men, women and children have fled the communist bloc—through Berlin, across Hungary's borders, to Hong Kong and to Miami. Always, the International Rescue Committee has been on hand to help them begin new lives.

The IRC's major effort currently is to aid Cubans who have fled their island homes for the U. S. Many of the 220,000 Cubans now in the U. S. have been assisted by the IRC, but many still must be resettled.

The International Rescue Committee, with headquarters at 460 Park Ave., in New York, depends on private contributions to support its work. Those persons who help it not only support a humanitarian effort now beginning its fourth decade, but help the free world gain unswerving champions of liberty.

Dear Murrows,

I heard the news from Don about the lung spot, and I can't tell you how depressing it sounds. If condolences are any consolation, you should know that many people back here have you very much in mind. I spent a day or two saying goodbye to people at the Agency. There was the usual nostalgia about bidding farewell to a bit of life and heart being left behind, but the most vivid impression I had was of people intently interested in you and how you were doing, people hoping you were better and getting more so, some who even offered to pray if that would help. Many you knew, some you didn't know, but there was enough real passion of concern to bring an occasional tear to eye.

They miss you. They all wish you well and want you back. Get well. And come back.

Another word of thanks for hospitality on my visit to La Jolla. The way things subsequently developed, lunch in the patio was the last decent meal I remember having. Luckily it was a good one, though by now it's beginning to wear off.

As for my decision, it ended with CBS. Fred was very persuasive. I suspect that some of what he said might have come from the blush of conversational enthusiasm, but as you reminded me he is a man of his word and will do what he says. He says two months and then on the air. I suspect that's a little exaggerated. Ernie Leiser says four to six months, and if they perform even on that promise I'll have little cause to complain.

I've been at this for several days now, and what an incredible conglomeration of institutionalized minutae pours forth. Life here is a petty parade of ceaseless details. That, as I'm told, is the business, and any week now the midnight to 8:00 a.m. shift should begin.

For the opening of the World's Fair, CBS News planned massive coverage of the massive stall-in threat by the CORE rebels. They plotted a marvelous slot for me: high atop a 350 foot tower armed with binoculars and remote radio, conduct a 360° horizon scan, and dispatch some of the 10 CBS remote units to the location of stall-ins and demonstrations. The weather forecast read rain, wind and low temperatures. Fortunately, the powers that plan thought better of the tower idea, and I ended up with a 19 hour consecutive stint on the central desk --- we took 5 minute sandwich breaks. The big difference from USIA: here they pay overtime.

By the way, before you vacate Manning Place I've something to add to your storage. It is a remembrance of Washington. I'll arrange to deliver it when I'm next in Washington. By the way, I plan to be back and forth to Washington in the next several weeks. If there's anything that needs doing with miscellaneous matters or arrangements, I'll be glad to lend a hand.

Take care of yourself and have a good trip East. The spring seems late; New york is still cool and damp.

Best,

Bob

c/o Cleary, Gottlieb & Steen
41, Ave. de Friedland
Paris 8, France

April 23, 1963

PERSONAL

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
5171 Manning Place, N.W.
Washington 16, D.C.

Dear Ed:

My longtime colleague and friend, Noel Bernard, who runs the Foreign Service of Radio Press International out of London, tells me you are coming to London in May. Both as a Voice of America correspondent there, and because he's always had such a high admiration for you personally, he says he would like to meet you on your forthcoming visit.

Very strongly, I feel you would find a talk with Bernard extremely useful. I've come to know him and his reporting and analyses well through our four years of helping to build up our organization (which now delivers daily feeds to some 120 U.S. and Canadian stations, including some of the most important). He is, in my frank view, the most brilliant analyst of European and international politics and diplomacy among all the working correspondents I know. In these recent years, for instance, through correspondence, daily telephone conversations, and our time together in Paris on joint jobs at the conferences here, I have found Bernard to be astonishingly prescient about what is developing and what is to come, and to have been a hundred percent correct in his forecasts and interpretations .

If you get over here, and have the time, phone me at KLEber 67-30. A very great deal has happened since our last good talk at the Crillon. And from over here, as you can imagine -- especially since Rusk tells us one thing here and tells correspondents another at home -- we become increasingly puzzled about Washington, and especially what the Administration really hopes to do, or have done for it, about de Gaulle.

Best, as always,

Steve

Stephen Laird

It was during this speech that Ed suffered a {and loss of voice / hemorrhage} (sp?) which occasioned his first operation.

J M.

PHILADELPHIA - SEPT. 26, 1963

FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION

Edward R. Murrow

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1963

Lv. National Airport at 11:10 a.m., NATIONAL #382, accompanied by Plesent
Ar. Philadelphia at 11:41 a.m.

3-man delegation from Federal Bar Association to meet at airport

12:30 p.m. - Luncheon Speech - National Convention of the Federal Bar Assoc.
Sheraton Hotel

6:00 p.m. - Cocktail Reception - BLACK TIE
7:00 p.m. - Dinner - 21 Jewel Square Club - Bellevue-Stratford Hotel

Lv. Philadelphia at 10:05 p.m., EASTERN 19
Ar. Washington at 10:47 p.m.

HERMAN TOLL, M.C.
9TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

OFFICES:
1428 NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

8325 STENTON AVENUE
PHILADELPHIA 50, PA.

COMMITTEE:
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

1428 Longworth House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.
April 23, 1963

Honorable Edward R. Murrow
Director
United States Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed self-explanatory letter which I received from my good friend A. S. Harzenstein, Chairman of the National Convention, as well as National Vice President, of the Federal Bar Association.

It is my privilege to be President of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Federal Bar Association, and for some time we have been hoping to get you to Philadelphia. Now we have an opportunity to share you with the national organization, and I very much hope that you will be able to be the Convention's luncheon speaker on Thursday, September 26.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Herman Toll

HERMAN TOLL

HT:Tnd
Enclosure

PRESIDENT
HERMAN TOLL
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

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SPEC. ASST. TO GENERAL COUNSEL MIL. CLOTHING AND TEXTILE SUP. AG.

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THIRD VICE PRESIDENT
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ATTORNEY — DEPT. OF ARMY

TREASURER
HERMAN TESTAN
ATTORNEY — DEPT. OF ARMY
HO 5-2000, EXT. 786

SECRETARY & NAT'L. VICE PRESIDENT
A. S. HARZENSTEIN
HEARING EXAMINER, IRS

THE FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION

PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER

354 2 PENN CENTER PLAZA
PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNSYLVANIA

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LOCUST 7-6726

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JAMES V. VERGARI
VICE PRESIDENT, FEDERAL RESERVE BANK

COURT CONGESTION & DELAY
HON. DREW J.T. O'KEEFE
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

April 10, 1963

APR 16 1963

Hon. Herman Toll
Congress of the United States
New House Office Bldg, Rm.1428
Washington, D. C.

Re: Annual Convention 79-63-
Luncheon, Sept. 26, 1963
Sheraton Hotel

Dear Herman:

As you know the Federal Bar Association is holding its National Convention in Philadelphia this year on September 24, 25 and 26 at the Sheraton Hotel. On the 24th we expect Senator Hubert Humphrey; on the 25th, Chairman John W. Macy Jr. of the Civil Service Commission (and Chairman of the Federal Executive Board). As you know from our past discussions, we would like very much to have the Hon. Edward R. Murrow for our luncheon speaker on the 26th. We have wanted for a long time now to present him with a special award. Perhaps this could be the forerunner of a "dedication day" in which outstanding and "dedicated citizens" may be given recognition for supporting our heritage and way of life in times of stress and strain and adversity; which characteristics are symbolized by Mr. Murrow on an historic occasion."

Since your relations are friendly and you are at the seat of Government (as well as being our Chapter's President), I thought I might impose on you once again to use your good offices to extend to Mr. Murrow such invitation on our behalf.

We will have in the program a session on International Law and Inter-American Law. And should Mr. Murrow accept, which I sincerely hope he will, we could invite some representation of the Inter-American Bar. I am a Vice Chairman (for Pennsylvania) of the Inter-American Bar and you may recall that we have had South American Embassadors and Ministers Plenipotentiary at one of our luncheons heretofore. The occasion might afford an opportunity in this direction.

Since we will have a National Council meeting at the end of the month, when I will wish to report, I hope you may find, in your busy schedule, the opportunity to present this invitation promptly.

With kindest personal regards and assurances of appreciation, I am

Sincerely,

al

A. S. Harzenstein, Chairman
National Convention

21 Jewel Square Club

PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.

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2900 N. Seventeenth Street
Philadelphia 32, Penna.
BAldwin 8-2300

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HON. BENJ. R. DONOLOW, 1961
HON. JOHN MORGAN DAVIS, 1962

August 29, 1963

The Honorable Edward R. Murrow
Director, U. S. Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In accordance with our telephone conversation this morning, this is to confirm your acceptance of the 21 Jewel Square Club's Public Service Award of 1963. The award will be made to you at a dinner in your honor given by the Club on Thursday, September 26, 1963 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. The dinner will be preceeded by a cocktail reception at 6:00 P. M. and the dinner will start promptly at 7:00 P. M. The Club would appreciate it if you would make a five to ten minute acceptance speech. The speech does not have to be prepared by you, and we will be happy to hear anything that you have to say. We will have as our head table guests that evening representatives of the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Philadelphia Bulletin, and the Philadelphia Daily News, together with representatives of our television stations CBS, ABC, and NBC TV. The head table guests, of course, are usually attired in black tie.

If there is anyone in the Philadelphia metropolitan area that you wish us to invite to the dinner as a head table guest, if you will advise me I shall be pleased to see that an invitation goes out forthwith.

The 21 Jewel Square Club is a Masonic social organization which is well known in Philadelphia, and we should have present at the dinner approximately 500 men. Every year a Public Service Award is given to an outstanding citizen who has contributed what we feel is best to the interest of the entire nation. We have among our members judges, lawyers, civic leaders, and also have in our membership

erm accepted 8/29
by phone

cc U/R for reply

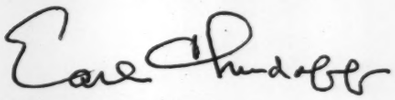
The Honorable George M. Leader, former Governor of Pennsylvania, and the Honorable John Morgan Davis, former Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania. Of course, I could list at least 100 outstanding individuals for you in our Club but I do not think this is necessary.

Since you will be in Philadelphia for lunch on September 26 as an award recipient and at the National Convention of the Federal Bar Association, of which I have the honor of being Chairman of Reception for Distinguished Guests, I will meet you at the Sheraton Hotel prior to the luncheon so that I might discuss with you any questions that might come to your mind concerning the evening dinner. We will make arrangements to have for your use a suite at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. Of course if you wish to, you may stay overnight should your schedule not make it necessary for you to get back to Washington that night. The dinner should be over by 9:30 P. M. Frequently, it is over before that time. We have appointed the following as a Reception Committee for you on behalf of the Club, and they will meet with you after the Federal Bar Luncheon and be at your service from that time on. The Committee consists of: The Honorable Harold H. Salkind, Registration Commissioner for the City of Philadelphia and Past President of the Club, Honorable John Morgan Davis, former Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania and Past President of the Club, Honorable George M. Leader, former Governor of Pennsylvania, and Norman H. Fuhrman, Esquire, President of the Club.

Since we already have the publicity wheels moving, would you kindly forward me by return mail some glossy print photos of yourself, together with a biography which we may turn over to the local press and television stations. I am looking forward to seeing you on September 26, and I am sure that you will find the dinner in your honor will be enjoyable and something really worthwhile. If you have

any questions or problems that I can help you with, please do not hesitate to call me collect at Municipal 6-3704 in Philadelphia.

Very truly yours,



Earl Chudoff
Past President
242 City Hall
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

EC:bb

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OCT - 8 '63

To Ed Murrow

Scarcely off the operating table, Edward R. Murrow is talking back. For the moment, the USIA director's spirit is confined to making "caustic remarks" about his hospital confinement, but we are hopeful that, given his fighting heart, he will soon be contributing his share to making Washington a livelier as well as a more progressive capital.

If the good wishes of admirers can help to speed his recovery, he must know he has them—and in abundance.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 9, 1963

Dear Ed:

How sad I was to learn of your recent illness. I hope this will find you resting comfortably.

You have my heartfelt wishes for a speedy and complete recovery.

Sincerely,

Pete

Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

1 copy of Who's in Charge Here.

Honorable Edward R. Murrow
Washington Hospital Center
110 Irving Street, N.W.
Washington 10, D.C.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

10-29 1963

ERM:

Your colleagues wish you well, and present these odds and ends:

1. There is a strong rumor around that you "have announced" that you will resign and return to CBS. We are told that an NBC news show carried such a story, but we have not verified the information yet.

2. Two big "cards" here with may amuse you -- one from ITV here, one from Beirut (complete with "wishing beads").

3. The redrafted opening statement for the Senate hearing is here.

4. A rough draft of the letter from you to McClellan, as done by Stan Plesent and Ben Posner, is also here.

5. Don Wilson, Lew Schmidt and I will be at your home at 5 pm today to talk about the Senate hearings. We will need to take back the opening statement and letter, as they should go to the Hill tomorrow, Wednesday.

rh RH

PS Lots of books, too.
RH

Statement of Donald M. Wilson, Acting Director,
U. S. Information Agency, Before the Subcommittee on Departments of
State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies
Senate Committee on Appropriations

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am here in place of Mr. Murrow who, as you know, is still recovering from his operation. The following statement, which was reviewed by him several days ago, represents the views that he had hoped to present to you himself.

Mr. Chairman, we appeal first for restoration of funds cut from our estimate by the House, and second, for relief from the administrative restrictions put upon us by the House. Details of our appeal were presented to the Committee by Mr. Murrow in his letter of June 21, 1963. Several revisions were submitted on October 29, 1963.

The restriction of our activities, other than radio, to their 1963 levels, and the administrative restraints imposed, would, in our judgment, cripple development of the kind of program this nation should and must have.

We received this year from the President a re-statement of the Agency's mission. It is an unprecedented document, for what it says and for what it does NOT say. We believe that to do this mission justice we must request the Senate to grant additional funds and positions over the House allowance. We are convinced that favorable Senate consideration is in the national interest.

Here is the text of the document re-defining our mission:

"The mission of the United States Information Agency is to help achieve United States foreign policy objectives by (a) influencing public attitudes in other nations, and (b) advising the President, his representatives abroad,

Statement of ~~Edward R. Murrow, Director,~~ Donald M. Wilson, Acting Director,
U. S. Information Agency, Before the Subcommittee on Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies
Senate Committee on Appropriations

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

We are here to present the fiscal year 1964 budget request of the United States Information Agency. We appeal first for restoration of funds cut from our estimate by the House, and second, for relief from the administrative restrictions put upon us by the House.

The restriction of our activities, other than radio, to their 1963 levels, and the administrative restraints imposed make it clear that the House and I do not agree on the nature of this country's foreign information program and the manner in which it ought to be conducted. Your acceptance of the House action would cripple development of the kind of program this nation should and must have.

It is my duty to tell you frankly that the Information Agency cannot achieve its mission with the funds provided by the House. To pretend otherwise would be to fool ourselves at the expense of the national interest.

We received this year from the President a re-statement of the Agency's mission. It is an unprecedented document, for what it says and for what it does NOT say.

Here is the text of the document:

"The mission of the United States Information Agency is to help achieve United States foreign policy objectives by (a) influencing public attitudes in other nations, and (b) advising the President, his representatives abroad,

and the various departments and agencies on the implications of foreign opinion for present and contemplated United States policies, programs and official statements.

"The influencing of attitudes is to be carried out by overt use of the various techniques of communication -- personal contact, radio broadcasting, libraries, book publication and distribution, press, motion pictures, television, exhibits, English-language instruction, and others.

"The Agency shall be guided by the following:

"1. Individual country programs should specifically and directly support country and regional objectives determined by the President and set forth in official policy pronouncements, both classified and unclassified.

"2. Agency activities should (a) encourage constructive public support abroad for the goal of a 'peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others;' (b) identify the United States as a strong, democratic, dynamic nation qualified for its leadership of world efforts toward this goal, and (c) unmask and counter hostile attempts to distort or frustrate the objectives and policies of the United States. These activities should emphasize the ways in which United States policies harmonize with those of other peoples and governments, and those aspects of American life and culture which facilitate sympathetic understanding of United States policies.

"The advisory function is to be carried out at various levels in Washington, and within the Country Team at United States diplomatic missions Abroad. While the Director of the United States Information Agency shall take the initiative in offering counsel when he deems it advisable, the various departments and agencies should seek such counsel when considering policies and programs which may substantially affect or be affected by foreign opinion. Consultation with the United States Information Agency is essential when programs affecting communications media in other countries are contemplated.

"United States Information Agency staffs abroad, acting under the supervision of the Chiefs of Mission, are responsible for the conduct of overt public information, public relations and cultural activities -- i.e., those activities intended to inform or influence foreign public opinion -- for agencies of the United States Government except for Commands of the Department of Defense."

That is our statement of mission. We have become the psychological instrumentality employed for political effect in pursuit of national objectives. And to help our country avoid propaganda pitfalls, we are specifically to consult and be consulted. This statement of mission constitutes formal recognition by the President of the United States of the vital role of USIA in furthering the U. S. national interest and combatting Communist efforts toward world domination.

You will note that it does NOT say we are to make friends, submit evidence, publicize activities, create a climate of opinion, wage a campaign

of truth, tell America's story abroad, or any of the other vague generalities that have described our activities in by-gone years.

This makes the Public Affairs Officer in each Embassy the psychological advisor to the Ambassador and his country team, and puts ~~me~~ Mr. Murrow in a similar capacity in Washington. The statement also lays responsibility on other departments to seek our counsel when considering matters which may affect or be affected by foreign opinion.

It makes us one of the several foreign affairs agencies charged with furthering U. S. policy objectives. USIA is the psychological instrument, the propaganda instrument if you will, in defense of American interests abroad, as State is the diplomatic instrument, as Defense the military instrument, AID the economic instrument and CIA the intelligence instrument.

In this age of the new diplomacy and the ideological struggle, we seek the resources and tools to perform our function as redesigned and now reassigned our Agency by the President. It is to obtain those resources that this appeal is addressed to this Committee.

It is important, Mr. Chairman, to appreciate the context in which we operate, standing as we may at a watershed of this generation's history. A nuclear test ban agreement has been signed; nations by the score have acceded to it. The conflict between Moscow and Peking may give us some cause for encouragement -- and some cause for concern, for we should remember that the nub of their argument is how best to proceed with the conquest and subjugation of the free world.

No one can safely predict what new constellations or combinations or even collisions may occur in the course of the coming year, nor with what opportunities we might suddenly be presented. And it is clear that there has been no relaxation in the implacable competition between our country and the Communist world, no declaration of ideological coexistence upon the front which engages USIA. The Communists continue their activity at a frenetic pace. We have no justification for letting up and every justification for increasing the pressure on our opponent, for USIA is now a prime weapon in the only global war in which this country is engaged.

The Communists think we are being effective, judging from the way we are excoriated in their press. Note some of these Russian comments on our Agency:

"USIA is a truly tremendous monster of the 'cold war,' which has no equal in other capitalist countries."
(Komskomolskaya Pravda, March 21, 1963)

"The U. S. propaganda machine ... extols the American way of life on every road crossing."
(Soviet Russia, July 18, 1963)

"USIA 'provokes sleepless nights in socialist countries.'"
(Radio commentary, June 9, 1963)

"USIA is a 'factory of lies and slander.'"
(Soviet Russia, July 18, 1963)

"The Soviet Union criticizes 'Murrow and his bosses' for their attempts to 'sell the world the myth of America -- the land of freedom.'"
(Literary Gazette, June 21, 1963)

"The close-fisted American millionaires spare no money for 'psychological molding' of peoples in other countries."
(Komskomolskaya Pravda, March 21, 1963)

Would that this last charge, Mr. Chairman, of sparing no money were true.

We believe we have made progress over this last year.

In terms of workload overseas, we have endeavored to reduce reporting from the field. This enables our foreign service corps to employ more shoe leather and less chair leather, and more time for the vital personal contact work with government leaders, editors, publishers, educators, and other foreign opinion moulders.

We have expanded our tours of duty for foreign service officers from two to three years, hoping to gain from the reservoir of experience created by more time spent at a given post.

The steps we have taken to enhance the quality and precision tailoring of our products have in considerable measure been rewarding. Some of our films and television output not only carry an impact message but compete with the best the commercial industry can offer.

Our Motion Picture Service, producing this past year a quality in films never before achieved by this Agency, has inaugurated a film intern program. From hundreds of applicants, five young and talented persons were chosen. Five more will be chosen each year. They bring to the Agency the vigor and imagination of the new and the eager. That they will improve our current output is without question. But that they will build for the future a reservoir of deep film talent and experience is the most promising aspect of an encouraging experiment.

VOA broadcasting has experienced dramatic improvement in technical facilities -- the first in a decade:

Operations at our Greenville transmitter site began in December. The plant is now fully operative; it doubles VOA shortwave power. Reports already show a marked improvement of signals in Latin America and West Africa. The Greenville complex was constructed within the original budget and time schedule estimated four years ago.

Four transportable transmitters, approved by this Committee two years ago, became operational last fall. Three of them are short-wave, and are now operating from Liberia pending completion of the large, permanent short-wave transmitting facility there. They are already providing a useable signal into West Africa and have improved our signal into East Africa. The fourth transmitter was erected in the Florida Keys in only eleven days during last fall's Cuban crisis and is giving our Government, for the first time, a strong and reliable standard broadcast signal to Cuba. You will recall that the Committee approved these transportables either as interim substitutes in areas where long lead-times were required for the completion of major construction, or for tactical use in cases of emergency. Their value for both purposes has been well demonstrated.

We have also endeavored to achieve greater precision and efficiency in Agency management:

In July, 1962, in order to focus greater attention on and achieve closer coordination of programs directed toward the Soviet and satellite nations, we established the Office of Soviet Union and Eastern European Affairs as a sixth Agency geographic area.

Late in calendar 1962, a small task force undertook to study intensively the Agency's program in West Europe. We have not yet finally determined what our actions shall be on all of its recommendations. It seems probable, however, that our recasting of the European operations will involve a gradual redirection of effort with reduced emphasis on fixed installations and resultant increases in flexibility. There will be increased reliance on expanded personal contacts supplemented by better and more timely documentation.

The quality of the junior officers whom we have been bringing into the program through a junior officer selection process operated jointly with the Department of State has been excellent. Under an arrangement with the Peace Corps, we are now recruiting those Volunteers whose success in working with nationals of other countries and whose demonstrations of qualifications necessary for Agency work mark them as persons of high potential.

We are continuing our emphasis on improving the language capabilities of our personnel, and are arranging their assignments in such a way that more of their time will be spent in countries and areas of the world where they have the greatest knowledge and experience. More than half of our junior officers now undergo, as part of their initial training, short-term language courses both in European and non-European languages.

We are reviewing critically the Country Plans on which our operations in each country are based, to make sure that all USIA activities in a country clearly support U. S. policy objectives in that country. Agency field officers

are under specific instruction to take a particularly close look at activities conducted through Agency-supported binational centers and at the benefits derived from mobile film showings.

We have given this year increasing attention to communicating with the dynamic elements of emerging societies -- the youth, the students, and the labor groups from whose number future leaders will emerge. These efforts must increase. At the same time we have continued programs designed to reach communicators, government and political leaders, educators, professional people, and others whose opinions will ultimately shape the policy decisions of their countries.

Our Office of Private Cooperation is working with over 450 American businesses which have international operations, helping to keep American businessmen abroad informed on major foreign policy matters. The Office continues to obtain free hundreds of thousands of books, mainly from publishers, for donation to schools, libraries and other institutions abroad; it is working to send abroad useful books that come first to Dead Letter Centers and are then sent to us by the Post Office Department; it devised a cooperative, non-profit program with paperback publishers called BOOKS USA which you may have read about in the newspapers.

Those are the accomplishments of the year past. According to the House report, we would be permitted no growth for the year coming.

For during this year to come, if the House report is not amended, this Agency will be compelled to make painful choices as to what needs must go unattended. Let me give you examples of some of those painful choices.

In television our output will have to remain at its present level unless House reductions are restored. Five years ago this Agency had almost no television operation. It is now still in an embryonic state of growth. We are only this year, for example, building proper studio facilities to produce our own programs.

In the same half decade that our television operation has been spawned, world television has followed the population explosion. Last year alone over 400 new TV transmitters came on the air in the free world. Their appetite is voracious. The time we get on them is FREE. We do not pay commercial rates or sponsor showings of our programs. The stations give us the time without charge. The reason is that they stand in need of quality programming, and our product is acceptable and improving in quality. Not to take advantage of this is to let a precious asset go wasting. When this autumn we finish our new studios and for the first time have adequate production facilities, we may not have the money to produce the programs. This, gentlemen, is like constructing rockets and planes and then failing to provide the fuel to fly them.

Chile begins commercial television this year. Jamaica came on the air this year, Bolivia plans to begin television within months, and they will soon be joined by four new African nations inaugurating TV service: Uganda, Tanganyika, Upper Volta, and Dahomey. To say that our budget prevents us from servicing this television newborn is to say that we are letting priceless opportunities go by default.

In films we have spearheaded the intelligent use of the motion picture in the national interest to a degree unprecedented in this country, with the possible exception of World War II. Our success with films is evidenced by the response from overseas as well as by the favorable appraisal of our effort by the press, officials in government, and members of the Congress.

We have attracted to the Agency some of the ablest young film producers in the country. We have begun to experiment with new concepts of film making, and have marshalled the talents of new and capable talents from the commercial film world. But film producers and creative people, to satisfy themselves and to be of value to us, must produce films. They must have the resources to put life into ideas. If they cannot do so, we stand in danger of losing them.

Further, we work now with producers who need quality support, both in staff and product. Both we and they have received accolades as never before in this Agency's history, but to continue to do that we must have the resources. We had planned, for example, to do 30 films this year on subjects such as Disarmament, Progress through Freedom on the U. S. social scene, and the Results of Communism. The budget cuts may slice this plan in half.

Last year we contracted for the production of 5.4 million books in our Low-Priced Book Program. We requested for Fiscal Year 1964 funds to increase that number by three million. The bulk of the translations will be in the languages of Latin America and Africa.

It is not necessary to remind this committee of the thirst there is for knowledge and education abroad. In Kano, Nigeria, for example, there is a USIS library that has more members than it has books. The books we seek to translate and put in the hands of the eager are the books that will form tomorrow's minds. A Communist or a free man is not made by a machine. He is a product of conviction, and conviction comes only from the mind. An idea must compete or die. We do not intend to let our idea die by default. But to support it we need the funds to translate to others the conviction that all of us here feel. We believe, Mr. Chairman, that these activities in the long run may be one of the most beneficial we perform for our country.

Our pipeline of supply is just beginning to fill. To compete we must have a planned, sustained effort. If we do not use the facility that has cost us so much effort to construct, it will surely waste away. We seek to make the effort, Mr. Chairman. We do not have the money.

Two of our key areas of concern are Latin America and Africa. In the lands to our south we had planned expanded programs on the Alliance for Progress to counter the appeal of Castro Communism. For the Alliance to succeed, a sense of local participation and an understanding of the partnership nature of the Alliance must be developed among the Latin peoples. Much of our increased effort for what the President has made a vital national objective now will have to be cut back. We had planned other specific projects: more native language sound tracks for Agency films, new and expanded efforts to contact students and youth leaders, more efforts to reach labor groups, hopes to make more and better use of television.

In Africa one finds repetition of the same sad story: opportunities begging, but insufficient funds to take advantage of them.

For the past several years we have used a small staff of teachers of English to provide instruction in the English language to government and private leaders of 17 French-speaking African countries. Our students have included Presidents, Cabinet Ministers and members of national assemblies. We now find that we may be forced to drastically curtail this program.

Further, we wanted to develop and publish in English an expanded number of "easy to read" books with special message material of interest to educated adults. This would have bridged the gap between presently available material with adult content and the inadequate reading capability of many influential Africans. Even more, we wished to expand the books that could be placed on long-term loan and in circulating collections through African libraries. Thirty collections of a thousand volumes each had been our goal. We also produce two newspapers in Africa: "Outlook" in English, and "Perspectives" in French. We hoped to expand circulation and distribution of both. Yet all these things now stand in considerable doubt due to budgetary shortages.

We then seek, Mr. Chairman, the following specific restoration:

The salaries and expenses request was cut from $157,921,000 to $142,750,000. We seek restoration of $11,821,000.

Further, prescribing the internal allocation of funds and imposing a position ceiling, as done by the House, would seriously impair our ability

to direct this program. We earnestly request that we be allowed discretion in determining how and for what purposes the funds finally allowed by Congress shall be spent.

We request reconsideration of the House action on two of the language limitations included in the appropriation:

(a) The representation overseas, which the House continued at its present level of $110,000 for the whole Agency for the entire year. This breaks down to about $100 per foreign service officer overseas, Mr. Chairman. We ask that it be raised to the $140,000 level requested.

(b) The fund for entertainment in the United States, which the House continued at its present level of $500 for the entire year. We ask that it be raised to the $3,000 level requested.

In summation, Mr. Chairman, we will be in the paradoxical position of trying to increase facilities but having to decrease programs. We will have constructed TV studios, but we will not have sufficient money to make adequate use of them. We will have new access to the bright young motion picture producers, but we will not have adequate money to produce motion pictures. We will have labored hard to build a pipeline of books in translation to Latin America and Africa, but we will not have money to fill the pipeline.

Mr. Murrow has been at this job for more than 2½ years now. He is convinced, as am I that the Agency is becoming a more professional, flexible organization with an increasing degree of expertise. He told the Appropriations

Committee in the House that we did not inflate our requests in anticipation of reductions.

It is the Congress that must decide whether this Agency shall grow at a reasonable rate until it achieves a fully competitive position with our opponents. We have been long enough on the job to be certain that we are not wasting the taxpayers' money. Our knowledge of the strength of the opposition and the competency of the Agency make it imperative upon us to appeal the House reduction.

In this nation's over-all effort in the international field we have got to get our priorities right. At this juncture of affairs, the Senate is the only body that can put matters right.

10/28/63

(Draft of letter to be sent from Mr. Murrow to Senator McClellan, Chairman of Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations, and Senator Margaret Chase Smith)

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I think you will recall from our meeting in your office how anxious I was to plead our case for funds restoration before your Committee. In my judgment, that case is strong, and stating it with all the urgency I could stood highest on my list of priorities. But events have intervened.

Leading the USIA team in my stead will be my Deputy, Donald Wilson. I believe our Agency has developed into a highly professional organization, capable of playing its vital part in the front lines of the ideological confrontation with real distinction. Much credit for the sharpening and strengthening of our Agency must go to Mr. Wilson, who has been with me from the very beginning. Indeed, it is because of men like Mr. Wilson who have come to serve our Agency that I feel we are ready, with the support of Congress, to continue and step up our country's efforts in accordance with the President's recent redefinition of our mission. As you will hear, USIA has come under increasing attack from our Communist adversaries. We want to give them even more grounds to complain about us.

All the items for which we seek restoration are, I believe, absolutely necessary. But a few deserve special emphasis. In the field of Television, we have an opportunity carry the offensive. Last year alone over 400 free world TV transmitters went on the air. All signs point to a continuing proliferation of this medium. As these new stations come on the air they are in desperate need of programming material. We have found a welcome

reception for all that we offer -- and the plea is for more. We pay nothing for the time slots and we are generally given truly prime time. To take advantage of this unique chance we have recently completed construction of new TV production facilities. But the irony is that the House action blocks optimum use of these facilities.

A tremendous opportunity also exists in the film area. In large measure due to the increased quality of our product, the major overseas film distributors are now more receptive to a regularized booking of our films in theaters around the world. The audience potential for us is immense. But the lack of adequate funding will bar us from taking full advantage of our opportunities.

Our low-priced book program, especially in Latin America and Africa, is now geared up. New forms of distribution have been devised, specially trained book officers are in the field, and our momentum needs to continue. Funding on the basis of the House action means inadequate product in the distribution pipeline we have constructed.

Mr. Chairman, I think you know the satisfaction and pride this job gives me. I find it difficult to be on the sidelines at this time but gain some solace knowing it is now just a few weeks before my return.

It is clear to me that there will be no let up in the ideological challenge. I relish that challenge, and with the support of the Congress I am optimistic about the ultimate outcome.

Sincerely,

cc: IOA - Mr. Posner
IGC - Mr. Plesent

Edward R. Murrow
Director

Mr. Murrow

RP 10/29

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

October 29, 1963

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In his letter to you on June 21, 1963, Mr. Murrow requested a total of $19,931,000 to restore cuts made by the House in Agency appropriation requests. With your permission I wish to reduce this request $8,110,000 to a new total of $11,821,000, and to offer a few words of explanation.

The passage of time has made it impossible fully to activate the program that was planned to start last July 1. We have deleted portions of the work for which there will be insufficient time left in the fiscal year, and we have recomputed the costs of new employees who will now be recruited much later than planned. We are requesting restoration of $11,821,000 in our Salaries and Expenses appropriation, instead of $14,971,000 -- a difference of $3,150,000.

In the letter referred to, Mr. Murrow described a requirement for $2,000,000 (subsequently revised to $1,400,000) for the construction of power transmission lines for the new radio transmitter planned at Agoo, a location on the main Philippine island of Luzon. Difficulties in acquiring the land required from some 1600 separate owners make it possible that another location must be found. In these circumstances we cannot be certain that our requirement for power transmission facilities will remain the same. We prefer, therefore, to drop the request until we have more complete information.

The Honorable
John L. McClellan, Chairman
Subcommittee of the Departments of State and
Justice, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate

Finally, we have decided, because of developments in the Informational Media Guarantee program, to refrain from asking for more money than the House has allowed. We wish to drop our request, accordingly, for restoration of $2,960,000.

The summary, attached, shows the House allowance and our revised request for restoration.

Sincerely,

/S/
Donald M. Wilson
Acting Director

Enclosure:

Summary

U. S. INFOR

Revised Resto

(In thousand

Appropriation Item	Appro-priation 1963	Estimate 1964	A
Salaries & Expenses.....	$123,145	$145,971	$
Salaries & Expenses (Special Foreign Currency Program).....	8,500	11,950	
Special International Exhibitions.....	7,600	7,230	
Special International Exhibitions (Special Foreign Currency Program).....	375	500	
Acquisition and Con-striction of Radio Facilities.....	16,150	38,625	
Informational Media Guaranty Fund.....	1,000	3,960	
Total Appropriations, United States Infor-mation Agency.....	156,770	208,236	

NFORMATION AGENCY

estoration Request

sands of dollars)

House Allowance 1964	Increase or Decrease (-) bill compared with Estimate	Original Request	Amount of Restoration Now Requested
$131,000	$ -14,971	$ 14,971	$ 11,821
11,750	-200	--	--
7,200	- 30	--	--
450	- 50	--	--
12,070	-26,555	2,000	--
1,000	- 2,960	2,960	--
163,470	-44,766	19,931	11,821

Chin-Up Reassurances of America's 'Voice'

Words Versus Our Deeds

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Washington — It's hard to imagine what the Voice of America is saying to the world today. Able Edward Murrow is faced by a Kennedy policy as out of place as a tuna fish in a trumpet.

Murrow

Murrow's men (like the President himself) talk a good fight against communism. But that's the end of it. For American policy abroad speaks louder than any Voice of America broadcast. And where is our anti-Communist policy?

Mr. Kennedy's policy is appeasement as the world sees it. Nor will words make the world forget it so long as we say one thing and do another.

Statements on Laos

The Voice of America quoted the President's repeated statements that we could never permit a Red-dominated Laos. It summoned all free Asia to rally to the President's words. Then the New Frontier did a duck-out over Laos at the Geneva conference. In fact, presidential representative Averell Harriman even announced that "Laos isn't too important, after all."

Laos is about twice the size of Pennsylvania and completely flanks Viet Nam. With Laos abandoned, Viet Nam became largely undefendable — a fact known to, and stated by, Mr. Kennedy from the very beginning of his Laos exhortations.

So where are we now in Viet Nam? Not an American military man alive knows how we can contain the Communists in Viet Nam so long as we have given them a sanctuary in Laos.

Slightly Hollow?

While the Voice of America was still using 24 languages to repeat the President's anti-Communist pledges about Laos, Khrushchev built the Berlin Wall and we did not knock it down. At this point the anti-Communist "Voice" began to sound like the boy on the burning deck whence all had fled save he.

Cuba came next, and the Voice of America fell silent—as the President fell silent—about the Soviet build-up there. Beginning with President Truman's Berlin airlift, how silently the basic Truman-Eisenhower policy of rebuff has been abandoned!

Is the world to think that Red imperialism threatens us less in Cuba than it did on Korea's Heartbreak Ridge? What nonsense to send millions of Americans to South Korea to stop the Communist thrust 7,000 miles away and then stage the Bay of Pigs debacle (unredressed) 90 miles from our shores. How ridiculous to have blocked the Red thrust toward Quemoy and Matsu, and in Lebanon, and then end up having our Navy guarantee and protect the sanctuary of the Soviet lodgement inside our own defense periphery.

Chin Up, Boys!

Nevertheless, the dithyrambic "Voice" broadcasts "keep your chin up" guarantees to the whole free world. Ed Murrow has his work cut out for him.

Even in detail, at the global propaganda level, our performance crosses up the Voice of America.

Blood-drenched Red Algerian Ben Bella, famous throughout the Middle East and Africa as a Sino-Soviet hatchet man and stooge, was nevertheless greeted on the White House lawn en route to his assignation with Castro in Cuba. Why? Moreover, our President actually stated, "Mr. Prime Minister, we are proud to have you here." Photographs of this handclasp went everywhere overseas.

Initialling the test-ban treaty in Moscow compounded the same fatality. Instead of treating this soberly and quietly as a long-overdue action by the enemy of freedom who broke the ban before, the entire (photographed) action, Harriman's bear hug of Khrushchev, Senate Foreign Relations Committee J. William Fulbright's benevolent clink of his champagne glass and the spectacle of our shirt-sleeved Secretary of State batting badminton birds at Gafra get the full, world-wide Madison av. treatment.

Many think Mr. Kennedy's appeasement policy is fatally wrong. Others rationalize it, avoiding the appeasement label all the while as they do the deed nevertheless.

But one thing is certain. President Kennedy cannot perform as he does and still ask the world to believe the Voice of America and stand firm while he himself ducks America out the door at the rear. For the President's fundamental weakness is the gap between words and deeds.

The Lyons Den

LEONARD LYONS

When the Winston Churchills celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary, their children presented them with an "Avenue of Golden Roses." It's a 50-yard fence of rose vines at Chartwell, the Churchills' country home in Kent . . . John LeVien now is filming Churchill's memoirs, and took his crew to Chartwell. But a premature autumn presented a problem:

Everything was *not* coming up roses. Most of them, in fact, had faded.

For his color film, therefore, producer LeVien wired yellow plastic roses to the real vines. "They'd never pass muster at the flower show," he said, "but they look fine in the film rushes."

For the first time in his long, distinguished career Leopold Stokowski has been invited to be guest conductor at the Boston Symphony. He'll be there in February . . . Burl Ives has been offered the leading role of "Gramps" in the musical version of "On Borrowed Time". . . A producer who wanted Rosalind Russell for a new musical refused the 19 pages of "riders" she sent with the contract. Her husband, Fred Brisson, therefore, bought it and will produce it.

When Ed Murrow left CBS to head the USIA his partner and co-producer, Fred Friendly, insisted that the door marked "E. R. Murrow" remain the way it was. Friendly's "CBS Reports" office recently moved to W. 56th St. Friendly ordered the old door removed. In the sumptuous new quarters, leaning against the screening room wall, is the old green door marked "E. R. Murrow"—waiting for the time Murrow may decide to return to his old job.

Jack Palance, star of TV's "Greatest Show on Earth," flew to Paris last weekend just to redo a bedroom scene with Brigitte Bardot for their film, "The Ghost at Noon." . . . Arthur Murray will sell eight of his French post-impressionist paintings at Parke-Bernet Dec. 11 . . . The Clairol Pavilion at the World's Fair will be the only building restricted to women. The company will offer free hair-coloring analyses to all comers.

ROSALIND RUSSELL

Arthur Fiedler, conductor of the Boston Pops concerts, lives in Brookline, Mass. Because his house is constantly invaded by squirrels, he's the only one who has a police permit to shoot the squirrels. Fiedler doesn't do the shooting. He phones a neighbor—who's shot 75 so far—to come over whenever squirrels appear. The neighbor, a Princeton man, usually arrives with rifle and hunting costume, dressed as if for a safari in Africa.

Dore Schary's daughter, Jill Schary Zimmer, who wrote about her childhood, "With a Cast of Thousands," is at work on her second book, "Present Company Excepted" . . . Barbara Baxley, co-star of "She Loves Me," was operated on last week. She's expected back in the musical in 10 days . . . Richard Tregaskis, who won his reputation with "Guadalcanal Diary," has just written "Vietnam Diary," about his coverage of the helicopter war there.

Henry Daniell, the actor who died last week, was a connoisseur of good cigars. Once, while he toured with Katharine Cornell in "That Lady," they were invited, in New Orleans, to Sunday dinner at the home of a prominent hostess. Daniell thought she might not think about supplying cigars, and so he brought one of his own. After dinner he took the cigar from his pocket, gallantly extended it to his hostess and asked: "Have a cigar?" She smoked it.

Adlai Stevenson will give a Hootenanny, with folksingers Addiss and Crofut, for all UN delegates, at the U. S. Mission on Thursday. He'll have a repeat Hootenanny next week . . . Because so many students requested tickets for Lucille Ball's speech at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, her seminar has been switched to the ANTA Theater stage . . . Raymond Duncan celebrated his 89th birthday by making a new pair of sandals for himself, for the winter.

Ben Shahn, the subject of two books just published by Braziller, sent his drawings to friends, as Christmas cards. Nelson Rockefeller used to be on Shahn's Christmas list, until he became Governor. Rockefeller was puzzled, and commented on it to a mutual friend. Shahn explained: "I didn't want him to think I was shining up to him because he's Governor" . . . "I miss Ben's cards," the Governor repeated. Shahn put him back on the list.

Franz Allers, who's had an eight-year career as conductor of "My Fair Lady," now is preparing to conduct the musical's premiere in Milan . . . The campaign to permit bars in theaters faces a major economic obstacle—bartenders' union wages for a few hours' work . . . Former Mayor William O'Dwyer said about his brother, Paul, who was the 11th child in the large O'Dwyer family: "Paul is the best argument I know of against birth control."

Francis Steegmuller, writing a biography of the French poet, Apollinaire, needed to research some documents in the archives of Monte Carlo. He could not get permission to have access to the documents. Steegmuller therefore wrote to Princess Grace, reminding her of the days when they lived in the same apartment house. The permission was granted.

11/12

ERM —

The story of a man who had the same operation you did, in 1932, and lived 30 active years thereafter.

RP

JAMES L. GILMORE, M. D.
BRAINARD O. HAWK, M. D.
GERALD H. CESSNA, M. D.
JAMES GILMORE, M. D.
510 CENTURY BUILDING
130 SEVENTH ST.
PITTSBURGH, PA.

November 6, 1963.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Director,
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

RH has acknowledged letter. RP 11/12

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have been recently informed that you have had a pneumonectomy because of a malignancy of the lung.

Although I do not know you, personally, I have many times enjoyed your programs, particularly on television, and also some of your books.

The disease from which you have been suffering strikes rather close to home. My father, Dr. James L. Gilmore, had the first successful pneumonectomy for a cancer of the lung, back in 1932. Following his operation he returned to Pittsburgh and he practiced obstetrics very actively until he was 78 years of age, when he fell and broke his hip! 1963 As you may or may not be aware, the life of an obstetrician involves a considerable amount of physical activity. During the last thirty years of my father's life, I think he took about three vacations, the longest of which was approximately six days. He was extremely active in the affairs of the hospital and of the Pittsburgh Obstetrical and Gynecological Society, of which he served as President in 1943. At the time of his last examination by our pulmonary lab at Allegheny General Hospital here in Pittsburgh, the director of that department did not feel that he had enough oxygen reserve to walk up and down stairs; however he still carried on an extremely active life, went to the office every single day except Sunday and delivered in the neighborhood of 500 to 600 women every year.

I hope that this will give you some idea of how limited his activities were because of the fact that he had only one lung.

Before I close this little note, I would like to thank you for all of the enjoyment that you brought to both my mother and father in the past, and to myself, with many of your interesting programs and books and I would like you to feel free to ask any specific questions in which you might be interested, if I can be of any help to you whatsoever. With best wishes for a very speedy recovery, and I hope to see you back on television in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

James Gilmore

James Gilmore, M. D.

ak

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

Nov. 22, 1963

Dear Ed,

Now that you are up and about--thank God--I want to tell you that I have decided to leave the Voice at the end of the year. It is a decision which I have not communicated to anyone but Henry Loomis, and shall in due course tell Alex Klieforth. My second term at the Voice has, I am sorry to say, not kept me in the close touch with you to which I was accustomed, through no fault of yours. We were separated by channels. But I have grown very fond of some of my associates, and shall always be grateful for having had th is work to do. And my fondness for you has grown, I might say, even across the channels.

I hope your strength will flow into you again in fullest power.

Sincerely,

Raymond

Raymond Swing

December 19, 1963

Dear Pierre,

As I mentioned on the telephone, I would be grateful if you would see to it that the President receives this promptly.

Sincerely,

Edward R. Murrow

Attachment

Mr. Pierre E. G. Salinger
The White House

COPY

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

December 19, 1963

Dear Mr. President:

I deem it my duty to ask you to accept my resignation.

As you know, I was separated from a cancerous lung in early October. The doctors assure me the operation was successful and that recovery to date has been normal. However, it will be several months before I can resume full-time duty. Were I to continue as Director of this Agency during that period it would mean that I could not direct its affairs as I would wish, as I have tried to do, or as you are entitled to expect it to be directed.

Shortly before he died, I spoke to President Kennedy and told him I might feel obliged to resign. After his tragic death, it had been my hope to continue to serve my country under your leadership. My inability to do so is deeply disappointing.

I would be grateful if you could arrange to relieve me of my duties by mid-January.

I have been privileged to serve my country for almost three years, and take pride in the Agency's accomplishments. If at some later date you feel that I can appropriately serve my country again, you have but to command me.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Murrow

The President

of the United States

11/27/63

Dear Mr. President:

The great and terrible burden of the Presidency is upon you. I take comfort from the knowledge that you assume this responsibility extraordinarily well prepared, and I wish you well.

I deeply appreciate the opportunity I have had to serve my country, and take pride in my Agency's accomplishments. But I feel very strongly that every President should be able to select his own key advisors and agency heads. I therefore submit my resignation as Director of the United States Information Agency, to be effective at your pleasure.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Murrow

The President

of the United States

1A-50 (REV) 10-10-58 EXCEPTION TO SF-50 APPROVED BY BUREAU OF THE BUDGET October 1958

NOTIFICATION OF PERSONNEL ACTION

SERVICE: [ ] FS [X] Domestic

1. NAME (LAST [CAPS]—First—Middle—Mr.—Miss—Mrs.)	2. DATE OF BIRTH	3. JOURNAL OR ACTION NO.
MURROW, Edward R., Mr.	4/25/08	3/21/61 1

4. THIS IS AN OFFICIAL NOTICE OF THE PERSONNEL ACTION DESCRIBED BELOW, WHICH AFFECTS YOUR EMPLOYMENT. GENERAL INFORMATION CONCERNING YOUR EMPLOYMENT APPEARS ON THE REVERSE SIDE OF THIS FORM.

5. NATURE OF ACTION (standard terminology must be used)	6. EFFECTIVE DATE OF ACTION	7. CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER LEGAL AUTHORITY
Presidental Appointment	3/15/61	

FROM—		TO—
	8. POSITION TITLE AND NUMBER DIPL OR CONSULAR TITLE	Director
	9. SERIES, GRADE, SALARY	U - $21,000 Per Annum
	10. NAME AND LOCATION OF OFFICE BY WHICH EMPLOYED	Office of the Director
	POST	
	11. DUTY STATION	Washington, D. C.
[ ] REGULAR [ ] RESIDENT [ ] NON-U. S.	FSS CATEGORY	[ ] REGULAR [ ] RESIDENT [ ] NON-U. S.
[ ] Yes	12. APPORTIONED POSITION	[ ] Yes [ ] Apportionment Waived STATE: [ ] Proved

13. VETERAN PREFERENCE				14. TENURE GROUP	15. POSITION OCCUPIED IS IN THE
No	5-pt.	10-pt. Disab.	10-pt. Other		[ ] Competitive Service [ ] Excepted Service

16. APPROPRIATION	17. PAYROLL DEDUCTIONS			18. DATE OF APPOINTMENT AFFIDAVITS (accessions only)
From: To: 6710100 - 3051	CSR	FICA	FEGLI	March 21, 1961
	X		X	

19. REMARKS:

[ ] a. Subject to completion of ____ year probationary (or trial) period commencing

[ ] b. Service counting toward career (or permanent) tenure from:

Separations: Show reasons below, as required. Check, if applicable: [ ] c. During probation [ ] d. From appointment of 6 months or less

For record purposes only.

20. EMPLOYING DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY	22. SIGNATURE (or other authentication) AND TITLE
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY	
21. OFFICE MAINTAINING OFFICIAL PERSONNEL FOLDER (if different than item 10, above)	23. DATE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1959—529377

1. EMPLOYEE COPY

Standard Form 50—Rev. Dec. 1961
U. S. Civil Service Commission
FPM R-1

NOTIFICATION OF PERSONNEL ACTION

(EMPLOYEE - See General Information on Reverse)

50-120-07

(For agency use)
56900

1. NAME (CAPS) LAST-FIRST-MIDDLE MR.-MISS-MRS.	2. (For agency use)	3. BIRTH DATE (Mo., Day, Year)	4. SOCIAL SECURITY NO.
MURROW EDWARD R MR. 1	S-2 01-22-64	04-25-08	000-00-0000

5. VETERAN PREFERENCE	6. TENURE GROUP	7. SERVICE COMP. DATE	8. PHYSICAL HANDICAP CODE
0 (1—NO 2—5 PT. 3—10 PT. DISAB. 4—10 PT. COMP. 5—10 PT. OTHER)	35	00-00-00	00

9. FEGLI	10. RETIREMENT	11. (For CSC use)
1 (1—COVERED 2—INELIGIBLE 3—WAIVED)	1 (1—CS 2—FICA 3—FS 4—NONE 5—OTHER)	

12. NATURE OF ACTION	13. EFFECTIVE DATE (Mo., Day, Year)	14. CIVIL SERVICE OR OTHER LEGAL AUTHORITY
317 CODE RESIGNATION	01-20-64	

15. FROM: POSITION TITLE AND NUMBER	16. PAY PLAN AND OCCUPATION CODE	17. GRADE OR LEVEL	18. SALARY
ID-0000 DIRECTOR	EX-A-0000 0000.00000	00/x	pa-1-$21000

19. NAME AND LOCATION OF EMPLOYING OFFICE
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

20. TO: POSITION TITLE AND NUMBER	21. PAY PLAN AND OCCUPATION CODE	22. GRADE OR LEVEL	23. SALARY

24. NAME AND LOCATION OF EMPLOYING OFFICE

25. DUTY STATION (City—county—State)	26. LOCATION CODE
10100 WASHINGTON, D. C.	08-0010-001

27. APPROPRIATION	28. POSITION OCCUPIED (1—COMPETITIVE SERVICE 2—EXCEPTED SERVICE)	29. APPORTIONED POSITION FROM:	(1—PROVED—1 2—WAIVED—2)	TO:	STATE
6740100 - 3051	2				00

30. REMARKS: [ ] A. SUBJECT TO COMPLETION OF 1 YEAR PROBATIONARY (OR TRIAL) PERIOD COMMENCING
[ ] B. SERVICE COUNTING TOWARD CAREER (OR PERMANENT) TENURE FROM:

SEPARATIONS: SHOW REASONS BELOW, AS REQUIRED. CHECK IF APPLICABLE: [ ] C. DURING PROBATION [ ] D. FROM APPOINTMENT OF 6 MONTHS OR LESS

PRESIDENTAL APPOINTMENT, RESIGNATION ACCEPTED BY THE PRESIDENT EFFECTIVE 01-20-64.

FOR RECORD PURPOSES ONLY.

FORWARDING ADDRESS: 5171 MANNING PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SF-8 ISSUED.

31. DATE OF APPOINTMENT AFFIDAVIT (Accessions only)

32. OFFICE MAINTAINING PERSONNEL FOLDER (If different from employing office)

33. CODE EMPLOYING DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY
IA00 UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

34. SIGNATURE (Or other authentication) AND TITLE

35. DATE 2751

1. EMPLOYEE COPY

STANDARD FORM 50
Revised December 1961.

NOTICE TO EMPLOYEE

KEEP THIS DOCUMENT FOR YOUR RECORDS. IT IS YOUR COPY OF THE OFFICIAL RECORD OF A PERSONNEL ACTION AFFECTING YOUR EMPLOYMENT. PROMPTLY CALL ANY ERROR TO THE ATTENTION OF YOUR SUPERVISOR OR YOUR PERSONNEL OFFICE.

I. Conditions Pertinent To All Types of Personnel Action

The personnel action identified on the face of this form is subject to all applicable laws, rules, and regulations governing Federal employment and may be subject to investigation and approval by the Civil Service Commission. The action may be corrected or canceled if not in accordance with all legal requirements, or if based upon your misrepresentation or fraud.

In addition, the grade of the position to which you are officially assigned may be reviewed and corrected by your agency personnel office, or by the Civil Service Commission.

Your performance rating upon entrance into a new position is "satisfactory" unless or until you are notified otherwise.

Items 9 and 10 show the common types of payroll deductions: "FEGLI" for Federal Employees Group Life Insurance, "CS" for Civil Service Retirement, "FICA" for Social Security, and "FS" for Foreign Service. Additional deductions may be made under the Federal Employees Health Benefits program, and for income taxes, bonds, and other purposes authorized by law.

II. Information About Appointments

Appointments to positions in the competitive service: The Civil Service Act places most positions in the "competitive service." The Civil Service Commission sets qualification requirements and controls recruitment for such positions. As a general rule, persons selected from civil service registers to fill continuing jobs in the competitive service are given career-conditional appointments. Such appointments are secured through direct competition with other members of the general public seeking similar work in Government agencies, and permit qualified employees to be assigned without further competitive examination to other jobs in the competitive service. Career-conditional appointments become career appointments upon completion of 3 years of substantially continuous creditable service.

The first year following a nontemporary competitive appointment generally is a probationary period, during which period an appointee must demonstrate his full competence and fitness for Federal employment. Reinstatements are also subject to a probationary period unless one was previously completed. Transfers, promotions, changes to lower grade, and reassignments during a probationary period are subject to completion of probation.

Temporary appointments do not confer a civil service status and do not lead to a career or career-conditional appointment without some further examination or qualification. Limited temporary appointments are made when there is no continuing need for a person's service, regardless of the manner in which he qualified for appointment; acceptance of such appointment will not remove a person's name from a civil service register on which he may later be reached for career-conditional appointment.

Appointments to positions in the excepted service. Excepted appointments are made to positions which are excepted from the competitive service by law or other special authority. Generally the employing agency sets qualification requirements and conducts recruitment for such positions. Such appointments do not confer a competitive civil service status or eligibility for movement to jobs in the competitive service; they may be made without restrictions on tenure, with a conditional or indefinite limitation, or with a definite time limitation. A trial period may be required at the discretion of the employing office.

III. Information About Tenure Groups

Employees are ranked in tenure groups according to the nature of their appointment; those with unrestricted tenure are placed in Group I, those serving under conditional appointments which automatically lead to full tenure after a prescribed time and without further qualification are placed in Group II, and those serving under temporary or indefinite appointments not limited to an exact time or date are placed in Group III. Within each tenure group, ranking is determined by veteran preference, performance rating, and total Federal service. If it should become necessary to reduce force, employees are selected for separation or change to lower grade according to this general ranking. Employees serving under competitive appointments and those serving under excepted appointments are ranked separately for reduction in force purposes.

IV. Information About Your Status After Separation

If you are separated or placed in a nonpay status for an extended period, your employing agency will furnish you with Standard Form 3 explaining your rights for unemployment insurance benefits. If you were covered by the civil service retirement system or Federal employees' group life insurance, you have previously been furnished certificates describing those programs; you can refer to such certificates for information regarding your rights and possible benefits after separation.

If you are separated from a career or career-conditional appointment, you may have reinstatement eligibility and can apply directly to any Federal activity and may be employed without further competitive examination; if you are a nonveteran and you are separated from a career-conditional appointment your eligibility for reinstatement is generaly limited to 3 years from the date of separation. If you are separated from a temporary or excepted appointment, you have no reinstatement privileges based upon such service.

You will be given any lump sum payment that may be due you for annual leave at the time of separation. Refund of an appropriate portion of this payment will be required if you are reemployed in a Federal agency in a position under the same leave system during the period covered by such payment.

V. Availability of Further Information

Consult your supervisor if you have questions about the above statements or the entries on the front of this form, or about other matters concerning your employment. This is particularly important on questions involving granting of leave, assignment of duties, and hours of work which are generally under his control. If your questions are technical, your supervisor may refer you to your personnel office, which will have copies of controlling civil service regulations, as well as your individual records, and so can best explain how they apply in your case.

☆ U. S. Government Printing Office: 1961—613492 #4

1. Agency and org

5.

7. Previous normal

8. New normal

9. Pay this period

87

10. Remarks:

14

19

STANDARD FOR
6 GAO 8000

and organizational designations		2. Payroll period	3. Block No.	4. Slip No.
USIA	I	1/1-15/64	82	

5. Employee's name (and social security account number when appropriate)	6. Grade and salary
Murrow, Edward R. 56900	U $21,000

PAYROLL CHANGE DATA 5 102

	BASE PAY	OVERTIME		GROSS PAY	RET.	FEDERAL TAX 3	BOND	F. I. C. A.	STATE TAX	GROUP LIFE INS.	HEALTH BENEFITS		NET PAY
s													
						Semi-Monthly							
s	875.00			875.00	56.88	142.50	18.75		21.46	5.42	6.31		623.68

cs:

11. Appropriation(s)

12. Prepared by vrp

13. Audited by JM

☐ Periodic step-increase ☐ Pay adjustment ☐ Other step-increase

14. Effective date	15. Date last equivalent increase	16. Old salary rate	17. New salary rate	18. Performance rating is satisfactory or better.
				(Signature or other authentication)

19. LWOP data (Fill in appropriate spaces covering LWOP during following periods):
Period(s):
☐ No excess LWOP. Total excess LWOP:

(Check applicable box in case of excess LWOP)
☐ In pay status at end of waiting period.
☐ In LWOP status at end of waiting period.

Initials of Clerk

RD FORM NO. 1126a
D 8000 1126-209

PAYROLL CHANGE SLIP — EMPLOYEE'S COPY

E.R.M. File. USIA

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 1964

Dear Ed:

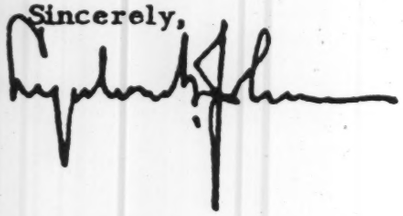
It is with the greatest reluctance that I yield to your insistence and accept your resignation as Director of the United States Information Agency, effective January 20, 1964.

I respect your feeling that a long convalescence from illness precludes your remaining on the job; the same high sense of duty which brought you to Washington now obliges you to depart. Nonetheless, I must admit I had been hoping you would find it possible to stay on. After your recovery, I will be calling on you for advice and help.

You have done a magnificent job in this post. Your entire life, your eloquence and idealism and sound judgment, your determined drive and sparkling personality all combine to make you superbly qualified for the task of conveying the true picture and purpose of this country to the world. You will be sorely missed.

You leave with the thanks of a grateful President and a grateful nation. I close, Ed, with a paraphrase of the words you made forever famous on radio and television: "Goodbye, and good luck!"

Sincerely,



The Honorable Edward R. Murrow
Director
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

Murrow, Edward R.

THESE ARE COPIES OF LETTERS WHICH WERE WRITTEN IN A LEATHER-BOUND BOOK AND SENT TO ED AFTER HE LEFT USIA.

- - - - - -

THE BOOK IS IN THE POSSESSION OF CASEY AND JANET MURROW.

(Signed) JANET MURROW

1/28/64

Dear Ed:

Long after your voice was no longer heard on our nation's airwaves, people remembered Edward R. Murrow. And long after you are gone from public service, people will remember what you did for your country through USIA.

You brought to your work unsurpassed professional ability - complete devotion - and an enormous capacity for hard work. Those are qualities seldom found in one man.

We will all miss you. But you go with our strongest wishes for a rapid recovery - and my personal gratitude for a job splendidly done.

With gratitude

Lyndon B. Johnson

For Edward R Murrow -

Who made the President so proud. You will never know how many hours of joy and pride you gave him - So many evenings, the minute we finished dinner, he would say "Come, we'll go down to the movie room for half an hour - there is a film of Ed Murrow's I want to see" - He must have seen them all - and I often wondered if you knew how devotedly he followed what you were doing. We saw Five Cities in June three nights in a row, because he would ask in other people he wanted to see it. He was so proud of the music for the Pope's part - which he said you had especially commissioned for that film. This Christmas in Florida - with Jack no longer there - I saw it alone - and then showed it to his Father..

Jack was only allowed to be President for such a brief time. But look at all that he did in those thousand days. And the greatest thing of all he did was inspiring men like you - to leave comfortable lives and come to serve your country - You made America proud of herself again - and you made the world look to us in a new way - as they had not for so many years - nor will again for a long time.

You and he served together - the same length of time. I hope that all you did together truly changed the world. If the world deceives us, and goes back to its old ways, then all we have is our consolation - that together with John Kennedy we served our country and gave it its most shining hours.

And generations from now - people will say "Do you remember when America was like that?" Your and his thousand days will have been our golden age.

With my devotion always, for all that you made possible

Jacqueline Kennedy

January 29, 1964

Dear Ed

A valued colleague becomes a part of oneself, and so has it been with you. To parse my esteem is not easy, there would be so much to say. You are an articulate spokesman for freedom - convincing because it is evident you yourself are deeply convinced. With full compassion for the pathos in the story of man, you bring harshness into the struggle for what is right. With full respect for the utter seriousness of large affairs, you sense that each of us has an unlimited capacity to be a little ridiculous. Having seen and lived through so much tragedy, you know that the race is tough and our country great.

We miss you at our table, but your chair was a special one and your wisdom is with us. All the best from all of us.

Faithfully yours

Dean Rusk

Dear Ed

Those of us who lived through the anguish of the early years of World War II and the even darker days of the McCarthy era will always remember "This..... is London", "I Can Hear It Now", and "This I Believe" as major sources of the moral courage and spiritual strength on which effective participation in the battle for freedom depends.

I am grateful to you for those past years of inspiration. Even more I am grateful for the wise counsel and warm support which I, along with your other colleagues, received from you during the thirty-six months of our association here in Washington.

We shall all miss your physical presence Ed, but you will long remain in our minds and hearts.

Bob McNamara

Dear Ed

You made such a difference for the President - for all of us. Your counsel, advice, ideas, stimulation will be so terribly missed. When you spoke - everyone listened -- When you raised questions you caused all to think -- and when you recommended courses of action whether they were always followed or not they always made sense.

And so we shall miss you - your colleagues here in Washington. But more than that I shall miss you as a friend - a friend whom I deeply admire and respect -

Bob Kennedy

Dear Ed,

No one has been as qualified by experience and understanding as you have been to speak to the world for a President and for America. A quarter of a century ago, your broadcasts from London described dramatically the life in Britain and the united gallantry of the people during that year they stood alone. Your voice conveyed their indomitable spirit with such clear conviction that it still lives vividly in our memories. In the last three years you have contributed immeasurably in bringing to the world the spirit of President Kennedy. He spoke to the hearts of people expressing the highest ideals of our American tradition. You understood this profoundly and daily you helped bring his inspiration and the aims of the country he led to people the world over. When he died, people everywhere felt keenly the personal loss of a man they had learned to regard as their friend. Throughout the daily sweat and trials, you kept your own fearless integrity. You brought to Washington your own deep understanding of history and here, in a glorious moment, you helped shape it. You believe that truth is our invincible weapon, and you fiercely adhered to your faith.

Washington will not be the same without your humor and your wisdom, but you leave behind a warmth of friendship that will ever linger on.

Marie joins me in our love to you and Janet, and all our good wishes for a full life ahead.

Sincerely,

Averell Harriman

Dear Ed:

Your departure from official Washington has provoked a sense of deep loss among all of us who have been privileged to work close to you. I shall always recall the wise and strong counsel which you gave the President and his principal advisers on many an occasion as they gathered in the Cabinet Room. Through the application of your unusual gifts in sensing international opinion, you have made a most important contribution to the image which our country invokes abroad.

All good things to you in retirement!

Maxwell D. Taylor

Feb. 23, 1964

Dear Ed,

The Kennedy age was an extraordinary age -- in the standards it set, in the works it wrought, in the hopes it raised around the world. It required an extraordinary man to tell this story abroad. Thank God we had that man in you.

With warmest regards, deepest respect and a sincere hope that we will work together again.

Ted Sorensen

Dear Ed:

You did your job so well that you leave it larger than you found it in every way. You also leave a lot of your friends wiser than you found them - grateful for advice they took and woeful over some they didn't. But you never cried over spilt milk even when you had the job of explaining it.

So we will all remember the wit and force and generosity that filled everything you did - and take heart from your example.

Mary joins in sending our love and very best wishes to you both.

Mac Bundy

Dear Ed;

I will never forget the wise counsel and warm human understanding that you brought to those difficult meetings on Cuba, when the fate of the world hung by a single strand. I feel a better man for having been privileged to work side by side with you on the Kennedy team, these past three years.

With admiration, warm regards and very best wishes for the future.

Douglas Dillon

Dear "Cousin" Ed-

It has been a great joy to work with you and we hated to see you go. You did a great public service that will long be remembered.

Our work together in handling policy problems of USIA-Commerce Trade Fairs meant a close and personal relationship.

Good luck and good health.

Luther Hodges

Dear Ed--

As one who values the truth -- even in the so-called age of news managers -- I particularly valued our association and what you did for our country. If there is one word to describe what you did for the USIA -- it is "integrity". The word of the USIA was once again believed, where it is still possible for men to believe. The word of the U.S. was once again believed -- where it had once been tarnished. And with you at the head of the Agency-- with your own impeccable reputation for truth -- there could be no doubt that our country was again telling people and the world what was <u>really</u> going on in our country and letting <u>them</u> make the judgment.

God bless you, and keep you with us.

Pierre Salinger

Dear Ed:

You were always the Voice of America -- long before President Kennedy brought you down to Washington and made it official. You were the voice of the best America -- the America which believes in honesty and facts and taste and wit and courage. This was above all John Kennedy's America, and I cannot imagine a more felicitous collaboration. As he rekindled the ancient tough-minded idealism of our nation and gave this republic back to its best self, you carried the flame to the world. And you always tempered the glum processes of government with your own humor and humanity and admonished us all by your skepticism and by your faith.

I don't know what history will finally choose from the Kennedy years, but I am sure that those of us who were lucky enough to take part in these years will remember most of all the happy comradeship in the undertakings to which we were so devoted under the great leader whom we so profoundly admired and adored. The memory of this extraordinary interlude will sustain us for the rest of our lives - as it will sustain this nation for the rest of its history.

Ed, I so greatly enjoyed and valued our association in this cause - and Marian joins with me in sending you and Janet our best love.

Yours ever,

Arthur Schlesinger, jr.

Dear Ed:

Some years ago and long before we were friends, I remember hearing along the fleshpots of Madison Avenue about a club called The Ed Murrow Is Not God Club. The title amused me but I wondered why the club need exist. Now I know. I know, because after watching you and being associated with you regularly over a long period of time, it is quite easy to become so lost in admiration and respect that friends need to be brought down to earth on occasion.

I know Ed Murrow is not God. But I also know that he has qualities of leadership, integrity and human decency that can lead

to such affection on the part of his friends that it isn't a bad idea to bring them back to reality.

Working with you, particularly the past year and a half, has meant a great deal to me. The example you have set or we have set together of how to solve problems is one I will long remember - as well as your friendship.

Best regards for the future to you and Janet.

Sincerely,

Luke Battle

Dear Ed,

I don't know for how many years - 20, at least, - I wanted to work with Ed Murrow. John Kennedy provided the chance and for this, as much as for the many other things that make up my great debt to him and his memory I shall always be grateful.

It has been too brief. But it has been a great time, not only for the company recorded in this book but for the many others who have had the chance to work with you in giving their bit to what we so naturally and so proudly call the Kennedy age.

I think you are too shorn of vanity really to know how much you have contributed to your own agency and to State and other corners of Washington where the need to deal in facts is always threatened by wishfulness and timidity, and where the duty to tell the truth is constantly besieged by expediency. But if you know even the half of it, you are a rich man, indeed.

Keep well, Ed, and leave some trout in the stream for the rest of us.

Bob Manning

Dear Ed,

It was not so much what you did as the flair with which you did it that made you unique. Your unfailing good humor made it so much easier for the rest of us in working with you on the many serious problems we faced together. It is this calm sense of balance that I shall miss the most.

All the best

Tommy Thompson

Dear Ed:

We first met in London in 1945. Thereafter, during Adlai's two campaigns, I used to watch you try to teach an impatient candidate how not to shout in people's livingrooms.

You existed for me then on two levels - as an admired but casual friend, and as the conscience of a great nation. I recall you earlier during the Battle of Britain, telling the world about a ghastly war - but always with compassion and courage. Later I became deeply in your debt for purging America of McCarthy by revealing him for all to see in his full reptilian squalor.

You emerged on a third level at the beginning of the Kennedy Era, when we tread the grapes in the same vineyard during three vintage years. You became for me the embodiment of two qualities - both rare, God knows, in the life of any nation - truth and humor. Even when many of us were caught up in the collective excitement of the moment, pontificating around the table in the Cabinet Room, you were always the barrister with a brief for sanity. And, greatly to your credit you were always against letting America act out of character. For that I was, and ever will be, deeply grateful.

But I celebrate your humor almost above all, because it springs from a sense of the relative importance of things - from the knowledge that cliches are not wisdom but merely stale jokes, and that in the end - after the rubber chicken and the bad speeches - America will still struggle through if it doesn't forget how to laugh at itself.

I lift a glass to you, Ed, in the confidence that we will soon be lifting one together - filled with a better brew than words.

Yours ever,

George W. Ball

Dear Ed:

Those here with whom you shared so many eventful moments will remember you for many things. For myself I will recall that at times when it seemed talk might be replacing thought, you usually spoke least but with most effect.

Your integrity and courage is an example for all who love this great country of ours.

God bless you.

Alex Johnson

Dear Ed -

All of us are in your permanent debt. You were more responsible for the impeccable taste and style of the Kennedy Administration than anyone except the President himself. You have shown us all how to use accurate information in the battle for freedom, with the force of a sledgehammer and the precision of a mathematician. Your mark will be lasting on all of us who had the privilege of being your colleagues -- as well as on the world.

Mary joins me in wishing you and Janet the happiest of futures.

Dave Bell

Dear Ed:

Your legions of friends are extending to you their best wishes for your happiness in the years to come, but all of them and particularly those who worked closely with you, are saddened that you are departing the Washington scene.

Our association has been a particularly happy one for me. Our golf games together were great fun. The meetings we attended

on the many serious issues facing our country were always stimulating and all present benefited from and appreciated your thoughtful and constructive approach to all the problems under discussion.

Your dedication to the ideals which have made our country great will always be remembered and I am proud to be numbered among your friends.

With all good wishes

John McCone

Dear Ed

These past few years have been good ones for all of us. You have enriched them immeasurably with your insight, your wit and most importantly with the sense of values which you brought to our common endeavors.

Like all of your colleagues, I shall retain fond memories of our association. May the years ahead be for you as happy and as fruitful as those just past.

Ralph A. Dungan

Dear Ed -

You are a man I knew in the sporting field who dropped the bird that I missed - who I have also known well during good days and dark days - as my Father's friend - and I'm proud to say my friend. I remember well those dark days when you were sifting fact from fiction in our war - making clear what the individual was doing and still reporting the massive effort which we mounted - in no small part due to your reporting - to win!!--

You have always had a knack to put the big problems of history in forms that all could understand - by question - by suggestion - and by anecdote - and thereby to clarify men's minds. You will continue to do so - you did in private life - you did as a government servant - and now you must do it as a sort of consultant to mankind - which I hope will be lucrative!!

Others may think you may retire - but I know that you will come back to fight more wars you believe in - to serve the country you and all of us love - and by chance, to satisfy the drive that will always be in you.

In all aspects of America - today and tomorrow - we have missed you as yourself and we do and we will miss you as the figure of stature that you are. We wish you speedy recovery - we need your return!!!!!!

Sue and I send love to you and Janet.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Dear Ed:

However slender our resources may be in other quarters neither of us is poor in words; yet the very best thing about our friendship is that, in exploiting it, we need so few of them.

Nevertheless it is a satisfaction to record how richly all of your friends cherish and enjoy your good sense and remarkable experience and your gift for showing both of them forth agreeably garbed in wit and - save for an occasional flash of irony at some fool - in charity for all who have less of either.

As ever,

Fowler Hamilton

Dear Ed.

Among the rarest privileges of my recent years has been the chance to work with you and to have you as a sympathetic friend with whom I have shared many dreams, goals, frustrations, and bits of humor.

Arthur said that you were the "voice of America" long before you came to Washington and that certainly is true. None-the-less it was no easy job to transfer that title to the vast, beat down, self-conscious bureaucracy which you inherited in the winter of 1961.

It took more than your prestige to make USIA into the competent, respected, proud organization it is today. By example you gave it courage, integrity and high standards.

You did this for other parts of the government as well. Only a handful of people are in a position to know that your ideals and wisdom, expressed thoughtfully and at the right moment, were a continuing and vital influence for sanity in the government. I know that on many occasions your words made all the difference.

I don't know how many of your colleagues drew inspiration and strength from your example. I do know that President Kennedy did. I do know that I did on many many occasions.

With my fondest regards and the knowledge that we will have many chances to work together in the future.

Jerry Wiesner

Dear Ed;

I remember a special feeling whenever, across the Cabinet table, the President would ask for your comments. I would wonder: What the hell will Ed say? The rest of us were, in one fashion or another, bureaucratically or intellectually predictable. But with you there was a special integrity - a kind of direct loyalty to insight - a communication with human beings outside, without abstraction or intermediaries.

I loved it.

But a good deal more important than that, it gave the Administration and the country a voice which, as Nasser said of the impact of the President's death, reached every butcher, baker, and candlestick-maker up and down the Nile Valley - and everywhere else.

I am grateful to have shared these three years. No one I ever admired from afar turned out so much bigger close-up. And that goes for Elspeth too.

Walt Rostow

Dear Ed,

I feel deeply honored to have been asked to write a few lines to you. Like so many other people, you were known to me long before we ever met. And when I did meet you, you fitted exactly the image I had of you. The memories, and indeed the history of World War II will always be associated with your name and your voice.

I used to be in U. S. I. S. before it became an Agency of the government, and I thus have some idea of the problems and frustrations which are inherent in trying to organize ourselves so as to be able to tell the truth about ourselves. My personal experience enables me to measure the extent of your achievement, and to wonder at the qualities of mind and character which made it possible.

I am proud to have served with you in this Administration.

With all my very best wishes to you

Sincerely yours,

Bill Tyler

Dear Ed:

For all of us, the last three years have been the high water mark of our lives. For each of us there are particular memories of special experiences and associations. For me, our weekly meetings in that odd conference room were symbolic of the people and processes through which President Kennedy worked his will.

The subject of our deliberations was not a pretty one; but humanity and practical idealism were present - mainly because of your presence. I shall never forget the quietly humorous way you kept us from forgetting that we were talking about people who had hopes and fears as well as guns and grenades.

You are sorely missed, but your example is very much before us. God bless you.

Sincerely,

Mike Forrestal

Dear Ed,

The arrant flattery of the preceding pages makes me a little nervous. I feel I should chisel out a platitude or two, but it is so hard to think of one's own dear friends as great men.

Slowly it has dawned on me about you, the man I have known in London pubs, on European battlefields and lately among the Washington mighty. Slowly I realize you were worthy, in an earlier era, to walk with Churchill and Roosevelt. And then, in our own times, to play a luminous role in the brief age of JFK.

In all these years your friendship has meant a great deal to me and you might as well know it. Next time we meet for a few drinks, I trust such sentimental matters will not be mentioned and we will just go on being friends.

Bill Walton

Dear Ed;

We really had such a good time! You and Tom and I sitting in your office at 7 p.m. with our not-so-distorted view of the rest of bureaucracy. I doubt if our colleagues maligned us as much as we did them - but they probably should have.

And I think some good was done. You hammered out a clear blueprint of what an information program in a great democracy should be. You'd be the last guy to say that you fit USIA into that blueprint, but you did -- accompanied by three years of creaks and groans, inspiration, memos, so many laughs, and an occasional call on the blowtorch from John F. Kennedy.

Believe me, the change is profound and permanent. Murrow may not be around those dirty yellow halls at 1776 any more but everyone's concept of how to run an information program is pure Murrow.

For my part, I'll say "thank you" for teaching me more by example in that short time than I had ever learned before. Those were the Kennedy years, but for me they were also very much the Murrow years.

Don Wilson

3-26-64

Dear Ed,

I can hear it now: the unwavering idealsim and the healthy cynicism, the bold administrator and the soft-hearted boss, the loyalty to Kennedy and the loyalty to yourself, the insistence on excellence from yourself and others - but especially yourself, the laughter and the tears - but especially the laughter.

Twelve years have given me some perspective about USIA. Until 1961, frustration always followed hope and progress usually trailed off into decay. Now it will never be the same again. Like Kennedy, you did not have enough time - but, like Kennedy, you made a greater contribution in 34 months than your predecessors made in all their years. The Murrow mark is on the Agency, and my only ambition in this government is to keep it there.

The Murrow mark is also on me. How fortunate I was to have the benefit of your example, your friendship, your counsel, and your perspective - and how much I needed them! The fire you lit in my belly will burn for a long time.

What a wonderful three years, the Kennedy-Murrow years! What a good time, what a helluva good time, we had. I am forever grateful to you.

Tom Sorensen

Dear Ed:

Men of greater position, pens of greater power can say with more appropriateness how much your work has meant to the world. But I can say what it meant to me to be with you.

There has been no more enriching experience in my life than knowing you and working with you. You invited me to return to USIA after those eight years of "leave" -- and that was deeply important to me. For that alone my thanks to you are beyond expression. But then to have the privilege of working closely with you, sensing the solid integrity and enjoying the high humor, having the constant stimulation of your leadership as you gave new drive and stature to the Agency -- these were experiences which opened new horizons, gave new dimensions to life.

We go on reaping benefits from what you gave us all, and no word of gratitude seems adequate. I can only wish that the future will be kind to you and Janet and Casey.

March, 1964 Reed Harris

Dear E. R. M.

My sincere appreciation for the opportunity to have been associated with you in U. S. I. A., when your able directorship inspired the employees and contributed so much to your country.

Dorothy Baas

Dear ERM

The busy days and weeks went by so quickly during your directorship, one didn't have much time to think, but on reflection -- it was great.

All best.

Ruth L. Petersen

Dear Ed

Thanks for a breath of crisp, biting air from the "new" New England of the Northwest, enormously refreshing, sorely needed, and now desperately missed.

Besides the dependable wisdom, you had a zest that made it fun to wrestle together with a tough one.

You brought to us bureaucrats not only a famous name from the big outside world, but new slants on old problems, something we have to have from time to time if our government is to live up to its responsibilities.

I hope my good luck in having had the chance to see you at work will be repeated somewhere soon.

Best of luck,

Ed Martin

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

April 24, 1964

Dear Ed:

Like everyone else in the Agency, I have been deeply concerned about your health and have missed your presence -- both officially and personally.

I have hesitated to bother you with our troubles, but maybe by now you have some interest as an "elder statesman". For a brief report on what has been called the annual "dance of the Gooney birds": We had our annual joust with the Committee in March. As usual, it was played under rules of the opposition. Since Rooney had been consulted before Carl's appointment, and since Carl was present throughout the hearings, we had a relatively easy time from the Chairman. Bob Sikes never showed up. But the Republicans, Bow and Lipscomb particularly, were a bit more critical than usual, and John made no effort to protect us from these attacks.

Principal targets were Lee Brady's program (you may recall that the Committee didn't approve of this last year); our propagandizing the American public (a lot of time was spent on our participation in the International Design Conference in Aspen, Colorado last June); and George Stevens (apparently related to the amount of personal publicity which he has been receiving.)

There was also the annual anonymous letter attacking the "European Club", plus another letter from someone who had been at the Aspen Conference and who had a number of unkind things to say about us.

I expect we will get the usual small increase -- primarily for the Voice.

Internally,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
9503 La Jolla Farm Road
La Jolla, California

Internally, the fact that Don and Tom have stayed on has eased the transition. Carl is still struggling with the many facets of the Agency. He shows a very keen interest in what is going on and a great ability to grasp facts and ideas.

Our confrontation with the Senate Committee promises to be much more difficult than that with the House, for reasons having to do with the Committee's expressed unhappiness about our film, "The March," and the natural consequence of having a Committee with leadership dominated by Southerners. Carl is very realistic about what he is up against, however. Eventually, White House support will be absolutely vital, I would guess.

We are still working on a new building -- and no longer driving in Lincolns, thanks to the LBJ brand of austerity. One Mercury and a non-airconditioned Ford, instead!

Bob Evans (speech Bob) dropped in after he had seen you on his last trip and reported that you continued to show improvement from your recent bout with pneumonia -- although your impatience showed through.

I am not sure how much credit we have on high, since we hardly qualify as very good Jews, but my family and I are happy to add our prayers to those of the millions of others who want to see you back in the news business. I consider my association with you the most rewarding of a long and pleasant bureaucratic career.

Cordially,

Ben

Ben Posner

P.S. In spite of what I know to by your reluctance to give autographs, I would appreciate it very much if you would sign the enclosed picture, which our Public Relations staff was good enough to furnish me. A return envelope is enclosed.

P.P.S. Happy Birthday!

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

SYA208 SSB461 (04).

SY WB300 PD=WUX WASHINGTON DC 4 440P EDT= 1964 JUN 4 PM 5 09

ED MURROW=

PAWLING NY=

WASHINGTON MAY 29 1964.

FROM WASHINGTON WHERE WE HAD ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS ON COOPERATION IN THE INFORMATION FIELD WE SEND YOU CORDIAL REGARDS AND BEST WISHES=

KARL GUENTHER VON HASE

GUENTHER DIEHL

ROBERT BORCHARDT.

TELEPHONE No. UL 56202

TELEPHONED TO

TIME

BY

6/5/64

$3.54 da

$4.00 kw

da 5168 DA 812P DA 1118P

DA 632P DA 914P

DA 723P DA 1009P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Your Excellency,

I am honored to acknowledge on behalf of my colleagues in the Government your gracious presentation of these highly valued and respected certificates from the Edinburgh Film Festival.

We all thank you for the courtesy and thoughtfulness which has caused you to arrange for this occasion in the new rotunda of the British Embassy. It seems to me that the ceremony and the occasion are both most fitting to the significance that the Edinburgh Film Festival enjoys.

This event, which, I am told, is organized by the leading citizens of Scotland, has a world-wide reputation for its integrity and the contribution that it makes to international cultural relations, through the showing of motion pictures of special merit in an atmosphere of international cooperation.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank Her Majesty's Government for providing to the world this outstanding Festival, which so well uses the motion picture as an instrument of international good will.

*****

September 30, 1964

Mr. Gil Khachadourian
Social Security Administration
50 Fulton Street
San Francisco, California 94102

Dear Mr. Khachadourian:

Thank you for your letter of September 24.

I fear there is no possibility of my visiting San Francisco in the near future, but if I should do so, it would give me great pleasure to see you again.

Enclosed is the photo.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Murrow

ERM/mph
encl.

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Region IX

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

50 Fulton Street
San Francisco, California
94102

September 24, 1964

Mr. Edward R. Murrow

Pauling, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

About a year ago I had the good fortune and privilege of meeting you and interviewing you for the photo-stories I did on USIA and the Voice for the South S. F. Enterprise Journal.

Enclosed are copies of those photo-stories that I thought you might like to see (I'm only a part-time free-lancer, so the quality is not the best!). I would regard it as a great honor if you would be kind enough to autograph the enclosed photo, which is one of the better ones I took of you.

I hope your health is improving - my wife and I were greatly concerned at your illness last fall as we believe you were the most effective person to guide the voice and picture of the USA to the rest of the world.

Any chance of your ever visiting San Francisco? I hope you do, and I hope you will give us the opportunity to welcome you to this city.

Sincerely yours,

Gil Khachadourian

E-J Readers Get Exclusive Peek At USIA Operation

(Ed Note: This is the first in a two part series of an exclusive interview with Edward R. Murrow, famous newscaster and head of the United States Information Agency. Photographer-writer Gil Khachadourian prepared the series especially for the Enterprise Journal).

By Gil Khachadourian

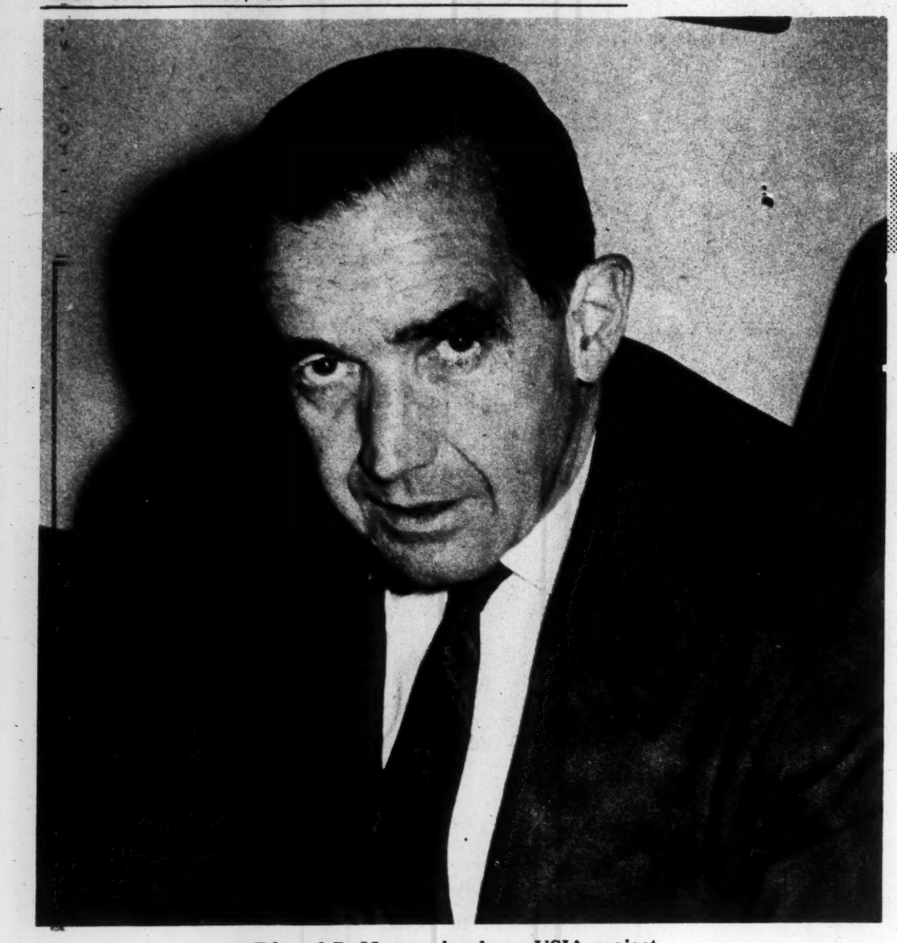
"If truth must be our guide -- then dreams must be our goal. To the hunger of those hopeful masses yearning to be free and to learn, to this sleeping giant now stirring, that is so much of the world, we shall say: we share your dreams!"

These are the words of Edward R. Murrow, director of the United States Information Agency. In an attempt to discover just what is the USIA and what it does, this reporter visited the agency headquarters in Washington, D. C., and talked with many of the people running it, including Murrow himself.

In this day and age when exchange of and competition for man's ideas throughout the world not only determine survival for today but shape the pattern of life for tomorrow, the business of knowing and understanding each other is of paramount importance.

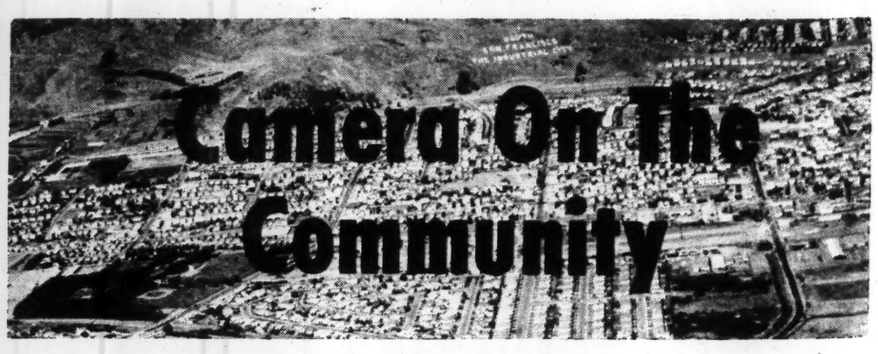
The US Information Agency has the almost impossible task of telling about you and your 200 mil-

(Continued on Page 4, Sec. II)



Edward R. Murrow heads up USIA project

Art director checks over Polish language magazine, "America" published by USIA.



(Continued From Page 1
Section I)

lion neighbors across this country to the rest of the world. That is, to tell America's story, to share America's dreams and aspirations with the teeming millions around the world--is the job of USIA.

"Our purpose is to associate this people and this government with the hopes and aspirations of other peoples, to portray this country as it really is . . . with truth as our guide," Murrow stated in a public speech not too long ago.

This is not an easy task, by any stretch of the imagination. USIA, with the limited funds and resources allowed it by an economy minded Congress, does a magnificent job. It uses every instrument of modern communication known to man:

By radio: the Voice of America (which will be covered in next week's issue) broadcasts in 36 languages daily to all corners of the world. In films: 600 million people see USIA films each month. In television: 500 programs are placed each year in 61 countries. USIA prints 66 magazines and 20 newspapers in 25 languages.

With pamphlets, cartoon strips, books, travelling exhibits, and libraries--USIA operates 182 libraries in 88 countries--USIA tries to tell the story of America to the world.

And is there any competition? The Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate estimates that the Soviet Union undertakes a communist propaganda effort that is at least 100 times as great as that of all the rest of the world combined! This Senate Subcommittee estimates that the various forms of communist propaganda throughout the world involve a personnel of about 500,000 and an annual expenditure of approximately $2 billion.

To tell America's story on the other hand, USIA does its job by some 1500 Americans and 7000 foreign nationals working overseas, backed up by 2500 Americans in this country. This country --which developed mass communications to a fine art and which, in the words of Edward R. Murrow, "spends billions of dollars on headache pills each year" did not have enough money recently to mail copies of the President's speech to newsmen in Ghana!

And how much money does Congress give USIA to undertake its world-wide activities? Last year's budget was $131.6 million--almost the price of a Polaris submarine!

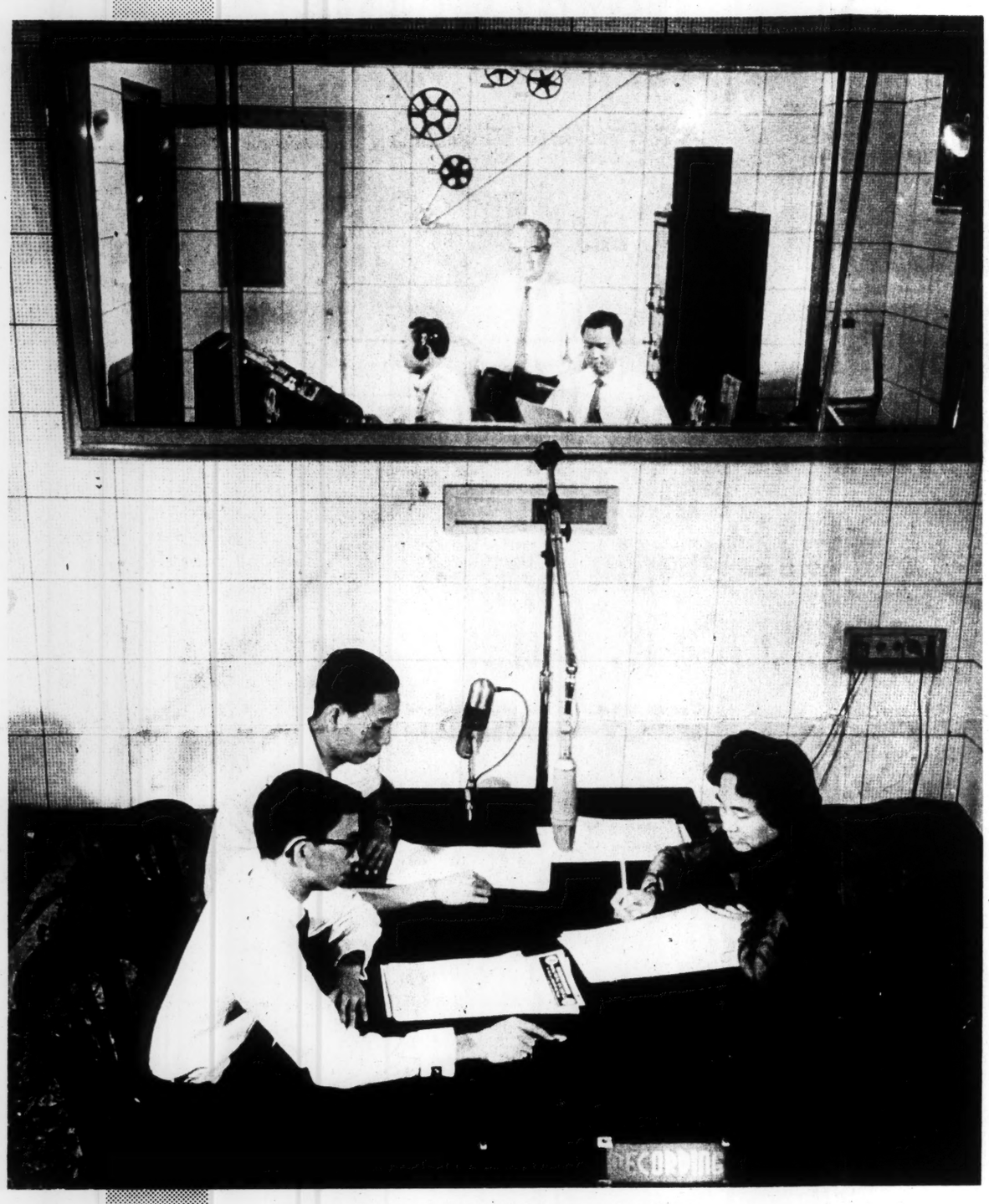
Photos & Story
By
Gil Khachadourian

USIA reached behind Iron Curtain with Russian Language magazine "America Illustrated."

Girls show couterparts of Russian and Polish publications with USIA magazines.

Soviet-bound "America" had recent feature on Mrs. Roosevelt as prepared by USIA.

Henry Loomis is director of Voice of America



Many countries receive native language broadcasts

Global effect of Voice of America is seen

Camera On The Community

10 Sec. II Enterprise-Journal Wed., Jan. 29, 1964
South San Francisco, Calif.

(Ed's Note: This is the last in a series of photo-stories covering the operation of the United States Information Agency.)

The Voice, as it is called by those close to it, is almost a total stranger to the very people about whom it speaks; the American people themselves! But around the world, the Voice is known by many, loved by some, and hated by others.

The Soviet Union spends $150 million a year to drown the sound of the Voice, while a refugee from Prague was motivated to escape to freedom in the West by a program he heard on the Voice; it was a description of Christmas in the streets of Washington, D.C. "That's what Christmas used to be like at home," the refugee explained, "and I said to myself if there was a society in this world today that still had Christmas like that, I wanted to live there."

This is the Voice of America, the official United States radio, seeking to build understanding abroad of the United States by broadcasting news of world significance, by outlining American foreign policy and by providing information about American life, industry, education, arts, science, agriculture, sports, music and religion.

It broadcasts in 36 languages a total of 761 hours weekly, using 99 transmitters located around the world. In addition, over 14,000 hours weekly of taped programs prepared by the US Information Agency, (of which the Voice of America is a part) are broadcast by some 3,000 local stations overseas.

The Communists use 2,000 transmitters to try to jam all these broadcasts, but Washington has abundant evidence that much of their broadcast gets through. The amount it costs for the Communists to jam its broadcasts are six to seven times the annual budget of the Voice itself! In addition, the Soviet Union and Red China have their own radio broadcasting, and they broadcast in more languages and more hours a week than we do.

The policy of the Voice is to present the news accurately and objectively, and to represent all of America, not any single segment of American society. "To be effective," states Henry Loomis, the Director of the Voice of America, "we must win the attention and respect of listeners around the world." In line with this, the Voice has established itself as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. To a great portion of the world's population where news are censored, this is a great contribution.

by
Gil
Khachadourian

28 April 1965

The Editor
The Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

The Post's obituary and editorial on Edward R. Murrow, excellent as they were, gave inadequate attention to his enormous contribution as Director of the United States Information Agency from 1961 to 1964.

Contrary to the myth that he was a poor administrator uninterested in details and paperwork, he was the best administrator the Agency ever had. Murrow did his homework, learned the capabilities of his staff at home and abroad, took an acute interest in all aspects of the operation, demanded excellence--and inspired his staff to produce it, made decisions and lived with them.

Other Directors of USIA have sat in the high councils of government, but none had the influence Murrow had. He spoke little, but when he spoke he always had something to say and the President and his colleagues in the Executive Branch listened. Murrow well understood the importance of the public opinion or psychological factor in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy, and he made of USIA a responsive and significant instrument in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Under Murrow's leadership, the long controversy over the role of USIA was ended--at least within the government, the Agency's personnel were improved, its media output given greater quality and greater pertinence, and its coordination and influence with other government agencies in the foreign affairs field vastly bettered.

To the Kennedy Administration in January 1961, Murrow brought his own great prestige and experience. But he also brought to government service the personal qualities of great intelligence,

great integrity and great courage. Many in government have great intelligence, and quite a few have great integrity. But, as in every field of human endeavor, there is no great surplus of courage in the bureaucracy.

Murrow despised cant or pretense in men and policies, and he demolished them high and low without fear. He saw through the vain politician seeking personal publicity, the power-hungry administrator trying to expand his bureaucratic empire, the ambitious bureaucrat who put personal advancement ahead of public good. They were glad to see him go.

Ed Murrow's appointment was part Kennedy insight, part Kennedy luck. He was the right man in the right place at the right time, and USIA and the country will be forever better because he was there.

Sincerely,

TCA/mpr

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20547

May 28, 1965

Dear Janet:

Last night's B'nai B'rith dinner was just right. It was unsentimental, to the point, and therefore very touching. There were many of Ed's and your friends there. Stan Plesent did a tremendous job in organizing it. We missed you but I think you were right in not going to something of that nature quite this soon.

I wanted you to have a copy of the remarks I made. I hope they were okay.

I will give you a call the next time I am in New York and we can chat a bit. I understand you are commuting between Pawling and the city. I am actively job-hunting at the present and suspect that Susan and I will be neighbors of some kind or another come next fall.

Lots of love from both of us.

Sincerely,

Dan (Wilson)

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
1 West 72nd Street - 13th Floor
New York, New York

Ed Murrow took the job of Director of the United States Information Agency with grave reservations. Most of his adult life had been spent as a reporter. He'd been levelling that critical reporter's eye at the activities of bureaucrats for 25 years and he was dubious about becoming a bureaucrat himself. Nevertheless, he said "yes" when President Kennedy called upon him. As he looked at it, a man who had been doing all that criticizing for all those years was obliged to step up and say "yes" when he was called by his President.

The people in USIA took to him from the moment he arrived. The word quickly got out that Murrow was not interested in public visibility -- he'd already had enough of that for one lifetime. He was interested in learning the job and, in his own words, "not uttering until I know what I'm uttering about".

In three years as Director of USIA, Ed Murrow did relatively little public uttering. Instead, he steadfastly did his homework and devoted himself both to broad policy decisions and to thorny administrative details.

I am sure he was surprised at his success as Director of USIA. But a success he was. He inherited an Agency that had just come into stability after years of McCarthyism and budget crises. Through his own example, Ed Murrow infused a pride and spirit into USIA. Before long, every man in the place was holding his head high.

Scotty Reston wrote that Murrow took USIA out of the dog house and put it into the White House. And he was right, because, under Murrow, USIA's counsel and advice was listened to both at the White House and in the other high councils of government.

He insisted on a standard of excellence which he set himself. As a result the quality of USIA's product -- in films, in television,

in radio, and in the written word -- steadily rose.

Ed Murrow took a somewhat detached and faintly amused view of himself as a government official. He never failed to see the silly side of the bureaucracy and treat it accordingly. Inevitably at the end of the working day he would call together a couple of his colleagues and ask, "And what did we do for the cause today?" Sometimes the answers were hilarious.

But he was serious about the important things.

I have said that he uttered little while serving as Director of USIA. What he said was worth listening to.

He insisted that USIA "operate on the basis of truth" -- and it did. He insisted that "the voice of this country should at all times be steady -- firm but not bellicose" -- and it was. And he insisted, in words that were pure Murrow, "If truth must be our guide then dreams must be our goal."

That was Ed Murrow's philosophy at USIA. For three years we were excited, inspired and privileged to share it with him.

14-C-21
file

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1968

Dear Mrs. Murrow:

Upon my return from Europe, I heard from Reed Harris the good news that you plan to attend the ceremony on October 3rd in which we will dedicate the world's most powerful short-wave radio transmitting complex to the memory of your late husband. It will be an honor to have you, your son Casey and his wife present.

We plan to hold the ceremony in the alcove in front of the Voice of America Master Control Board in the Health, Education and Welfare Building, 4th and Independence Avenue, Southwest, on that Thursday afternoon. The time will be announced as 3:15 p.m. but we will allow ten minutes for possible late arrivals partly because we understand the schedule may be a little tight for your son. A reception will follow the ceremony.

I plan to speak briefly and to be followed by Dr. Frank Stanton, after which a button will be pushed which will automatically unveil the dedicatory plaque in Greenville, North Carolina, the transmitter site. I hope you will say a few words then in acknowledgement.

As I believe Reed has told you, we are inviting members of Congress and Government officials to the ceremony and have sent invitations to the persons you suggested. If you want additional information on any aspect of the ceremony, please do not hesitate to call me or Reed at any time.

I look forward with pleasure to greeting you on October 3rd.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leonard H. Marks
Director

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
Glen Arden Farm
Pawling, New York 12564

Loomis, Henry

American Radio Policies Overseas Discussed

W.P. 3/7/65

By Lewis Gulick
Associated Press

White House and State Department silence on an international development should not automatically shut up the Voice of America, says the Government radio's departing chief.

But in saying this, Henry Loomis told an interviewer yesterday he did not mean to criticize present Administration policies. He said he was setting forth major and continuing concerns that he expects those after him will have to face.

Loomis, who has directed the voice of America for seven years, is moving to the No. 2 post in the expanding U.S. Office of Education.

Something of a fuss was stirred up by reports of a farewell speech Loomis gave to his coworkers Thursday. Presidential press secretary George E. Reedy said subsequently that there has been no change in Administration policy. A spokesman for the U.S. Information Agency added that it is "absolutely essential" that the Voice, USIA's overseas radio arm, present U.S. Government policies "faithfully."

Debate on Coverage

In Loomis' seven years at the helm, the Voice's short wave transmitter power zoomed from 5 million to 13 million watts and another 8 million watts are under construction. But a longstanding debate has continued over how far to inject U.S. government policy positions into the programs beamed at foreign listeners.

There is now general agreement that the Voice, to maintain its credibility abroad, should report in its newscasts facts that are both favorable and unfavorable to the United States.

There is also general agreement among Washington authorities that the official radio should be under government policy guidance — from the White House, State Department and USIA — in wording its editorials, or commentaries.

Viet Clampdown Seen

But on some hot foreign policy issues such as the recent U.S. air raids on North Viet-Nam, the Administration has clamped what critics contend is excessively tight control over the Voice's commentators.

Loomis, in his farewell speech, conceded that Voice of America officials may have less awareness than their superiors of present and future Administration policy. But he added:

". . . Perhaps most fundamental of all, we believe our audience judges us as a radio, while some of our colleagues assume that the audience considers a commentary on the Voice as authoritative a statement of U.S. policy as a statement by the Secretary of State or the President . . .

"I believe that the Voice of America serves the national interest poorly if its output is equated with diplomatic communications. It does not follow automatically that if the Department of State or the White House do not comment on a development, the Voice of America must also shut up . . ."

INTERPRETIVE REPORT

'Voice' Chiefs Chafe at Curbs

Loomis

By MARY McGRORY
Star Staff Writer

Henry Loomis, departing irector of the Voice of Ameri- a, made a farewell speech that ad a special meaning for the eople he left behind.

Every one present in the Departmental Auditorium knew hat he meant when he said in he course of his lengthy emarks: "The Voice of Amer- ca is not the voice of the dministration."

This point has been at debate ince the Voice was first heard ome 20 years ago, and the ontroversy has heated up since he intensification of the war in outh Viet Nam.

Old-timers in the Voice say hey are going through a period lmost as bad as the McCarthy ra and—in a way—worse, as, n those days, the Voice pre- ended to be little but a propa- anda arm.

In 1960, under President Eisenhower and after much tudy, the agency finally eceived a charter which gave it he green light to be candid and bjective, in the manner of the British Broadcasting Corp.

"Heaviest" Censorship

But since the raids on Pleiku, ay Voice officials, they have een chafing under the heaviest ensorship in their history. No lispute over handling of news as arisen, but every commen- ary must be cleared with the olicy department of the Voice's arent agency, the U.S. Infor- nation Agency, before broad- ast.

The USIA has the benefit of advice from the State Department and the White House, and Loomis said in his speech that the Voice's problem is not just to communicate with different cultures, "but with the rest of the government."

Voice officials have given up trying to reason with State Department policy makers who think Voice commentary should be as authoritative as a statement by the President or the secretary of state.

Others "downtown" think, according to Loomis and his associates, that nobody in foreign countries will know that something has happened if it is not mentioned on the Voice. In vain, they have pointed out that in many nations the listener has his choice of national radios.

Clashes With Agency

Last week brought two clashes within the agency over how the difference of opinion on our South Viet Nam policy should be reflected.

For a daily roundup of worldwide editorial opinion, the Voice included a critical, front-page editorial in the Paris newspaper "Le Monde." It was deleted downtown.

Again, a critical portion of a New York Times editorial, calling for a presidential statement on Viet Nam policy and advocating negotiation, was edited out of a Voice broadcast.

"We are getting so afraid to be honest, we can't even reflect any diversity or discussion," said one Voice veteran.

On another recent occasion, there was disagreement over how much of Sen. Thomas Dodd's pro-administration speech on Viet Nam should be carried, as against how much of Sen. Frank Church's anti-administration speech.

A background broadcast had been held up for several days until Church's critical speech was answered, and then the Voice was instructed to call it "not a debate but a discussion."

"We're getting like Radio Moscow," said one Voice official. "That is precisely what they do. They never quote unfavorable editorials."

No Negotiation Commentary

The Voice has not been permitted to send out any background commentary on negotiations for fear it will be misinterpreted as a sign that they are coming. Loomis and others think the Voice has built up a reputation for objectivity and credibility that guards against such misunderstandings.

"Some people think the Voice in a national emergency should be a tactical weapon," says Loomis, "but we think we should be a strategic weapon, building up confidence over the long haul."

Everyone agrees that the Voice was first "bent" during the Cuban missiles crisis of October 1962, when the administration quite frankly "managed" the news. But that was quickly over. People at the Voice are now disturbed about the "heavy handed propaganda line" that has been in effect the last month.

So Loomis' speech was much appreciated. Only, as one of his listeners said, "I wish it had been made by somebody other than a retiring director."

THE EVENING STAR A-3, C
Washington, D. C., Friday, March 5, 1965

Remarks made by Henry Loomis on the occasion of his departure as Director, Voice of America, USIA. HEW Auditorium, Washington, D.C.
March 4, 1965

I am deeply touched that so many of you have come here to say good-bye. I hope I can see many of you again this afternoon. My door will be open.

Three years and one week ago, we were gathered in this same room to observe the 20th Anniversary of the Voice. At that time we heard our past achievements praised by Mr. Murrow, Secretary Rusk, and President Kennedy. We also heard Mr. Kennedy speak about the future. He said:

"For the next twenty years your problem and ours as a country, in telling our story, will grow more complex. The choices we present to the world will be more difficult, and for some, the future will seem even more empty of hope and progress. The barrage upon truth will grow more constant, and some people cannot bear the responsibility of a free choice which goes with self-government. And finally, shrinking from choice, they turn to those who prevent them from choosing, and thus find in a kind of prison, a kind of security.

"We believe that people are capable of standing the burdens and the pressures which choice places upon them, and it is because of this strong conviction that this organization functions and it is because there is this commitment to this view that you continue to serve in it."

The march of events during the three years since these words were spoken prove their correctness and prove that our opportunity to serve the national interest is even greater today.

In this room -- seven years ago -- I met most of you on my first day with the Voice. We have worked together for these seven years -- almost a third of the Voice's existence. I would like to review with you how the world -- but especially the radio world -- has changed in these seven years, how the Voice has responded to the change, and then to look ahead at the major problems and opportunities that appear to me to lie ahead.

In the last seven years, the potential radio audience has more than doubled in size. There are now more than double the number of receivers. But more important, the characteristics of the audience are now entirely different: their political beliefs and prejudices have changed, their geographic location has shifted, their educational level, degree of sophistication, and average age have all changed. The degree of their access to outside information has changed.

Seven years ago we were primarily concerned with reaching audiences behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains -- fighting to get in through jamming, assuming that our audience was mainly those in opposition to the alien Communist regimes, and recognizing that radio was their only contact with the outside world.

Today the jamming has ceased in Europe -- except for Bulgaria & East Germany -- and we aspire to a larger and younger audience -- an audience which knows only

Communism at home but which has access to far more information from abroad -- from travelers, from exhibits, from periodicals -- and from unfettered listening to many foreign radios. This audience is less committed politically, more cynical yet more curious and eager to know -- know not only foreign politics and economics but foreign art, music, fashions, -- in short a whole way of life.

At the same time, dozens of new countries have come into being and we have been required to broadcast more to Latin America and Asia as well as start broadcasts to Africa. As a centralized form of Government has been imposed on more and more new countries, more and more have limited and controlled the normal flow of information both from commercial sources and USIS. This has placed a unique burden on radio -- the only technique capable of talking directly to people in spite of their Government's policy. Indonesia is the latest example.

The phenomenal development and marketing of transistors -- both legally and by large-scale smuggling -- has opened a vast new audience among the middle class, in isolated areas and throughout developing countries. This in turn has tended to lower the age and average education of a portion of our audience.

During these seven years our competition has increased, improved, and diversified. The volume of international broadcasting has doubled in the seven years--the Voice's share has dropped from 6 to 4% of the total. The major

broadcasters have improved their radio techniques, more and better entertainment is offered, many deliver their political message with more subtlety. Seven years ago we had a largely bi-polar world--dominated by Russia and the United States; now communism comes in a bewildering variety of packages from Moscow, Peking, Belgrade, Havana, Warsaw, and Bucharest to name but a few. The West has also diversified and the audience can choose for example between Washington, Paris, Bonn, or Lisbon. A new group--the newly independent--has entered the arena and wish the world to listen to their brand of socialism and truth. Cairo, Delhi, Accra, Lagos are among our major competitors.

World broadcasting now offers every listener a varied and often contradictory smorgasbord of facts, advice, ideas, convictions, assumptions, entertainment--each claiming a special knowledge of truth.

The technology of communications has been startlingly transformed in seven years. Television has now spread to every continent and soon will be available in almost every capital of the world. Incidentally, my first achievement was to separate the Agency's TV activity from the Voice, so that it could grow on its own. Communication satellites are a reality, telephone cables now cross the Pacific, more printed matter and film appear every day. While all these changes affect radio, they do not lessen its role as the only fast means of obtaining varied information uncontrolled by the local government. Where it exists, television has taken over much of the entertainment role from radio but listenership to radio for the news--especially during crises--has

grown steadily. The rapid spread of radios has increased the radio audience much faster than the gradual increase in literacy has increased the readership of newspapers. Radio still reaches more people than any other medium and reaches them uncensored.

How has the Voice changed in these seven years? In my judgment the most important changes are the codification of the mission of VOA in our charter, the enlarged technical plant, improvement and innovations in radio techniques, and greater administrative efficiency.

Until 1960, the Voice had never had a clear directive establishing its mission and providing a philosophy to guide the day-to-day decisions. After months of soul searching, work, and debate, a one page document was produced and approved by Mr. Allen. It has since been approved by both Mr. Murrow and Mr. Rowan. You know its provisions well.

1. Our news will be accurate and comprehensive--meaning we must report the bad with the good.

2. We must be the Voice of America, not merely the Voice of the Administration. We must provide a balanced reflection of all significant and responsible segments of American society--even when they disagree with an administration policy.

3. As the official radio, we must clearly state U.S. policy and argue for it as persuasively as possible.

Three years ago in this room Mr. Kennedy stated the same mission in different words. He said "It is your task, as the executives and participants

in the Voice of America, to tell the story of American life around the world. This is an extremely difficult and sensitive task. On the one hand you are an arm of the government and therefore an arm of the nation, and it is your task to bring our story around the world in a way which serves to represent democracy and the United States in its most favorable light. But on the other hand, as part of the cause of freedom, and the arm of freedom, you are obliged to tell our story in a truthful way, to tell it, as Oliver Cromwell said about his portrait, 'Paint us with all our blemishes and warts, all those things about us that may not be so immediately attractive.' "

I believe that during these seven years, we at the Voice have largely reached a concensus on how best to apply this charter to our day-to-day programming.

The physical plant of the Voice is being enlarged and modernized. We now have 13 million watts of shortwave power as compared to 5 million seven years ago. An additional 8 million watts are now under construction. Our medium-wave power has not increased substantially but we have added medium wave coverage of Cuba and Vietnam and improved our medium wave coverage of the Middle East.

The specifications for VOA transmitters have established new world standards. We have greatly increased our flexibility with the development of air transportable transmitters, receivers, and studios. Our transportables are now stationed in Florida, Liberia, Vietnam, and the Philippines.

We are increasing our Washington studios by 20%, modernizing our New York studios, building studios in Rhodes and Monrovia.

In dollar terms, the cost of our plant has doubled. It was 43 million dollars seven years ago. It is now $87 million with an additional $67 million under construction.

We now have a dominant signal in Latin America, West Africa, and Vietnam; a thoroughly competitive signal in Europe, the Middle East, and the remainder of Africa. Our signal to China, while strong, is severely hampered by Chinese jamming. Our signals throughout the rest of Asia, but especially South Asia, are poor. This weakness will only be remedied by the new plants now under construction.

In part because of the improved plant, and in part as a result of cessation of most European jamming, major changes in program distribution and technique have been possible even though our total amount of broadcasting has only increased 5%.

English broadcasts have been tripled and diversified. A new language--Special English--has been created to reach those with a limited knowledge of and a desire to learn the language. English programs have been regionalized to better meet the unique needs of our audiences. Entirely new shows such as the Breakfast Show and Forum have been added and have won wide acclaim. The Breakfast Show provides news and comment in a matrix of light music--unique in international broadcasting. Forum provides an entirely new level of excellence for serious intellectual programs.

We have started broadcasts to Africa, resumed broadcasts to Latin America, and increased broadcasts to the Far East.

As compared to the separate one-half hour programs we provided seven years ago, we now offer many hours of uninterrupted listening to our audiences

in English, Russian, Mandarin, Arabic, Vietnamese, and Spanish and Portuguese to Latin America.

Seven years ago, 60% of our broadcasts were repeats of previous programs, now only 18% are repeats. The volume of our original production has more than doubled.

We have developed a world-wide net of correspondents reporting in several dozen languages. Our Far East correspondents employ communication satellites regularly, our African correspondents employ communication circuits developed by us in cooperation with African governments. I believe this network of correspondents is the largest, most flexible and of the highest quality possessed by any radio in the world.

The style and pace of our shows have greatly changed. We seek to acquire a larger audience and hold their attention longer by more diversity, a faster pace, more topical material, more music, more variety, better production, better continuity -- generally a lighter touch.

I believe both our internal management and cooperation with USIS have improved.

All VOA programs are now centrally controlled from Washington. We no longer contract with a private radio to broadcast to Latin America in its own way, we no longer have a Munich Program Center originating its own programs with its own unique tone, our domestic plant is no longer operated as separate units by several private contractors, we no longer contract with the Coast Guard for the operation of the courier at Rhodes. We do have new

program centers in Rhodes and Monrovia but all political program decisions are made here.

We have made a major effort to provide greater regional choice and diversity in both political commentary and feature material. We offer material at very different levels of sophistication.

We have provided rapid communications between all our plants so that we are now able to deliver on very short notice emergency programming when required by such events as President Kennedy's assassination or Tonkin Bay.

In the seven years we have had only a 35% increase in personnel--but a 95% increase in payroll. Our operating budget has increased 66%.

We have worked hard to improve the caliber of our staff. We have instituted training courses for our staff, recruited summer trainees from colleges, created an intern program. We have rewarded excellence, 10% receiving special pay increases; we have warned mediocrity by withholding pay increases from 5%.

Above all we have attempted both to establish a cohesive central direction and at the same time to encourage the great variety of technique and judgment required to have the Voice equally effective to all its disparate audiences.

I believe further that our performance has been materially improved by the development of a closer and more productive relationship between the Voice and USIS posts overseas. We have pursued a policy of interchange of personnel. Approximately 15% of USIS Foreign Service Officers have served at the Voice--far more than with any of the other media. Sixty-eight Foreign Service

Officers are now with us, a dozen of whom were country PAO's. Twenty now serving as Country PAO's were once with the Voice. The placement of radio material with foreign radios has quadrupled in seven years, and far surpasses any other radio. Constructive and informed comment from the field is far more common, the number and quality of field reporting for the Voice has increased. Perhaps the best example is the excellent reporting from Vietnam where the PAO--our ex-Program Manager--has deployed a significant proportion of his assets to assure the accuracy and timeliness of VOA reporting back to Vietnam as well as to the rest of the world.

In short, I believe that the Voice is the dominant International Broadcaster in the world today. We have more audience than any other radio, our credibility is equal to the best, our techniques copied by many.

However, we must not rest on our laurels for even greater challenges and opportunities lie ahead. As I see it your major problems are concerned with two principal areas--how to communicate effectively between different cultures--how to communicate effectively between the Voice and the rest of government--not to mention the private sector. If you will, cross-cultural communications and cross-Washington communications.

In contemplating the future, we must assume even greater changes among our audience than have occurred in the past. Their number will increase. Their diversity will multiply as radios reach new audiences and old audiences are exposed to more and more competing ideas.

Mr. Murrow said: "Ours is the war not to capture the minds of men, but to free them."

Mr. Rowan said: "In this contest of impressions and mis-impressions, of distortion both deliberate and accidental, USIA must be the restorer of focus, the provider of perspective without which our policies and our purpose can never be understood."

But how to accomplish this effectively?

We know far too little about how to be credible or even intelligible to people of other cultures. Research may help some but I suspect for many years to come we must rely on common sense, experience, and the guidance of dedicated individuals who are not only bilingual but also bicultural. These individuals must know America as well as they know the country to which they are broadcasting. We must be careful not to slavishly translate scripts prepared in English by Americans--in fact, I would postulate that such a literal translation would be unintelligible or even misleading to much of our audience. We must learn to talk persuasively to people who consider themselves Communist, giving them a true picture of America, although not necessarily in the terms and meanings of words as used domestically in America. We must make the huge segment of our audience who consider themselves Socialist understand the reality of our economic system without clinging to domestic cliches. We must make our foreign policy understandable to those who are neutral as well as to those who may be our allies or antagonists. We must make our faith understandable to those of very different faith or none at all.

We must learn to make our civilization and values understandable to those just emerging into the modern world who have never seen the world beyond their village. We must learn to offer programs which our diverse audience consider attractive and entertaining--give the Lao, the Russian, the Brazilian, the Ghanaian what each wants. Perhaps most difficult of all, we, who are at least middle-aged if not ancient, must learn to be meaningful and understandable to our youthful audience.

Another way of putting this fundamental problem is to ask the question, "What is truth?"

We are all familiar with the fable about the four blind men describing an elephant, one thought the elephant a tree, another a rope and so forth.--Yet I believe we tend too easily to assume we can always see the entire elephant and only we can put all its parts into correct perspective. We must always consider the point of view of our audience conditioned as it is by its history, environment, culture, faith and governmental policies.

To be true by our standards is not always credible to our audience. For example, a few years ago a Russian complained to an American in Moscow that the Voice was false and propagandistic. When asked for an example he replied, "A friend of mine--I don't listen personally--told me he heard the Voice announce that Chairman Khrushchev took off his shoes at the United Nations and beat his desk. You know our chairman would not do a thing like that. The Voice must have been lying." What is truth?

Yet we must not despair. I was talking to a Minister from a non-aligned African country and he stated that he listened to both the Voice and Radio Moscow during the Cuban confrontation. He admitted that initially he believed Radio Moscow but as more and more facts became available he gradually recognized that the Voice had been more nearly correct. He now considers us credible--at least he did before Stanleyville.

The weight of facts will eventually make themselves felt, but we must recognize that unpopular actions or policies will tend to close our audiences ears and warp its judgment, at least in the short term.

To summarize, in the years ahead we must improve our ability to communicate effectively between different cultures; we must further diversify our output to make each portion understandable to its intended audience; we must always remember that truth has many facets and is viewed from many angles.

Yet we should not compromise with what we think is truth. One certainty--as Howard K. Smith said the other day--"Truth is not necessarily halfway between any two points."

The second great unsolved problem is the problem of cross-Washington communications--how to have a productive, two-way discussion between the staff of the Voice and the staff of the remainder of the Agency, the State Department, the White House, the Congress, the public.

I believe we generally agree on the broad principles of the charter. For example, Mr. Rowan said last year "it must be obvious that USIA cannot fulfill its mission unless it talks about the things that free Americans and the free American press are discussing. We know our adversaries are talking about these things, and one of our most urgent tasks is to ensure that their distortions are not accepted because we are in timid default."

However, we must all realize that the charter is a statement of the principles which guide our decisions. It is not a substitute for judgment, nor is it the password or mystical rite revealed only to members of the broadcasting fraternity. It must be the common yardstick by which you, your colleagues in USIA and your listeners make value judgments and measure the success of your endeavors. It is my hope--it is my belief--that the charter, like the Constitution, is so fundamental and so represents the realities of the world and the moral principles that undergird this nation, that the charter will endure for the life of the Voice.

Like the Constitution, its broad principles must sometimes be reinterpreted to conform with a changing world.

The problem is how best to mutually arrive at the best interpretation. Again I return to the fable of the blind men and the elephant. What is truth? We must recognize that we at the Voice are more conscious of our immediate contact with our audience, and therefore more acutely aware of the problems of cross-cultural communications. On the other hand, our colleagues in the

Agency may be more aware of present and future administration policy. We at the Voice view our instrument as one requiring a diverse and delicate touch. We consider ourselves as a family of 38 radios not a single monolith. We believe there must be major differences in emphasis and technique between our various language services if each is to be effective in communicating to its peculiar audience. Others, on the other hand, being hurried and pressed, tend to think of the Voice as a single entity to be governed by a single policy judgment. We are more conscious of the unique role of radio--its speed, its direct but competitive contact with the audience, its ability to create a relationship between the listener and an individual radio personality. Others try to put all the various media into the same mold in their drive for effectiveness and efficiency. Frequently what we consider a balanced reflection of American diversity, is viewed by others as unbalanced. Some wish us to concentrate on serious issues, we add entertainment in order to attract an audience. We are more acutely aware of the fact that most of our audience listens to other radios besides the Voice and that they consciously compare what they hear on us to what they hear on others. Some tend to believe that if the Voice does not carry a fact, it will not be known to the world. A few--including the author of a recent book and the editorial writer for a major newspaper--believe the Voice should not be in the news business, leaving it solely to private commercial channels. We, however, remember the huge areas unserved by any unbiased news service and the large number of countries

whose news is censored by the local government. Perhaps most fundamental of all, we believe our audience judge us as a radio, while some of our colleagues assume that the audience considers a commentary on the Voice as authoritative a statement of United States policy as a statement by the Secretary of State or the President.

The achievement of correct balance in meeting these issues requires constant discussion and debate between ourselves and other parts of government--but to be productive all involved in the debate must recognize that they are but one of the blind men describing the elephant. Each must defend his point of view with vigor but accept the counter-arguments with respect.

All of this comes down to how can VOA best serve the U.S. national interest.

I believe that VOA serves the national interest poorly if its output is equated with diplomatic communications. It does not follow automatically that if the Department of State or the White House do not comment on a development, VOA must also shut up. Our job is as much to prepare foreign attitudes to be receptive to our message as it is to disseminate this message.

I believe VOA serves the national interest poorly if its very stance belies the essence of the society it speaks for--it serves it poorly if it is asked to mold its news, editorial and feature output to serve tactical policy interests. In doing this, it becomes a propaganda instrument in the bad sense of the word. The image of America it will spread will be that of a kind of totalitarian society--

"Monolith USA." Conversely, I believe VOA serves the national interest well if it reflects responsibly, affirmatively, and without self-consciousness, that ours is a society of free men who practice what they preach. To do this effectively, we must do it at all times--freedom is not a part-time thing. If we want to make the world safe for diversity, if we believe that the good and strong society is based on free choice, we must by our very stance communicate to our audiences the fact that diversity is preferable to uniformity. To sweep under the rug what we don't like, what does not serve our tactical purpose, is a sign of weakness. To acknowledge the existence of forces and views in disagreement with those of the policy makers, to take these specially into account in the formulation of our output, is a sign of strength and furthermore is good, persuasive propaganda. We must show that the United States derives strength--not weakness--from its diversity.

Our problem in the past, as it will be in the future, is how to persuade those struggling and sweating in a tough tactical fight that we serve them best by talking to the audience in calm, dispassionate tones and viewing the struggle in perspective.

These, as I see it, are the major and continuing problems that lie ahead. They are not the only ones.

While we have made progress, much more must be done before all in USIS and the Agency fully understand the potential of this delicate and diverse

instrument and integrate it effectively into their own operations. This process of mutual education must be constantly pursued with vigor--memories are short and personnel are constantly being reassigned.

There always will be the problem of keeping in the forefront of technology and recognizing where developments in another field have application to broadcasting. We must remain alert to employ all the new communication facilities as they become available. We must continue to strive for medium-wave coverage of the world--a goal from which we are a long way.

As international broadcasting increases, the problem of finding clear frequencies becomes more and more difficult. The problem is now acute. It can only get worse.

In the next seven years, many of our most talented language staff, especially in the European services, will retire. It will be impossible to find others of the same caliber or with the same depth of knowledge. We must immediately select and commence training new recruits. We must improve our techniques for acquiring and training foreign radio men especially from the newly developing countries of Africa and Asia. If we are to retain our talented specialized staff serving overseas as correspondents and in the program centers, a more equitable promotion system must be developed which recognizes their specialist qualifications. We must continue to seek our share--or more--of the most talented Foreign Service officers.

And then there is the problem of space--space on earth or at least in Washington. While our Washington staff has increased by one third in the past seven years, the space into which we all now fit has only increased 2%. We have converted rest rooms into offices, offices into studios, studios into offices. The Far East Division is now being remodeled so that four can fit into the space formerly occupied by three and a half. Obviously this problem must be pursued with more imagination in the future than in the past.

There always will be the battle of the vending machines. I'm sure we have the only machines in the world which produce tomato soup when you want mushroom and charge you twice as much in the process.

There will always be the problem of money and positions. The new transmitters now under construction will require several million more dollars per year if they are to be operated at capacity. Major increases in programming to Asia should follow the completion of the new plants and this will require a considerable increase in staff and money. The new communication facilities, such as satellites, must be used if we are to remain competitive with other broadcasters and they will be expensive. I strongly believe that if this instrument we hold in our hands--The Voice of America--is to be utilized to its maximum potential, it must maintain at least the same rate of growth during the next seven years as has been achieved in the last seven years. This will demand the continued support of the Agency administration, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Congress.

Yes, you face problems. Some are major, many minor. But above all never become discouraged, never lose your sense of humor, never stop fighting, never lose heart. Remember you also have many assets. The most important is that usually the facts of life are on your side but of almost equal importance is the unique esprit de corps which you have developed over twenty-three years. You now are the leader and pacesetter among international broadcasters.

It has been a privilege to have served with you--to have learned from you--to have had fun with you. I wish to thank George Allen and Abbott Washburn, Ed Murrow, Don Wilson, and Carl Rowan for their guidance and support but in particular, I wish to thank those long suffering souls who have served as my Deputy--Gordon Ewing, Jack O'Brien, Art Hummel, and now Keith Adamson. I wish to thank Barry Zorthian and Alec Klieforth who helped me as Program Manager. I wish to thank Ed Martin who taught me Engineering and Carl Malmi who showed me much administration. In particular, I owe much to Lionel Mosley, Walter Mylecraine, Ruth Walter, Wanda Washburn, and Cecilia Dempster, all of whom had to put up with my idiosyncrasies. But perhaps I owe most to Terry Martino and Dee Benson who did all my work.

I leave for my new assignment knowing that a large part of me will always remain with the voice.

Good-bye --- Good Luck.

Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

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USIA Correspondent

ECONOMY CLASS, EVERYONE?

That agonizing decision faced by mythical air travelers in the airlines ads—which is best: first class or a single class—will no longer be faced by most USIA staffers.

Regulations put into effect by the Agency last month say that all domestic and Foreign Service personnel will use *less-than-first-class accommodations* for all air travel in most instances.

First-class accommodations may be used *only* in the following circumstances:

- When there is no space available in less-than-first-class accommodations. (A statement by the traveler to this effect will be *prima facie* evidence for audit purposes.)
- When less-than-first-class accommodations do not provide adequate standards of sanitation or health. The head of the appropriate overseas establishment in the country in which the travel begins, *except* a Branch PAO, is authorized to make this determination.
- When the physical condition of the traveler requires the use of first-class accommodations.
- When the mission to be performed requires the use of first-class accommodations. For trips originating outside the U.S., the same head of the appropriate overseas establishment is authorized to make this determination.

To provide needed rest on long air journeys one stopover for a period of not more than 24 hours is authorized for a trip which lasts more than 14 hours. The Agency points out that since this provision *is* to provide necessary rest, it should be taken at a point midway in the journey. Per diem and incidental expenses are payable for such rest stopovers.

The new regulations have been put into effect "to comply with the President's economy directives to achieve maximum savings," the Agency says.

FLANKED BY TOUGH VIETNAMESE PARATROOPERS OF THE AIRBORNE BRIGADE, Director Carl Rowan leaves the terminal at Saigon's Tan Son Nhut Airport after a four-day visit to Viet-Nam with Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He is accompanied to the Secretary's aircraft by PAO Barry Zorthian (center) and Deputy PAO David P. Sheppard. (More pictures of the Director's trip to four FE posts are on pages 8 and 9).

Director Completes First Trip For Agency

Director Carl T. Rowan returned last month from a "very interesting" trip to four Far East posts—his first for the Agency. He talked to officers in Manila, Hong Kong, Taipei and Saigon.

While it is an area that is not unfamiliar to him—he had been in it several times as a newsman, as well as a government official—Rowan says it was his first chance to meet most of the top USIA personnel in the area. He adds:

"I must say that I was pleased by the calibre of the PAO's and other officers in the area."

The Director devoted considerable attention to South Viet-Nam "because, as I had expected, the information-psychological part of the war operation there is of tremendous importance." He declares:

"I was greatly impressed with the Prime Minister, General Nguyen Khanh, and the Information Minister, Pham Thai—and generally with the desire for cooperation expressed on the part of officials of South Viet-Nam."

The Director also says that after talking to Country PAO Barry Zorthian and other USIS Officers there, he will be "a lot less tolerant of other employes who have a long hard tale to tell me about the woes and rigors of their particular assignments. Our people in South Viet-Nam are doing a tremendous job under difficult and sometimes dangerous circumstances."

In Hong Kong the Director had a good look at USIS' China Reporting Program. He says he was generally impressed with the quality of the material produced by USIS Hong Kong, and adds: "I think it important that all of us—as well as others around the world—have a pretty clear

(Continued on page 15)

USIA Correspondent

Vol. 6, No. 5 May, 1964

Send Contributions to USIA Publications Division
(Editorial deadline is the first of each month)

Editor .....Mary Painter

ROWAN ASKS AGENCY BOND DRIVE SUPPORT

"I am asking that each of you give your support to this campaign."

With this appeal, Director Rowan has called upon Agency personnel to participate actively in the 1964 U.S. Savings Bond drive being conducted in all Government Departments and Agencies through May.

The Director said:

"This campaign is different from others in that it is aimed at doing something for the employe. The periodic payroll savings plan provides an opportunity for each employe to save for education—sickness — retirement — vacation — for emergency."

The Director noted that as of December 1963 only 28.5 per cent of USIA employes were participating in the payroll savings plan. He added: "So we have plenty of candidates to work on."

Director Rowan called attention to the Government-wide objective of signing up 25 percent of those employes not now taking part in the plan. He said that Civil Service Commission Chairman John Macy, who also is Chairman of the Interdepartmental Savings Bond Commission, had told him that present Agency participation "is in the lowest ranks of all Government Departments and Agencies."

Plesent Attends EBU Meeting

Stanley Plesent, the Agency's General Counsel and head of its Congressional Liaison Office, attended meetings of the Transatlantic Working Group and the Legal Committee of the European Broadcasting Union in Paris from April 17-May 1.

The E.B.U. is a non-governmental international organization whose object is to take care of the interests of organizations operating broadcasting services. It is a private association, with no commercial aim, although it is an association of operating organizations.

Agency FS Officers Urged to Join AFSA

The Agency's Foreign Service Officers are being tendered special invitations to join the American Foreign Service Association.

Deputy Director Donald M. Wilson, supporting the AFSA membership drive, says, "The effectiveness of the Association depends entirely on the support and interest it receives from the Foreign Service."

Wilson says the recent election of Leslie S. (Lee) Brady as Chairman of AFSA's Board is indicative of the new status the organization has given USIA officers.

The AFSA is a voluntary, non-profit organization and is dedicated entirely to the welfare of the Foreign Service. A year ago AFSA voted to extend active membership to Foreign Service Officers in the Agency and AID.

There are currently 5,025 active and 1,000 associate members. Agency staffers (American citizens) who are not members of USIA's Foreign Service are eligible to become *associate* members of AFSA. Active membership includes a full voice and vote in the activities of the Association.

Brady says that membership is on a yearly basis, corresponding to the fiscal year, but members who join now will have a 14-month membership lasting until July 1, 1965.

Association services offered members include:

- Subscription to the monthly *Foreign Service Journal.*
- The opportunity to compete for some 60 scholarships worth as much as $500 each which are available to members' children planning to attend school in the U.S.
- Educational counseling service, particularly addressed to the specific needs and conditions of FS families.
- Purchasing services — information on sources of supply of a wide variety of items purchasable at advantageous prices.
- Book Club—discounts on trade and text books.
- Accidental and Sickness Disability Group Insurance, providing up to $400 monthly.

Other activities include monthly luncheons (luncheon speaker on May 28 is McGeorge Bundy, on June 25 Dean Acheson), hospital visiting, and sponsorship of the insurance program of the American Foreign Service Protective Association.

Brady, an FSCR-1, is currently assigned to the Agency as Assistant Director (Soviet Union and Eastern Europe). Deputy Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson is President of AFSA.

Dues are $13 for FSO and FSR classes 5 and above and FSS classes 3 and above; $10 for FSO and FSR classes 8, 7 and 6 and FSS classes 10 through 4. GS employes may apply for associate membership at comparable rates.

Interested staffers are urged to contact Brady or AFSA offices, 815 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C., telephone 393-5427.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR DONALD M. WILSON applauds as G. Lewis Schmidt receives one of ten Career Service Awards given by the National Civil Service League. Presenting the award is an official of the League. Schmidt, former Assistant Director of the Agency for Administration, received the award for "unique qualities of leadership, intellect, political perception, and outstanding executive ability."

OPC Honors Swing On 77th Birthday

Raymond Swing, reporter, author and commentator, whose "Worldwide English" broadcasts over VOA were heard by millions of listeners before his retirement, was honored on his 77th birthday by the Overseas Press Club.

In addition to celebrating Swing's birthday, the capacity crowd in OPC's new New York Clubhouse gathered to mark the publication of his autobiography, "Good Evening."

Among the many tributes paid the veteran commentator was a message from Director Rowan praising him as a "man of conscience."

Mr. Swing retired from the Agency on February 24 after serving from August 1959. He previously had been with USIA on another duty tour from 1951 to 1953.

In a talk to those who had gathered to celebrate with him, the commentator stressed the importance of communications. "If communications does not do its job, there is no hope for mankind," he told his audience.

ROWAN GREETS EUROPEAN LOCALS

Director Rowan met with ten European local staffers at the end of their U.S. training tours last month.

In a brief talk, the Director stressed the importance to the Agency of the role played by national staffers in USIA's work abroad.

Members of the group had chosen as themes to be pursued in their study tours such topics as race relations, the role of labor unions, the cultural explosion, factors influencing foreign policy, economic growth, U.S. education, scientific research, trends in book publishing, contribution of ethnic groups to modern America, and women's volunteer organizations in the U.S.

VISITING EUROPEAN STAFFERS MEET THE DIRECTOR: (seated, from left) Mrs. Andree Anciaux, Brussels; Miss Lucette M. Beal, Paris. (Standing, from left) Jose Garcia Estecha, Madrid; Local Employe Training Chief Roman L. Lotsberg; Diego Valencia Devesa, Madrid; Dusan Pacic, Belgrade; Deputy Assistant Director (Europe) Robert C. Benedict; Miss Shirley B. Hendsch, Program Officer; Herbert H. Fricke, Bonn; Alec L. Collett, London; Juergen Graf, Berlin (RIAS); Juliusz Slaski, Munich Program Center. Not shown are Miss Margaret Walker, The Hague, and Roberto Ravenna, Milan.

LBJ PAMPHLET GETS CONTINUING PRAISE

The IPS pamphlet "Lyndon Johnson, 36th President of the United States," which has been receiving worldwide commendation, recently won the praise of a key Buenos Aires daily and a leading provincial newspaper.

La Nacion (circulation 233,000) used a lengthy article drawn from the pamphlet. The paper lauded the pamphlet as a contribution to "the better understanding of the biographical aspects and of the political and parliamentary activity of the man . . . who succeeded Kennedy."

The leading Rosario newspaper *La Capital* (circulation 85,000) described the pamphlet as "very valuable for those who really wish to get acquainted with the personality of Kennedy's successor."

In its article, the Rosario paper also commented favorably on the Agency's "Basic Documents" publication and the post's bi-monthly "Puntos de Vista," according to PAO Joseph S. Evans, Jr.

USIS RECIFE'S HUMBERTO LACERDA interviews General Joaquim Justino Alves Bastos, Commander of the Fourth Army, in connection with last month's revolution in Brazil. General Alves Bastos explained the extent of communist subversion in Brazil's northeast. The interview was later broadcast by the Voice of America.

'Communications: USA' to Tour Soviet Union

The sixth in a series of USIA exhibits which have gone to the Soviet Union will begin touring Russian cities—probably Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad—this summer. It will appear in each city for about a month.

Titled "Communications: USA" it shows American communications developments in radio, television, telephones, business, industry, and the space satellite program.

In the television section, Russian visitors to the exhibit will be able to see themselves on a live TV image bounced off a working model of a Telstar satellite. They also can look at any of 21 console and portable sets of different makes and sizes. These will carry a taped 10-minute program, narrated in Russian, showing highlights of U.S. TV shows.

In the business communications section, IBM has installed a 1440 data processing system to show how the widely separated stores of a supermarket chain replenish their inventories overnight through use of tele-processing equipment linked with a centrally located computer. Typical food items purchased by an American housewife will be printed in Russian.

Pan American World Airways has a display of its world-wide computer-based airline reservation system.

A Bell Telephone display includes thousands of American telephone directories from all parts of the U.S. Russian visitors will be permitted to thumb through them if they wish to look for the names of friends or relatives in the United States. The telephone section also includes outdoor, glass-enclosed pay telephone booths. When a visitor enters a booth and lifts the receiver to his ear, he will hear (in Russian) a taped message of welcome and a description of the way the 'phone works. The exhibit also includes all styles and colors of telephone sets, including business ones.

The space section includes models of eight U.S. satellites and a Canadian one (the Alouette) which was placed in orbit by the United States in 1962. By pushing buttons at a display in this section, visitors can listen to the taped sounds of four satellites in orbit.

The exhibit, which covers a 15,000-foot area, also includes many large photographs, charts, and other three-dimensional exhibits, all set against brightly-colored background panels. Each exhibit is explained in a Russian-language caption.

The Agency will send 40 Russian-speaking guides and demonstrators to the Soviet Union with the exhibit.

Industry investment in the exhibition totals more than half a million dollars.

Previous exhibits sent to the Soviet Union by USIA under a cultural exchange agreement signed in 1959 were on plastics, transportation, medicine, technical books, and graphic arts.

USIS Pakistan Does Film on President Johnson

A brand-new one-reeler on President Johnson has just come out—and it's the proud baby of USIS Pakistan. A black and white production, the film was put together from newsreel footage shot both in the U.S. and Pakistan.

It focuses largely on the President's trip to that country in 1961, as well as President Ayub's visit to the U.S. the following year. Updating of the film was accomplished by showing the effect these and other political and cultural demonstrations of friendship between the two nations have on their relationship today.

The film's message is a simple one. Paraphrasing the words of Ambassador Walter P. McConaughy, who introduces it, the movie tries to re-acquaint Pakistanis with a man who already knows them, their leaders, their problems and their aspirations—all because he has seen them at first hand.

PAKISTAN PAO WILLIAM B. KING (left) looks over a portion of the 12,000 feet of film which went into the post's film on President Johnson. With King is Abdus Salam Ansari, the post's Chief of Motion Picture Production, who edited the film.

USIS Karachi staffers developed a collective case of eyestrain from carefully examining more than 12,000 feet of film, some of which already existed in their own film library, some of which was supplied by the Agency, and some of which was generously made available by the Pakistan Government's Department of Film Advertising and Publicity. The final picture is a swiftly-paced, excellently edited job.

Biggest share of the credit for the intelligent pacing of the film goes to Abdus Salam Ansari, Chief of the post's Film Production Unit, who slaved over a hot splicer for hours on end before he got the exact "feel" he wanted in the picture. Even then, Ansari wasn't satisfied. Says Don Jones, Karachi's Radio/Motion Picture Officer, "I almost had to lock up the film. Every time I wanted to see it,

DON JONES, Karachi's Radio-Motion Picture Officer, and MOHAMMAD ASGHAR ALI, Senior Radio/Mopix Technical Assistant, check a tape which will be used as background music for "In Common Cause."

Ansari was re-cutting, re-cutting. I'll bet this movie has gone through four versions right on the editing table. Ansari is an unsatisfied perfectionist if I've ever seen one."

For the English narration, the post discovered on-staff talent in its Chief IO, Clyde G. Hess. Clyde's pre-USIS experience as a radio disc jockey and newscaster added another professional touch to the production.

Making a film such as this can turn up hitherto unimagined problems. For example, when he arrived at Pakistan's airport, President Johnson made an excellent statement. The film's editors had good footage of him making the statement. They wanted to lip-sync the speech.

Two of the post's radio stalwarts, Jamil Afridi and Asghar Ali, had recorded the speech. And they found their tape in virtually nothing flat. But when it was played to see if there was any chance of matching it to the picture, it was found that Karachi's sometimes murderous climate had shrunk the tape considerably.

"It's in perfect sync now, though," says Jones, "just as if it had been recorded on sound film. How those boys *unshrunk* that tape beats me—and I'm not asking too many questions."

When returned from the Agency, where it has been sent for review and printing, the film will be built into the USIS Pakistan distribution pattern. It is called "In Common Cause," a phrase which comes from President Johnson's speech to Congress following his accession to the Presidency.

USIS KARACHI staff members view the finished film: (from left) Khwaja Shamsul Hasan, Senior Information Asst.; Clyde G. Hess, Chief IO; Frank H. Kuest, Press Officer; Jamil Ahmad Khan Afridi, Senior Sound Technician, and Don Jones, Radio/Mopix Officer.

The Little Extra Service . . .

USIS Nairobi takes pride in doing its best to fill the many requests for information and materials on the U.S. it receives in the mail each day. A recent one was a letter from a new boarding school for Africans asking for American postage stamps.

The post collected over 200 stamps from its officers, locals and friends who correspond with the U.S. and other foreign places, put them together with First Day Covers of the Centennial Celebration of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, listed some philatelic clubs in the U.S. with which the school could correspond for future supplies, and included in the shipment 25 donated books that it knew the library of the new school could use.

The headmaster of the Nakura Secondary School wrote:

"Your response to our appeal was far beyond anything we expected. . . . Your response was typical of what the world has come to expect . . . from the U.S.A."

PAO John F. Hogan notes that public relations is one of the post's many concerns. Through such "little extra service" as supplying a new school with stamps and books when it needs them, it hopes to "build a large family of friends for the U.S. in Kenya."

USIA Profile: Expert on the UN

IPS' DAN HARVEY (third from left, standing) listens as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Harlan Cleveland briefs newsmen at the UN. Seated at right is Ambassador to the UN Adlai Stevenson.

A co-worker has described Dan Harvey, IPS' Bureau Chief at the United Nations, as the man who "probably knows as much about the UN as any other American."

He adds that "Sooner or later most of the American newsmen, people from the U.S. Mission to the UN, and others call on him when they need to know something they can't find anywhere else."

Harvey modestly disclaims this kudo —and says, "In this job, the more you learn, the less you know."

There is little doubt, however, that Harvey's record of 12 continuous years at the UN is equalled by few—newsmen *or* diplomats. It's a highly educational job, he says—you have to keep up on economic, social and political problems.

The Agency's UN coverage team includes Harvey, reporter Shirley Murphy, and teletype operator Arthur Scott. During sessions of the General Assembly or the Security Council, IPS augments its UN staff with one or two added persons. Regional staffers also go up for particular assignments and spend a week or ten days on special coverage of interest only to their areas. (The wire services staff their UN bureaus with three or four persons at all times, and *The New York Times* has as many as 15 reporters covering the UN during a busy period).

There are few dull moments on the UN job, Harvey says. "When you come in each morning you don't know what the day is going to bring. It's a scramble to keep up with what is going on—a constant problem as to where we go right now." Since there may be four or five simultaneous meetings going on, he says they "spot where we think we'll get the greatest yield on a given subject on a given day." He adds that "We cover everything in the sense of watching everything—and then cover what we should and can."

The small IPS office overlooking the East River is wired, with a speaker and headphones, so the staff can pick up any open meeting going on. This is helpful in view of the vast distances in the UN building, and the small staff. IPS also has a booth over the General Assembly Hall and the Security Council Room which it uses for visual coverage. (VOA also uses the booths).

Harvey points out that in addition to the meetings, there are a great many press conferences and briefings which must be covered. And he adds a plaint familiar to many a Washington civil servant: "A great deal of what we work with is paper—this place has a continual paper blizzard of reports, surveys, summaries and speeches." His desk is stacked high with reading material that he must get to "sometime."

The UN job is not a 9 to 5 one—Harvey says wryly that the Security Council "has a penchant for meeting late in the evening." A recent meeting on Cyprus opened at 11 p.m., and during many days of the Suez and Hungarian crises in 1956 the staff worked 20 hours a day.

Asked the inevitable question, what about parties? Harvey says yes, some news often does surface at them, and there are some that are "musts," but continual parties get as tiresome as anything else.

Fortunately he and his wife live only a mile and a half from the UN. "I try to get out of town week-ends to live at all," he smiles.

Born in upstate New York, Harvey received his B.A. degree from Colgate University in 1931. Before the war he worked with CBS in New York when they were doing overseas broadcasts. From 1943 to 1945 he served with the U.S. Navy on a minesweeper in the Pacific.

He joined State as a radio script writer in 1949, in the program that was a continuation of the information operation stemming from the Office of War Information. He became a press officer for IPS in 1954.

Although Harvey himself seldom gets to Washington, the slug "Harvey, UN" is seen on copy received almost every day at the IPS telegraph desk in Washington. The Agency operates a teletype circuit between "1776" and USIA offices at the UN and those on West 57th Street in New York. Material can be both sent and received at all outlets on this circuit.

Asked about sometime doing a book on the UN and his experiences there, Harvey grins and says "If I admitted that, some of my news sources might dry up." But friends and co-workers believe a lot of solid knowledge about the United Nations and its inner workings will be lost if Harvey *doesn't* write that book.

ACCRA PAO EDWARD STANSBURY (left) explains the USIS Library's card catalogue system to A. E. Inkumsah (center), Ghana's Minister of Information and Broadcasting, during the latter's inspection of the Library. Senior Assistant Librarian Jonathan Mensah looks on.

VOA FORUM BEGINS SERIES ON AMERICAN NOVEL

Last month the Voice of America began a series of 18 half-hour *Forum* lectures on the "American Novel." The lectures will be broadcast on World Wide English twice weekly until August 27.

The 19 novels chosen for the series present, in effect, a panorama of American letters and American life. James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers* inaugurates the series and William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* brings it to a close.

Forum editor Theodore A. Wertime says: "The dilemmas and strengths of American life are here in abundance: the end of the frontier and the coming of the factory and city, the disenchantment of the late 19th century, the fate of the artist in America, the Negro in the South—all are present in this series."

By selecting novels that are in many cases semi-biographical, the coordinator, Professor Wallace Stegner of Stanford University, has succeeded in capturing some of the innermost facets of the creative writer in the American scene. At the same time he has provided important insights into the vitality of American letters as they have grown and flourished over a period of a century and a half.

The Forum series consists of recorded lectures on tape and corresponding pamphlet texts produced at RSC Manila. Delivery of the pamphlets is anticipated for early or mid-May.

PEACE CORPS DIRECTOR Sargent Shriver goes on a nationwide German "Meet the Press" telecast at Radio Free Berlin during a visit to Berlin, while Berlin PAO Albert Hemsing confers with the program's moderator, Eberhard Schutz.

USIS Seoul Holds English Teaching Demonstration

USIS Seoul has completed another demonstration exhibit of English-teaching materials in the post's Cultural Center under the joint sponsorship of USIS and the American Embassy Women's Club.

The fourth such program conducted during the past two years, its primary purpose was to improve the teaching methods of those wives of Embassy, USIS, USOM and military personnel presently teaching English, and to encourage persons not now teaching to devote at least part of their time to the teaching of English to Koreans.

The exhibit was especially intended to help American women in selecting and using the best available English-teaching materials in either informal small classes conducted for Koreans in American homes, or in more formal classes in local schools. However, the program also was open to others in the American community, and to non-Americans on a space-available basis.

Fifty-four persons attended, including 16 wives of U.S. Government personnel, 15 persons from the Korea Association of Voluntary Agencies which includes missionaries, and nine American soldiers. The 54 teach more than 2,400 students, and "in so doing contribute toward promoting attitudes of friendship and understanding between individual Koreans and Americans," says ACAO Donald R. Ford.

Instructor for the demonstration exhibit was the wife of CAO Chester A. Bain, a professional English teacher who has had considerable experience in the use of USIA-sponsored English-teaching materials and other materials available locally in Korea. The group was welcomed by Mrs. Samuel D. Berger, the Ambassador's wife.

A Flattering Imitation

Effectiveness is often hard to measure in terms of immediate action, but USIS Kuala Lumpur has come across a specific example of impact. And it proves the old adage that "imitation is the sincerest form of flattery!"

The Malaysian Government issued a message to civil servants by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj. Printed in Malay and English, it was distributed to each Malaysian Government employe throughout the nation.

The handy, pocket-size pamphlet is an exact replica—even to size and format—of the RSC Manila series of U.S. Policy Statements. Malaysian leaders, including all cabinet ministers, receive copies of the RSC-produced pamphlets. Compact, readable, and up-to-date, the policy statement series now has a local competitor!

USIA Linguists

(The following employes received S-3 or R-3 or better, or S-2 or R-2 or better in the difficult languages, in language proficiency tests conducted by the Foreign Service Institute during April. According to the definitions of language proficiency, the rating of "5" indicates educated bilingual competency; the "4" rating indicates the specialist level. The 'S" stands for spoken language proficiency; the "R" for reading proficiency.)

Hakim, David	Spanish	S-3	
Keller, John M.	Italian	S-3	R-3
Kramer, Wilford	Danish	S-3+	R-4
Landi, Anthony M.	French	S-4	R-4+
	Italian	S-5	R-5
Littlejohn, Carol V.	French	S-3+	R-4
Phillips, E. Barbara	French	S-3+	R-3
Russell, John W. L., Jr.	French	S-4	R-4
Stephen, Henry H.	French	S-3	
Vetter, Charles T.	French	S-3	R-3+
Williams, Stanley E.	Portuguese	S-4+	R-4

USIS TURIN HELPS FOUND JFK LIBRARY

USIS Turin's books, music and records have been turned over to the city's Civic Library and will become the foundation stone of the "John Fitzgerald Kennedy Memorial Library." The move is hailed by city fathers and educators as significant evidence of Italo-American cooperation.

Turin Mayor Gian Carlo Anselmetti, in his speech at the Kennedy Library inauguration, praised the late President for his efforts to extend education to mankind and said that the new library would be especially symbolic of those efforts.

The Mayor and Dr. Enzo Bottasso, Director of the Civic Library, expressed their appreciation for the books and other equipment. They said the transfer would enrich the cultural patrimony of Turin. Dr. Botasso, a former grantee, and others noted that establishment of the Kennedy Library would mark the first time that the open-shelf system had been introduced into local library practices.

Former Turin PAO Dan Herget, now assigned to Washington, was especially commended by Turin's spokesmen for his cooperation in bringing about the establishment of the Library.

USIS Wows Olowo Of Owo

African posts offer many interesting and unusual opportunities. A case in point is the trip made by USIS Ibadan's Program Assistant William E. Jones to Owo (154 miles from Ibadan) on the personal invitation of the Olowo of Owo, Oba Olateru Olagbegi II (the traditional ruler or king).

Upon arrival at the Afin (palace), Jones, then acting PAO, accompanied by his wife, family and friends, was greeted by His Highness and taken to observe a traditional ceremony of chiefs, followed by a tour of the palace and a dinner party.

After that, "the surprise of the trip" was seeing some 3,500 people assembled on the front court of the palace awaiting what USIS had expected to be a routine film show. It was to date the largest crowd ever assembled at one time in Western Nigeria for any USIS activity, Jones says.

One set of the New Funk and Wagnal's Encyclopedia was presented to the Owo District Council and the other to the palace library, before the cheering crowd. Accepting the gifts, the Olowo outlined many examples of the good work being done in Nigeria by USIA and AID, and said that country's progress today would be all but impossible without U.S. aid and support.

AROUND THE WORLD

A BERLIN AMERIKA HAUS exhibit on History and Tradition of the U.S. Army is inspected by (from left) West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt, Frau Rut Brandt, Ambassador George C. McGhee, Mrs. McGhee, and U.S. Commander Major General James H. Polk.

* * *

WASHINGTON—Former Director Edward R. Murrow and the Agency's Voice of America have been given the 1963 George Foster Peabody Award for contributions to international understanding through the medium of radio.

* * *

DAMASCUS—Sponsoring the first stamp exhibit ever held in Syria, the USIS Information Center displayed first-day American stamps as well as those of Syrian collectors. Plaudits came not only from Ambassador Ridgway B. Knight but from Michel Kurshe, outstanding Syrian artist and exhibitor, and others, reports PAO Evan Fotos.

* * *

TANGIER—Standing-room-only crowds of 700 students of the College El Qadi Ayad are attending bi-weekly USIS film showings on a wide variety of Americana, science and health features, CPAO W. E. Weld, Jr., says. The college is the largest liberal arts secondary school in north Morocco.

USIS ADDIS ABABA display artist Tadesse Haille puts finishing touches on a display in the windows of the post's library which features works of the capital's secondary school students. The contents of the display are changed every two weeks to allow each school a chance to display its students' works.

SANTIAGO—In support of the Fifth Reunion of the Inter-American Nuclear Energy Conference, the post, as its contribution, displayed USIA's Technical Book Exhibit and 40 of the Agency's other books on peaceful uses of atomic energy, according to PAO Barbara M. White. The post's exhibition supported the "peaceful uses" theme of the conference, which was attended by 80 delegates from hemispheric countries.

* * *

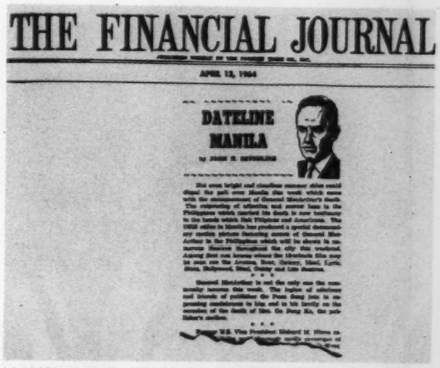
SEOUL — Encouraging development of Korean student discussion groups, USIS is the weekly host of 31 groups with total membership of 890 high school and college students, PAO William E. Phipps reports. Most (with the exception of a space science group, a music group, and a group interested in physical education) hold general discussions on various topics in English.

ONE OF USIS KABUL'S most popular exhibits is this working model railroad in the Cultural Center window. It dramatizes Afghan-American cooperation in building a seven kilometer railroad spur from the Pakistan border to the Afghan town of Spin Baldak. The exhibit was prepared by Exhibits Program Assistant S. N. Chandhok and Senior Communications Technician Mohammed Ibrahim, who is pictured checking the train's operation.

—Jimmy Bedford

* * *

MADRID—When USIS conducted a series of lectures on "Five Aspects of North American Culture" for Spanish University students, one student said, "Nobody goes to lectures in Madrid. There are a hundred lectures every night and since there are so many to choose among, one doesn't go to any." PAO William W. Copeland reports, however, that despite such "cynicism" many sessions had standing-room-only attendance.



THE FINANCIAL JOURNAL

DATELINE MANILA

MANILA PAO JOHN H. ESTERLINE is a busy man. In addition to his other duties, he takes time to write this weekly column for Manila's Financial Times.

* * *

TAICHUNG—USIS provided films, photographs, paintings and articles from 28 countries for an exhibit-film-lecture program the Rotary Club did for International Understanding Week. An estimated 25,000 persons visited the exhibit, and 15,000 saw the films.

* * *

ZAGREB—RTV-Zagreb began telecasting a "Let's Learn English" series in Serbo-Croation on a bi-weekly basis. PAO Walter R. Roberts writes that viewers in all parts of the country, including Slovenia, can see the program. In addition, RTV-Ljubljana is continuing an English-teaching series it began last year in the Slovene language and, as of the end of April, had shown almost 100 films.

* * *

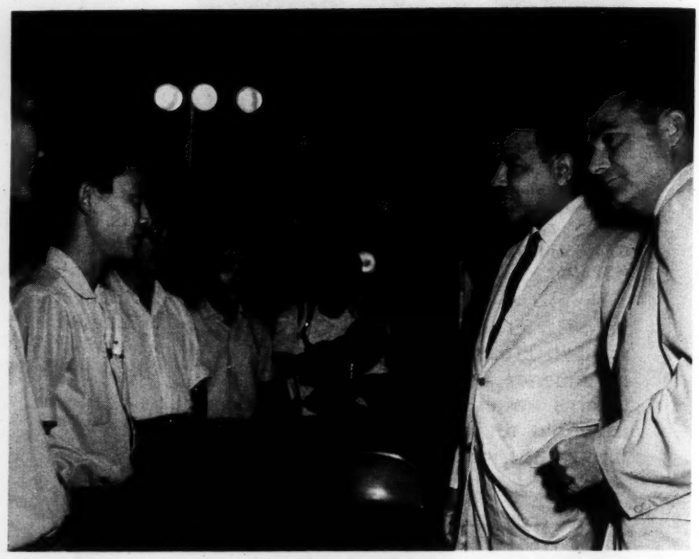
JOHANNESBURG—When an information sheet describing the American Library services was issued, the *Star*, South Africa's largest daily, carried an article headed, "They Know All the Answers at the U.S. Library." A definite increase in library memberships and requests for speech-making assistance has been noted, PAO Argus J. Tressider says.

LA PAZ IO (AID) MIKE KRISTULA (at left) receives a piece of high-grade tin ore with an inscription from 13 Bolivian technicians and the superintendent of Bolivia's Siglo XX mine who were fellow hostages with Kristula for 10 days last December. Making the presentation is mine superintendent Cornelius Bloot.

THE DIRECTOR VISITS . . .

Saigon

DIRECTOR ROWAN TALKS WITH USIS SAIGON Chief Librarian Miss Phan My Linh. With him are PAO Barry Zorthian (left) and J. Ned Burford, Director of the USIS Cultural Center.



THE DIRECTOR MEETS VIETNAMESE EMPLOYES of USIS Saigon. David P. Sheppard, Deputy PAO, is on the right.

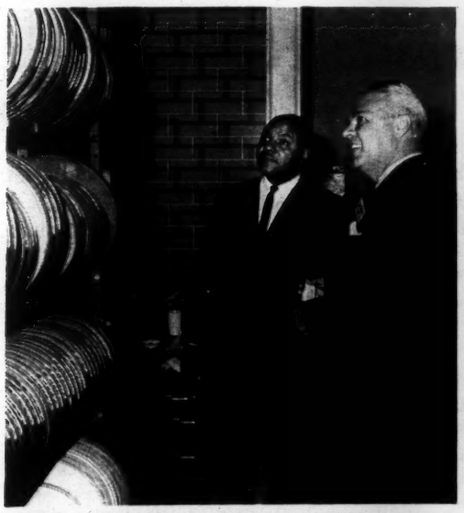
Hong Kong

ROWAN TALKS TO USIS HONG KONG staffers, flanked by PAO Earl J. Wilson (back to camera) and Deputy PAO Richard H. Donald (extreme right).

HONG KONG PAO WILSON listens as the Director addresses staffers.

ROWAN flanked Thomas

Taipei



DIRECTOR ROWAN AND PAO C. ROBERT PAYNE inspect the film library at USIS Taipei.

THE COMPLICATED OPERATIONS of a Chinese typewriter are explained to Director Rowan by Miss Helen Lu of USIS Taipei. A movable tray holds approximately 2,000 of the most commonly used Chinese characters. Some 5,500 less commonly used characters are kept in supplementary forms surrounding the typewriter.

USIS TAIPEI'S RADIO ENGINEERS, Yu Yun-teng and Yeh Hoo-ming, explain their multiple taping operations which serve Taiwan's 63 radio stations, to Director Rowan.

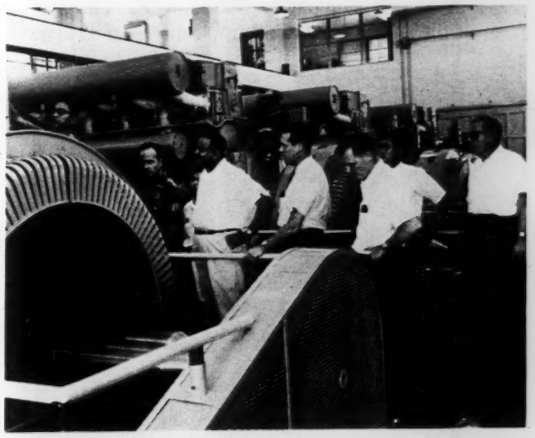
Manila

EMPLOYES OF RSC MANILA cluster around the Director after his talk to the staff.

THE DIRECTOR DISCOVERS that craftsmanship is the key word in RSC Manila's camera and stripping section—essential for top-quality offset printing.

OWAN LOOKS OVER LANGUAGE EDITIONS of Free World, anked by Manila PAO John H. Esterline (right), RSC Director homas Parker, and editorial Chief Albert Roland (far left).

DIRECTOR ROWAN stands atop a ladder leading to the roof of the transmitter building at VOA's principal transmitter facility in the Philippines, located at Poro Point in northwest Luzon. Beneath him is Louis Valenter, assistant transmitter supervisor.



INSPECTING A GENERATOR at VOA's Poro Point facility are (from left) PAO Esterline, Director Rowan, Fred Blackburn, manager of the Philippine Relay Station; Deputy PAO Alfred N. Johnson; Edwin Davis of the Relay Station staff, and Orville Montgomery, an Assistant General Counsel for the Agency.

MONTEVIDEO PAO LEMUEL E. GRAVES, JR., looks solemn as he gives away the bride at the wedding of USIS switchboard operator Carmen Castro, who was married to Chief Petty Officer Joseph Sleasman in the Lourdes Catholic Church.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING — IN AFRICA

During the current fiscal year at least eight instructors—including four national staffers—are being sent to Africa on temporary duty status to train African staff assistants in various job-related techniques.

Instruction is being given in the operation and maintenance of program equipment (projects, tape recorders, public address systems, etc.), office procedures, film program planning and management, photography, and exhibits techniques.

The instructors spend from two to six months in the Agency's Training Division before going out for one to three weeks to posts which request their services.

Among the instructors are four foreign national employes: Carles Etienne of USIS Port-au-Prince, Jorgen Stahnke Hansen, of USIS Copenhagen, Harry Berry, USIS Salisbury, and Andre Chaptel of USIS Paris.

American instructors include Misses Helen J. Garbacz and Jean K. (Betsy) Foley, J. D. McCallum, and Don Duke.

JOHN D. McCALLUM, Regional Equipment Instructor, stresses proper servicing of equipment to Hafiz Labinjo, USIS Lagos technician. McCallum is one of eight TDY Training Division instructors now giving on-the-job training at various posts in Africa.

'USIA Can Make an Important Contribution..'

(Last month Director Rowan spoke to members of the National Press Club in Washington. Following are excerpts from his remarks.)

. . . Your task and mine have much in common, although they are far from identical: I hope in the give and take of this occasion and continuing dialogue in many forums, formal and informal, we may grow in mutual understanding and the reinforcement of our common purposes.

You believe in telling the truth. So do we. You believe in responsible reporting. So do we. You have an obligation to your clients that goes beyond parochial or commercial interests. So do we. You deal in communications. So do we. You apply the process of editorial selection. So do we. You attempt to supply fact, balance, perspective to your readers, viewers, and hearers. So do we. Vis-a-vis your opposition, you attempt to get there fustest. So do we.

Most of you speak for an independent, non-official, non-government publisher, editor, or producer. We do not.

Our ownership is the American people. Our Board of Directors is the Congress of the United States. Our Publisher is the President of the United States. Our charter is a combination of the Constitution of the United States, the Smith-Mundt Act, and the Hays-Fulbright Act. Our business office is the power of the purse on Capitol Hill.

We brook no compromise with truth

No less than you, *and no more than you,* we must be responsive to the direction of the management. No less than you, we brook no compromise with principle or truth.

From these parameters of truth and responsibility to the American people—through their chosen representatives in the three branches of government—the responsibilities and limitations of the U.S. Information Agency can be defined with some precision.

The responsibility, as defined by President Kennedy and affirmed by President Johnson, "is to help achieve United States foreign policy objectives." We have no other business.

We are instructed to do this, among other things, by influencing public attitudes in other nations. We are the fourth dimension in foreign affairs: to the diplomatic arm, the military arm, and the economic arm has been added the information or psychological or propaganda arm—I let the semanticists choose the precise word.

Let me ask you, where would you begin this task? You have a mandate from the President to help achieve U.S. objectives abroad, your field is information, and Congress has given you, in the current fiscal year, $145,000,000 to do the job.

Before we go on, a word of perspective on these resources. I am not pleading poor mouth, but it should be noted that at our present respective rates, the annual appropriation of the Department of Defense would run USIA for 338 years, or until the Year of Our Lord 2302. The AID budget would carry us for more than 20 years. If we count as our clients all the people of the world outside the United States, which essentially they are, we could not afford to send each one of them one postcard a year.

The answer, of course, must lie in selectivity. Selectivity in audience. Selectivity in message. Selectivity in priority. Selectivity in effort. Selectivity in use of media. The same kind of selectivity which writers, editors, directors, and producers apply every day in conveying a message to anyone anywhere.

We are aware of public opinion

We are painfully aware of our major public opinion problems overseas. Some grow out of the facts of American life and policy: the problem of race and discrimination, the problem of poverty in the affluent society, the maldistribution of the costs of medical and hospital care, the conflicting voices of a free society. Some grow out of the efforts of the adversary: lies, distortions, misrepresentation, shibboleths actively propagated to undermine our position. Some grow out of the genuine accomplishments of the adversary: the spectacular Sputnik I and subsequent Russian space shots; the irresponsible and unnecessary terror of the 100 megaton bomb.

With its resources—and here I paraphrase Lincoln's famous words—USIA cannot tell all of the truth about the United States to all the people of the world all of the time, however desirable that may be.

We have evolved, therefore, a system of priorities. They reflect official policy, and are periodically examined and revised as required. . . .

Our mandate from the President also contains an injunction to "identify the United States as a strong, democratic, dynamic nation" qualified for its leadership role, and to emphasize "those aspects of American life and culture which facilitate sympathetic understanding of United States policies" . . . .

At our field posts, we go one step

(Continued on page 15)

Helping Others Editor's Habit

Sture Berggren, USIS Stockholm's Chief Editor, whose accomplishments range all the way from top-flight press activities to a successful forest search for a lost child, has added another feather to his cap. This time it concerns aid to the physically handicapped.

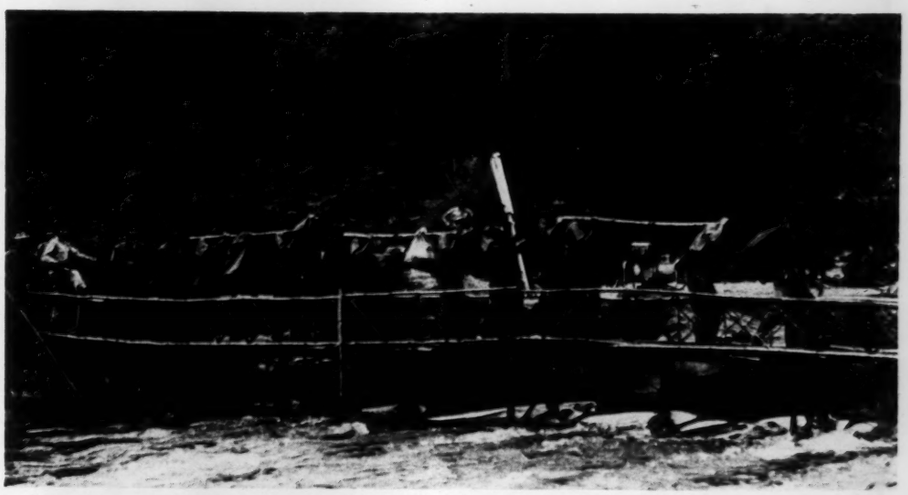
M. Lorimer Moe, IO in Sweden, reports that for sometime the post had been considering what to do with three old Hallicrafter receivers, after efforts to sell them found no takers. Finally the post was authorized to give them away or destroy them. He adds:

"This was the word that Sture Berggren — Stockholm's many-faceted chief editor—was waiting for. He called Olle Ekblom, technical secretary of the Swedish Radio Amateur Association. Ekblom and Gunnar Jonsson, another Swedish 'ham', inspected the equipment and found it ideal for the training program SRAA conducts for the physically handicapped."

Sture, who was a young radio operator on Swedish ships in Allied convoys in World War II, once more had gotten through to those who sometimes found the going rough.

(Berggren was Profiled in the September 1963 USIA CORRESPONDENT.)

TWO OLD RADIO RECEIVERS which have been gathering dust in USIS Stockholm's storage space are presented by Ambassador J. Graham Parsons (center) to Olle Ekblom (right) technical secretary of the Swedish Radio Amateur Association which will use them in a training program for the physically handicapped. National staffer Sture Berggren, who conceived the idea of the donation, looks on with considerable satisfaction.



USIS LAOS FIELD REPRESENTATIVE KHAMPEER NOIWAN took the above photo when he went on a five-day movie showing tour with an information team of the Royal Lao Army in the eastern portion of Xieng Khouang Province, close to the North Vietnamese border. Members of the group lug USIS equipment over a typical bridge on their way through the jungles to isolated villages now facing increased Pathet Lao offensives—both military and propaganda.

BRYAN BOOK RECEIVES ANOTHER AWARD

"Come to the Bower," a novel by Jack Y. Bryan, former CAO Karachi, now Agency-assigned, has won another $1,000 prize.

Although the book is a novel—an historical romance set against the dramatic events of the Texas war for independence—it has been awarded the Summerfield Roberts Prize for the best history of pioneer times. The award was given Bryan at a gathering of historians and civic leaders in Dallas.

It had previously won the $1,000 Jesse Jones fiction award by the Texas Institute of Letters. Some 110,000 hard-cover copies of the book have been published, most of them by the Doubleday Book Club (for which it was the No. 1 selection last fall) and the Literary Guild (for which it was an alternate choice).

Bryan, who concedes that the harvest from his first effort is "heartening", says "Come to the Bower" is the first volume in a trilogy having to do with three great ordeals of the Southwest. While in Washington he hopes to follow up at the Library of Congress research he did in Texas and Mexico on his second volume.

Bryan's second book is tentatively titled "The Wild Seed."

CARACAS BNC OPENS UNIVERSITY BRANCH

A new student branch of the Centro Venezolano-Americano, located directly across Plaza Venezuela from the main entrance to Central University, was inaugurated last month before a gala crowd of 500 cultural and educational leaders.

Fifteen major events over a two-week period "attracted consistently full houses, composed mostly of top priority youth audiences new to the Center," says Caracas PAO Richard G. Cushing. A concert by the University of Illinois Symphony Orchestra at the Central University Aula Magna was dedicated to the new Center.

When completed, says Cushing, the Center will offer flexible hall space for lectures, films, conferences, seminars and concerts for audiences from 75 to 450 persons. Also included will be a snack bar, bookstore, reference library geared to university classes, student counseling library and service, music corner and eight classrooms to supplement the 23 already in full operation at the Center's other building.

A total of nearly 4,000 language students will now be joined by a large number of other Venezuelans whose interest in things American is great but does not include the desire to learn the English language.

DIRECTOR MILTON LEAVITT (at mike) opens ceremonies inaugurating Bogota's new BNC. Seated are (from left) Ambassador Freeman, Colombian President Guillermo Leon Valencia, and Jorge Mejia Salazar, President of the BNC's Board of Directors.

BOGOTA INAUGURATES NEW BINATIONAL CENTER

The recent inauguration of a new Centro Colombo-Americano in Bogota was attended by President Guillermo Leon Valencia and highlighted by Ambassador Fulton Freeman's last public appearance in Colombia before he left to assume the Ambassadorship in Mexico.

Center Director Milton Leavitt opened the inaugural ceremony with an address that highlighted the program and objectives of the BNC. Dr. Jorge Media Salazar, President of the Center's Board of Directors, also spoke. The audience of 750 invited guests included such other notables as the chiefs of the Colombian Ministries, the Governor of the State, the Mayor, the rectors, deans and faculty leaders of Bogota's universities, and major press, radio and TV representatives.

Founded in 1942, the BNC occupies a beautiful new building close to downtown Bogota. It was built by private American and Colombian contributions with PL-480 assistance.

The inauguration kicked off a month of intensive cultural and informational activities, highlighted by the appearance of the University of Illinois Symphony Orchestra. Among other attractions were workshops on the American theatre, exhibitions of Colombian and American art, and a jazz concert.

Under the direction of Milton Leavitt, the Center has greatly increased enrollment in its English Classes in the past year and a half. It now reaches 3,400 students. The Center also assists in making available cultural and information programs for the other eight BNC's in Colombia, puts out a monthly newspaper that circulates among the university community, and produces a weekly radio program which is heard on stations throughout the country.

Stevens Heads Cannes American Delegation

IMS Director George Stevens, Jr., served as chairman of the American delegation to the 17th International Film Festival at Cannes this month.

U.S. delegates were Abe Schneider, President of Columbia Pictures, and Arnold Picker, Executive Vice President of United Artists. Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Lucius D. Battle served as a special delegate.

American members of the Cannes Festival Jury were Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., former Special Assistant to the President of the United States, and motion picture star Charles Boyer.

ASSISTANT GENERAL COUNSEL EDWARD CHAYES beams as his wife (at his right) and part of his staff help celebrate his 70th birthday. At his left are Mrs. Ethel Kendall and Dolores Barchella, who gave the party for Colonel Chayes. He has been asked by IGC to stay on with the Agency for an additional year. —Joseph Pinto

POST PLANNED WELL— BUT NOT FOR THIS

When units of the Sixth Fleet, including the huge *USNS Enterprise,* visited Istanbul, all activities on an extensive goodwill program had been arranged by USIS—that is, almost all.

There were blood donations by crew members, destroyer crews played host aboard ship to young orphans, a group of sailors gave a party for crippled children, and the Sixth Fleet Staff Band entertained with several concerts. These and other events, including the painting and repair of a 300-year-old building occupied by the Mevlane Kapi Boy's Rehabilitation Center by crewmen, were among those scheduled by USIS Istanbul, according to PAO Norman P. Scott.

"One unscheduled activity also captured the imagination of the Turks," Scott said, explaining: "This was the rescue of a Turkish housewife by an Enterprise crewman after the woman fell from a Bosphorus ferry boat. In an act of extreme bravery, the young sailor leaped into the 42-degree water and snatched her from beneath the ferry, without doubt saving her life."

THAIS, USIS JOIN TO HELP RETARDED

Retarded children in Bangkok's Institute for Mental Deficiency are getting a little more enjoyment out of life these days because of USIS-donated magazines and a project in which cooperation is spelled with a capital "C."

The project began when nine Women's Hospital post-graduate nurses visited the Information Center and asked what books could be borrowed to show young charges at the Institute. Unfortunately, those printed in Thai, as well as the English texts, seemed inappropriate.

A suggestion that the nurses might make picture scrapbooks on muslin, using brief explanations of objects, was declined because of lack of time.

The cause seemed so meritorious, however, that a telephone call was made to the Director of the Student Christian Center where students are encouraged to volunteer for worthy projects. These students now pick up USIS-donated magazines, taking them, and muslin which the SCC provides, to the School for the Deaf where other youngsters make the scrapbooks.

Again, the SCC students join in the cooperative venture. Picking up the completed scrapbooks from the School for the Deaf, they go regularly to the Mental Institute to read to the children, explaining the pictures of America to them and translating its story into Thai.

USIS STAFFERS find themselves in strange places sometimes. Going aloft in a crane-hoisted elevator platform are (from left) USIS Madras' Senior Assistant in the Press Section, V. M. Cherian, USAID Engineer Walt Lawrence, and Hemen Bose, a Calcutta newsman. USIS Madras took 16 Indian newsmen to some 10 U.S.-assisted projects in South India, including Sharavathi hydro-electric project, which these three are viewing. It will be the largest single power project in southern Asia.

CLAREMONT QUARTET APPLAUDED BY KENYANS

Nairobi CAO James L. Culpepper says that for a long time he has been campaigning for "small, lightweight, mobile cultural presentations that can leave the capital city and get out into the country to visit schools."

The recent success in Kenya of the Claremont String Quartet proves him right, he believes. Playing 15 concerts and workshops in 11 towns during a three-week tour of Kenya, the Claremont Quartet pioneered a new kind of Department of State Cultural presentation—the arts workshop.

Culpepper says that in Africa, the principal audience for cultural presentations of any but the most popular and simple kind are school children, the future leaders of the continent.

The CAO notes that more than 6,000 persons, most of them African high school students, listened and applauded these four young musicians "who moved in their seats to the sweetness of the music," as one enraptured student put it. "The Quartet has revolutionized musical education in Kenya," said the Director of the East Africa Conservatoire of Music.

The popular Claremont, says Culpepper—"fiddled from the Equator at Lake Victoria to Mombasa on the Indian Ocean, talking, demonstrating, letting the students handle their precious instruments. All of which goes to show that the big show and pops entertainment is not the only answer to cultural programming in Africa. The low cost, highly mobile, demonstration arts workshop, be it on chamber music, painting, dance, drama —however 'difficult' or sophisticated the genre, can interest and inspire people all over the world who are eager to learn, if only artists can be found who are just as eager to communicate their art."

The CAO concludes: "The Claremont Quartet were—and did."

MEMBERS OF THE CLAREMONT QUARTET show members of the Starehe Youth Club in Nairobi how their instruments are played. The quartet conducted a "workshop" at the Club.

ADIOS SENORA BOWERS!

Mrs. Doris Bowers retired May 1 after 14 years of State and Agency service—and the Latin American Branch of IPS may never be the same.

As Deputy Chief (and frequently acting Chief) of the Latin American Branch's Photo and Publications Section, Doris helped lay the foundation upon which the present highly-successful RSC Mexico was built. When IPS assumed control of the Center in 1962—it had been the USIS Mexico print shop —Doris was named Washington liaison officer and told to come up with ideas for pamphlets, posters, leaflets and the like—all aimed at spreading understanding of U.S. policies throughout Latin America.

One of her pamphlets—"Letter to a Latin American Businessman" — was hailed by former Agency Director Edward R. Murrow as "one of our most significant efforts in telling the Alliance for Progress story."

DORIS BOWERS is presented with a bon voyage card from fellow staffers by IPS Director Ray Mackland. She also received an eye-level view finder for her Rolleflex. At her right is her husband, Seward Bowers. —George Szabo

For nearly a year, Doris wore two sombreros—both size GS-13. One she wore in her Deputy Chief's role, the other as RSC Editorial Liaison Officer. Although she never received the pay of a GS-26, she made GS-14 last September when she was named Chief of Post Servicing of the IPS Pictures Branch.

Doris' love affair with Latin America began nearly a quarter of a century ago. In 1940 she was one of five Chicagoans who flew all around South America in a single-engine monoplane. Another of the five aerial *turistas* was a young lawyer named Seward Bowers, whom she later married.

Doris started her career as a society editor on the *Dayton Journal and Herald*.

IPS' ESTHER DANENBERG (center), Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine (at left) and Women's National Press Club President Elsie Carper discuss issues of the day at the Club's dinner for members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Miss Danenberg is Second Vice President of the Club. —The Washington Post

She did editorial and photographic stints on Chicago papers, was news editor for the Chicago bureau of Acme Newspictures, and was an advertising copy writer and free lance photographer.

She came to Washington as picture editor for the American National Red Cross in 1945 and joined the Government in 1950.

Resourceful, painstaking, hard-working, Doris doesn't believe that a thing is impossible just because it can't be done. It is this can-do spirit which will be missed most around "1776" with the departure of Doris Bowers.

And what of her "retirement" plans?

When the spirit moves her, she says, she will work on the manicured acre of ground surrounding the Bowers' modernistic home in nearby Virginia. In June she plans to do publicity chores for the national convention of her church. Vacation trips to New England and the West are in the cards later this summer—when her husband also will retire from Government service.

Next winter—and probably many more —the Bowers will go to Mexico, where Doris plans to start work on a picture book for children. She hopes to learn to weave in Mexico, plans to do free lance photographic and writing jobs when assignments which interest her come along.

Her resignation so touched Don Julio Garzon, poet laureate of the Latin American Branch, that he whipped out the following "Ode to Senora Bowers":

From theese USIA they say you se vamos
We weel mees your mirar y sweet smile,
For they say you are taking the old sol,
Wheech has brightened our ruta awhile.
Come and seat by our sides eef you loff us,
Do not hasten to bid us adios,
And remember the ganga from the USIA,
The ganga that loffs you so much.

—Lafe Allen, IPS/EL

PERSONNEL CHANGES

(Actions reported by the Personnel Division as of April 30, 1964)

TRANSFERS

	From	To
Anspacher, John M.	Washington	Bamako
Ballow, Barry E.	Brazzaville	Luluabourg
Baumgartner, Herbert	Washington	Bombay
Blair, Walter S.	Tours	Elizabethville
Boyle, Kenneth R.	Taichung	Hong Kong
Canestro, Charles N.	Dacca	Washington
Cattell, Robert A.	Washington	Douala
Colton, Ernest J.	Capetown	Berlin
Constable, John, Jr.	Accra	Lagos
Conyngham, Edward F.	Taipei	Kuching
Deligianis, George	Marrakech	Washington
DeMyer, William F.	Phnom Penh	Singapore
Dery, Jean M.	Benghazi	Washington
Drucker, Darrell I., Jr.	Bujumbura	Rabat
Durham, William H.	Washington	Nairobi
Falkiewicz, Andrzej T.	Bonn	Cantho
Fasoli, Guy A.	Saigon	Washington
Fein, Lawrence S.	Washington	Addis Ababa
Forster, Clifton B.	Washington	Tokyo
Foster, John P.	Tehran	Kabul
France, Gordon D.	Colombo Relay Sta.	Rhodes Site Staff
Grenoble, William L.	Washington	Frankfurt
Hakim, David	Djakarta	Arequipa
Hall, Lawrence J.	Washington	New Delhi
Haney, Robert C.	Bamako	Saigon
Hicks, John H.	Berlin	Monrovia
Kendall, Harry H.	Washington	Panama City
Ketcham, Elizabeth	Dakar	Bonn
Krene, Joseph I.	Washington	Salisbury
Lamar, John D.	Greenville Relay Sta.	Liberia Relay Station
LaRue, Robert D.	Dixon Relay Station	Thessaloniki Relay Sta.
Louden, George R., Jr.	Lahore	Tokyo
Mason, Mildred H.	Calcutta	Washington
Merian, Robert A.	Dacca	Manila (Amendment)
Metcalf, Susan J.	Rome	Brussels
Meyers, Robert S.	Washington	La Paz
Morrison, Dale A.	Sao Paulo	Rio de Janeiro
Nygren, Edward J.	Washington	Dakar
Ostrander, Collin E.	Puerto Rico	Isfahan
Park, Edward H.	Courier Relay Station	Liberia Relay Station
Ransom, Charles C.	Phnom Penh	Washington
Raup, William W.	Washington	Rabat
Russell, John W. L., Jr.	Fort Lamy	Washington
Savage, Francis	London	Washington
Springwater, Ronald E.	Libreville	Luang Prabang
Synodis, Peter N.	Caracas	Luluabourg
Tuch, Hans N.	Washington	Warsaw
Vallimarescu, Serban	Santo Domingo	Washington
Welty, Fred W.	Washington	Colombo
Wentzel, Wilfred H.	Belgrade	Karachi
Wilcox, Duane T.	Quito	La Paz
Wolcott, Peter C.	Kuala Lumpur	Surabaya
Wyant, Jack E.	Washington	Rio de Janeiro

TRANSFERS FROM FOREIGN SERVICE TO DOMESTIC SERVICE
Charles B. Reynolds, Mary Rowland

TRANSFER FROM DOMESTIC SERVICE TO FOREIGN SERVICE
Joseph R. Sherrill

PROMOTIONS

FOREIGN SERVICE

		From	To
Phnom Penh	Olson, Elaine H.	FSS-9	FSS-8

DOMESTIC SERVICE

	From	To
IOA		
Bedgood, Muriel J.	GS-4	GS-5
Copperthite, Robert C.	GS-11	GS-12
Cranford, Samuel J.	GS-5	GS-6
Gaborko, Ruth M.	GS-5	GS-6
Holt, Silas	WB-4	WB-6
Moyer, Elvans M.	GS-9	GS-11
Spears, Austin L.	GS-5	GS-6
IOP		
Shute, Florence L.	GS-6	GS-7
IPT		
Goll, Patricia A.	GS-5	GS-7
Friedline, Janice L.	GS-4	GS-5
Whittenmore, James C.	GS-7	GS-9
IRS		
Mauseth, Viola M.	GS-11	GS-12
Page, Aurora N.	GS-4	GS-5
IBS		
Bentlejewski, Arlene A.	GS-4	GS-5
Collins, Fred C.	GS-13	GS-14
Gale, Clarence W.	GS-3	GS-4
Hallett, Charlotte J.	GS-4	GS-5
Mills, Carolyn D.	GS-4	GS-5
Nishimoto, June J.	GS-4	GS-5
Riddick, Alfred E.	GS-11	GS-12
Robbeloth, DeWitt J.	GS-11	GS-12
Sustersic, Stanley	GS-9	GS-11
ICS		
Kephart, Helen	GS-4	GS-5
Wilson, Esther G.	GS-4	GS-5
Zvonik, Martha	GS-5	GS-6
IMS		
Velaumandavin, Wilma E.	GS-7	GS-9
IPS		
Bonds, Laura R.	GS-5	GS-6
Ferrell, Phyllis A.	GS-3	GS-4
Glick, Nathan	GS-13	GS-14
Hollinger, Richard	GS-5	GS-6
Minicone, Anna F.	GS-5	GS-6
Pfeiffer, Oliver E.	GS-11	GS-12
ITV		
Benjamin, Finley E.	GS-7	GS-9
Mudd, Anna Lee	GS-7	GS-9
Roberts, Mary K.	GS-7	GS-9

Maracaibo Staffer Narrowly Misses Bridge Tragedy

USIS Maracaibo staffer Romer Portillo narrowly escaped death last month when a large section of the Lake Maracaibo bridge collapsed after it was hit by an oil tanker.

Returning from the eastern shore of the lake to Maracaibo near midnight, Portillo was driving slowly along the bridge. Two cars passed him.

Suddenly he noticed that the white dividing line seemed to disappear up ahead. He put on the brakes, stopping a few feet short of the edge. There was no more roadbed. Some 600 feet of the bridge had fallen into the lake.

The two cars that had passed him—and two coming from the other direction—all had plunged into the water. The tragedy took six lives.

The heavily-laden supertanker Esso Maracaibo drifted into the bridge pilings when its electric power went out, nullifying the steering apparatus.

USIA to Add Transmitter Facility in Philippines

USIA has announced the award to Ammann & Whitney of New York of a $1,100,000 contract for the architectural and engineering design of a new 2,500,000 watt VOA radio transmitter facility in the Philippines.

The projected plant will supplement transmitters now located near Manila and will relay VOA programs to Southeast Asia and the Far East with added strength and clarity. Consisting of ten 250,000 watt transmitters, it is expected to cost about $22,000,000 and be on the air by the end of 1967.

Rowan Returns From Trip

(Continued from page 1)

understanding of what is going on in Communist China, of what their policies and objectives are."

Because of this, Rowan says it is one of his hopes that Agency posts in Africa, Latin America and other areas which "the Communist Chinese have made their special targets" will not pass up a chance to use products of Hong Kong's China Reporting Program.

In Manila, the Director took a look at the SEATO meeting, observed Voice of America facilities at Poro Point, looked at RSC Manila, and had a general discussion with PAO John H. Esterline about the USIS operation. His reaction: "All in all, I was very pleased to see the way our operation is going in Manila."

In Manila he also was delighted to see "old and dear friends," Ambassador and Mrs. William E. Stevenson. According to Rowan, "The Ambassador was President of Oberlin when I got my degree. There was a rumor around that I might not get it, because I spent so much time in Columbus lobbying for legislation with Mrs. Stevenson!"

In Taipei the Director met PAO C. Robert Payne for the first time, and had a chance to talk with several other members of the staff—"and the opportunity to eat some of the best pineapple in the world."

A pleasant conversation in Taipei with the Director of the Government Information Office, Jimmy Shen, brought forth a humorous parting gift from the Far East for the Director. Rowan reports that he was complaining because his mother-in-law had taken home with her a tin of jasmine tea Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek had given him three years earlier.

On the return trip, when the group's plane left Saigon and stopped in Taipei, Shen met the Director at the airport with another tin of jasmine tea!

JUNIOR OFFICERS meet with IPS Pamphlets' Art Chief, Cliff Prine (seated at right) in the last weeks of training before going to their assignments. They are (from left) James Mandros, going to Karachi; Jerome K. McDonough, Rangoon; John R. Lepperd, New Delhi; Mary R. Jones, Accra; David Levin, Kuala Lumpur; Karla Reed, Ankara; and Corinne Heditsian, Bombay.

DIRECTOR SPEAKS TO PRESS

(Continued from page 10)

further. Our mandate from the President says that "individual country programs should specifically and directly support country and regional objectives" of the United States Government.

Our country activities are thus not scatter-shot operations. They are carefully designed under a written plan which attempts to persuade the right people of the right message at the right time. We do not use all mediums in all countries; we do not attempt to say all things to all audiences; we seek not to waste our ammunition on the already convinced nor dissipate our resources on the unnecessary or the impossible.

And many things are impossible for USIA. It is, after all, what the United States does, rather than what it says, that has the most profound and permanent impact overseas. We can explain and interpret; we can project and persuade. But we cannot unmake history, or undo policy or hide what is unhideable in a free and open society. We usually cannot please both parties to a quarrel not of our own making. We cannot make policy palatable for those to whom it is a bone in the throat.

USIA cannot defeat the Viet Cong, get less-developed countries on the road to economic and social viability, resolve the Kashmir, Arab-Israel, and Cyprus conflicts.

But given intelligent and effective American policies, given the continued dedication of the American people to their own best heritage as we seek to solve our remaining problems, USIA can and will make an important contribution to our objectives overseas. . . .

Our success or failure will be determined by the quality and appeal of the message we have to convey. It will be determined by the quality and dedication of the people—both in and out of USIA—sent by our Government to convey it. It will be determined by the wisdom of our policy and the zeal with which we pursue it.

We shall continue to reflect the important truths about America with all the technology and all the wisdom we can command.

We will yield to none in our standards of objectivity, responsibility, balance, and perspective.

We will hold with the words from John that "the truth shall make you free," and we intend to play our part.

IPT TRAINS SUPERVISORS ON WITHIN-GRADES

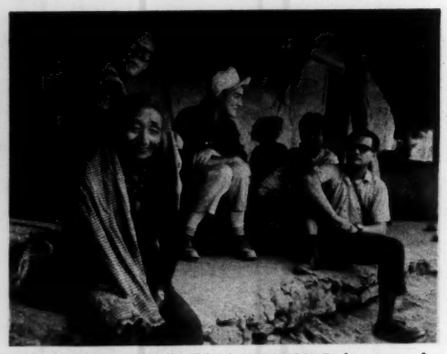
The Office of Personnel and Training is conducting a series of training sessions for supervisors in the Agency.

The meetings are intended to provide supervisors with a better understanding of their responsibilities in the process of making within-grade increase determinations and—more broadly—in connection with evaluating and improving employe performance.

IPT hopes to refamiliarize supervisors with previously published regulations and procedures and, in particular, to review the principles established by the Federal Salary Reform Act of 1962 and USIA's philosophy in implementing its provisions.

The training is being conducted by the staff of the Personnel Division, in conjunction with administrative officers of the various elements.

AN UPWARD VIEW OF THE TRAIL on which are seen (in the foreground) Mrs. Stebbins and a Peace Corps volunteer returning to his assignment in Dhankuta. In the background are (left) PAO Jaffie and USIS staffer Nandaram Bhagut.



THE GROUP RESTS IN A WAYSIDE hut on the trail to Dhankuta: (from left) the PAO, Mrs. Stebbins, the host family, and the USIS advance man. The old lady in the left foreground also was a passenger on the trail.

AMBASSADOR STEBBINS presents a collection of books and pamphlets to Principal Kali Prasad Risal at Dhankuta College. In the background, the PAO, Mrs. Stebbins, and staffer Ishwari Prasad Shrestha, who also acted as an interpreter.

USIS KATMANDU TAKES TO THE OUT-STATIONS

USIS Katmandu recently undertook the third and last in the current series of tours of out-station colleges, reaching new areas in both the Terai plains and the remote hilly regions of Nepal.

The areas covered were the three major towns of Rajbiraj, Dharan, and Dhankuta. Each has a co-educational degree college, with a permanent building of its own built with local support.

Rajbiraj and Dharan are easily accessible by plane and motor transport during fair weather, says PAO Robert B. Jaffie. Dhankuta, however, perched on top of a mountain, is an isolated town which can be reached only by trekking one full day over the high, rocky mountains. It also is an important district administrative headquarters of the middle eastern hill region.

The USIS program at each place consisted of lectures, book presentations, film showings and a quiz contest. On the invitation of USIS, Ambassador Henry E. Stebbins inaugurated and participated in the program at each college. Mrs. Stebbins accompanied him, and trekked with the USIS group to Dhankuta.

The USIS team consisted of PAO Jaffie, Ishwari Prasad Shrestha (who acted as an advance man and set up the program at each place, found suitable accommodations, and organized all other logistics of the tour, including the hiring of the porters and horses) and Cultural Affairs Specialist Nandaram Bhagut.

Eleven porters carried the equipment, plus bedrolls and food for the entire party, from Dharan to Dhankuta.

Public Affairs Trainee Learns Union Ropes

Pamphlets, books, and general publications of a USIS post can be valuable tools in cementing friendship with union groups, Public Affairs Trainee James B. Carroll has learned in Uruguay.

As part of his training, Carroll has been working with Montevideo Labor IO Frank A. Chiancone — studying labor publications and distribution, and participating in daily contact operations.

Recently Carroll went on a field trip with Chiancone to Uruguayan cities along the Rio Uruguay. The two put in three days of heavy contact work in Paysandu.

Books and publications were eagerly accepted by the largest railway workers' union in the area, and the visit of the USIS officers resulted in establishing a union library which the union hopes to develop into a community center.

Materials also were donated to the Paysandu Newspaper Vendors' union, which has established a public school and plans to set up a health clinic.

The presentation program has proved effective in strengthening USIS contacts in Uruguay, Chiancone believes. During the past eight months, more than 40 union libraries have been set up, filling a need in areas where regular commercial book distribution has little impact.

PERSONNEL CHANGES

The following senior officer assignments have been announced since the April 1 Mission List was printed. They have not appeared on the Personnel Changes:

Royal Bisbee—PAO Freetown
Peter Brescia—CAO Saigon
Harold Engle—CAO Belgrade (second tour)
Richard Erstein—Program Coordinator IAA
Henry Gosho—IO Tokyo
Robert Levine—IO Paris
Wallace Littell—Deputy PAO Belgrade
William Phipps—PAO Seoul
George Thompson—PAO Jidda

MONTEVIDEO LABOR IO FRANK A. CHIANCONE (center, with book) presents books, pamphlets and periodicals to an officer of the Paysandu Newspaper Vendors' union on a field contact trip. Public Affairs Trainee James B. Carroll (far right) accompanied Chiancone on the trip. Nelson Bengochea, USIS assistant to Chiancone, is at far left.

One-Upsmanship In Brazil

USIS Recife has a stalwart mobile unit operator in the person of Alberto De Souza.

Recently he stopped in Belo Jardim, a small town in the interior of the state of Pernambuco, Brazil, to call on officials of an agricultural organization in connection with a film program scheduled for that evening. Leaving the office, he was accosted on the steps by two men known to be active Communist sympathizers.

Obviously playing for the crowd that was beginning to form, the men blocked his path and began parroting accusations about American "trusts," integration, etc. Souza accepted the jibes calmly.

Becoming irritated at their unsuccessful attempt to publicly rattle the "lackey of the *Norte Americanos,*" one of the tormentors lost his temper and asked, "What would you do if we proposed to put you in the hospital right now?"

"Call you a liar," replied the imperturbable Souza, adding: "Everybody knows Communists never do anything in the broad daylight."

Whereupon he pushed between them, entered his truck and drove away, leaving the crowd roaring with laughter and his two antagonists with faces as red as their politics.

USIA Correspondent

VOL. 6, No. 3
MARCH, 1964

Rowan Confirmed, Sworn in as USIA Director

THERE WERE SMILES ALL AROUND after Carl T. Rowan was sworn in as Director of the U.S. Information Agency at the White House in the presence of President Johnson and Mr. Rowan's family. Shown are (from left), Geoffrey, 10, Director Rowan, Carl T. Jr., 12, Mrs. Rowan, and the President.

—Jack Lartz

Nomination Approved Without Opposition

Carl T. Rowan was sworn in as Director of the U.S. Information Agency by President Johnson on February 28. His nomination had been approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the U.S. Senate three days earlier, with no opposition.

In a statement of his beliefs and of his idea of his position as Director of USIA, Rowan told the Committee:

"Mr. Chairman, when I had the pleasure of appearing before this committee less than a year ago, I had no idea that I might return so soon. But the unfortunate illness of Edward R. Murrow, whom I have admired and respected since my boyhood, has left a mammoth vacancy in the Director's chair at the United States Information Agency. President Johnson believes that I should attempt to fill that chair, and I am determined, the Senate willing, to try to prove myself worthy of his trust.

"I give assurance that, if confirmed, I shall move with every skill and resource that I possess, or can hire or borrow, to ensure that the world understands what this country is and what it strives to be.

"Surely, there are those who would ask, 'Just what *is* this country, Carl Rowan, and what *does* it strive to be?'

"I must answer in many ways. America is capitalism with a conscience—a country in which laborers own homes, automobiles, new refrigerators, but, more important, where ordinary men have an extraordinary voice in the affairs of their government.

"America is a rocket pin-pointed on the moon and Polaris submarines cruis-

(Continued on page 15)

Performance Evaluation Continuous Process, IPT Says

Supervisors in USIA have been told by the Office of Personnel and Training that employes must be "aware at all times during the year of the adequacy of their performance."

The subject should be discussed "whenever necessary," IPT Director Lionel S. Mosley said in a memorandum to all employes this month. He added: "If the Agency's instructions on performance evaluation are followed, no employe will have cause for 'surprise' when decisions concerning within-grade increases are made."

USIA's performance rating plan calls for a regular annual rating of most domestic staffers for the rating period ending March 31. The rating process requires an interview with each employe by the supervisor during the month of April to discuss the empolye's performance.

In these interviews, the supervisor must discuss the employe's strong points and his weaknesses—and make suggestions for improvement. Mosley notes that "the employe not only has a right but an obligation to ask questions about his job and his performance."

A supervisor, however, should not limit his discussion of performance to this annual interview, according to the IPT Director. The Agency's regulations point out that "performance evaluation is a continuous process of observation and

(Continued on page 13)

USIA Correspondent

Vol. 6, No. 3 March, 1964
Send Contributions to USIA Publications Division
(Editorial deadline is the first of each month)
Editor .....Mary Painter

EMPLOYES REMINDED OF CONDUCT RULES

Do you have a second job? Are you engaged in teaching, writing for publication, or private business activities? Are you active in political affairs—or in organizations concerned with foreign policy?

If so, the Office of Personnel and Training says, you'd better review the Agency's regulations concerning the conduct of employes. These appear in Chapter 550 of Volume V-A (for employes in the U.S.) and V-B (for those overseas) of USIA's Manual of Operations and Administration.

The "rule book" is available at every overseas post, in the administrative office of each domestic element, and in each personnel office.

IPT notes that President Johnson, the Congress and the Civil Service Commission repeatedly have stressed the absolute necessity for maintaining high ethical standards in Government. Agency regulations provide the specifics as to what a staffer may or may not do. For example, the following activities are, in general, prohibited:

- Serving as an officer of an organization dealing with foreign policy;
- Holding political office or engaging in certain kinds of political activities;
- Discriminating in any personnel action or recommendation on the basis of race, religion, sex or political affiliation;
- Having financial interests which may be affected by carrying out one's duties;
- Failing to pay taxes or just debts;
- Acting as a private attorney or agent in matters affecting the U.S. Government;
- Receiving gifts or decorations from foreign governments;
- Offering or accepting bribes, and
- Engaging in overseas business activities.

IPT says an employe should be fully aware of the governing rules, since it is the personal responsibility of each employe to ensure that he does not violate any legal or regulatory provision, either inadvertently or otherwise.

Anyone seeking further information concerning the meaning or applicability of a particular provision should contact Personnel or IGC.

Rowan Urges Health Agencies, Joint Crusade Support

Director Rowan has told "colleagues in Washington" that he is counting on their support in the National Health Agencies and Joint Crusade campaigns for 1964 "so that we may reach our goal of 100 percent participation and a generous voluntary contribution from each employe."

He noted that USIA staffers "have responded generously in previous years."

The campaign for Washington area Federal employes runs from March 1 to April 15.

The Federal Service Joint Crusade Agencies are the American-Korean Foundation, CARE, Radio Free Europe, and Project HOPE, the principal activity of the People-to-People Health Foundation. Project HOPE has sent the S.S. HOPE, the world's first peacetime hospital ship, to Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Peru and Ecuador.

Seven health agencies participate in the campaign of the National Health Agencies. In either campaign, employes may designate a favorite health agency or other recipient of their gift, if they wish.

Overseas USIA personnel will contribute to the two campaigns through their U.S. missions. Totals from all agencies with personnel overseas will be reported to the NHA and the FSJC under one heading, "Overseas."

Director Rowan and ICS Director Reed Harris, who is the Agency's Vice-chairman for the drive, have urged not only 100 percent participation but a large increase in total contributions over previous years. In 1962, employes contributed $7,901 to both campaigns; in 1963, $8,517.

The Director's message to employes noted that President Johnson has urged all Federal employes to contribute to the campaign.

The President, in appealing for support for the effort, said: "These national voluntary organizations play an important role in promoting better health for all Americans and, indeed, for all mankind."

He added with respect to the Federal Service Joint Crusade: "World conditions make it imperative for individual Americans to participate in a solution of the great international problems."

DAVID MCCULLOUGH (left), editor of Al Hayat, and Stanley Engeberg (right), Chief of IPS' Production Branch, receive a Mead Papers award of excellence for the IPS pamphlet, "The President of the United States of America." Presenting it is Don Malaney.

—Jack Lartz

IPS JOHNSON PAMPHLET WINS PRINTING AWARD

The IPS pamphlet, "The President of the United States," has won an award of excellence in a nationwide competition for fine printing.

The pamphlet received the Mead Papers' highest rating for its "attractive format, excellent illustrations [and] cleverly varied page layouts."

The award was won previously by the Polish edition of AMERICA ILLUSTRATED and by the Agency's Arabic-language bimonthly, AL-HAYAT FI AMERICA.

The pamphlet on the Presidency was first put out as Issue No. 27 of AL-HAYAT. Language versions are now being printed by the three RSC's.

German Federal Republic Decorates Mildred Allport

Mildred B. Allport, who was with State and USIA for 21 years before her retirement last March, was awarded the Commanders Cross of the Republic of Germany, one of the German Government's highest honors, February 9.

Mrs. Allport, who was a Women's Affairs Adviser and Cultural Officer with USIS Bonn for many years, received the decoration for her "extraordinary, lasting accomplishments in connection with her activity in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1951-58."

The citation singled out her work in the establishment of an information service on women's problems, the campaign "Friendly Hand" which enabled 1,000 Berlin children annually to vacation with American families in Germany, and her success in bringing German and American women closer together.

Mrs. Allport also was CAO in Reykjavik before she returned to the Agency in August 1960. She lives in Delray Beach, Florida.

Doster, Battey Named to New IPT Positions

The organizational structure of the Office of Personnel and Training, established last January, has been announced by IPT Director Lionel S. Mosley.

The Office will include a Planning Staff (IPT/A), a Source Development Staff (IPT/D), a Personnel Division (IPT/P) and a Training Division (IPT/T). The Executive Secretariat of the Joint Board of Examiners for Information Agency Foreign Service Career Officers (IPT/X) is attached to IPT for administrative purposes.

Jerry C. Doster was named Chief of the Personnel Division, effective March 2. He served in the Personnel Division from 1953-58, including two years as Deputy Director. From 1958 to 1963 he was at RSC Manila, first as Deputy Director and then as Director. He was appointed Chief of IPS' Publications Division last August.

Bryan M. Battey assumed the duties of Chief of the Training Division on March 16. Battey was assigned to Tokyo from 1952 to 1958. During that time he served as information center director, research officer, and briefly in other positions. For the next four years he was in IAF—first as desk officer for Japan and Korea, and later as policy officer. Since 1962 he has been the Special Assistant to the Deputy Director (Policy and Plans), Thomas C. Sorensen.

The previous Chief of the Training Division, William L. Grenoble, has been assigned as PAO Frankfurt. He had been PAO in Vienna and Helsinki before returning to the Agency in March 1962.

Other changes:

Jerome F. Novick, former Deputy Director of Personnel, has been assigned to Bangkok as Information Officer.

Otto J. Strohmenger, Area Personnel Officer for the Far East since December 1962, has left the Foreign Service to become Deputy Chief of the Administrative Services Division in IOA/S. He will be succeeded by Daniel J. Herget, recently PAO Turin.

William M. Hart, Area Personnel Officer for Africa, has been assigned as PAO Quito. His replacement as an APO has not yet been selected.

Fitzhugh Green, PAO Leopoldville before he returned to attend the Naval War College in August 1962, has been named USIA Representative at the U.S. Mission to the U.N. in New York. He also will serve as Director of the Foreign Correspondents' Center in New York, succeeding Ernest G. Wiener, who is going to Moscow as Chief of the Embassy's Press and Cultural Section.

PRESIDENT ASGEIR ASGEIRSSON OF ICELAND (right) talks with USIS Reykjavik Journalist Gylfi Baldursson (left) during the opening of an American Book Exhibition and Lecture Series in the Icelandic National Museum. Between them is Iceland's most famous actor, Brynjolfur Johannesson.

USIS Tehran's Guilanpour to the Rescue Again

USIS Tehran's Kazem Guilanpour, Media Assistant in the Publications Section, skier, mountain climber and hero, led another rescue operation recently which saved several hundred bus passengers and motorists stranded in a blizzard in the mountains north of Tehran.

Guilanpour is the only non-American to receive the U.S. Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Medal. He won the citation for his heroics in connection with Iranian mountain peak crashes of three American military planes in 1947, 1960, and 1962. Guilanpour is considered Iran's outstanding skier and mountain climber. He taught Empress Farah to ski.

The 10-year USIS staffer recently was skiing at the Ab-Ali resort when a blizzard stranded thousands of persons in the mountain areas. Early on a Sunday afternoon a man fought his way to the hotel at Ab-Ali with the word that several hundred persons were isolated some seven kilometers away.

Efforts to get a truck from the hotel were fruitless, so Guilanpour and two other trained skiers made their way on foot through howling winds to bring food and firewood to the pass where a bus, several trucks, and a large number of cars were isolated. The trio of skiers made its way back to the hotel for additional food and firewood, suffering from frozen mouths and with icicles literally hanging from eyebrows and eyelashes.

On the urging of Guilanpour, the hotel manager called Tehran and arranged for a motorized rescue team, led by a bulldozer, and trucks, plus soldiers of the Imperial Guard. Meanwhile the skiers battled their way back through the raging storm with additional supplies. They made a third trip in darkness, using flashlights to ward off a pack of wolves.

The motorized rescue team was welcomed at midnight. All persons stranded at the pass, including a woman recuperating from an operation, were taken to the hotel in safety.

(Kazem Guilanpour was written up in a "USIA profile" in the June 1962 issue of the USIA CORRESPONDENT.)

'Compliments of USIS'

USIS Nairobi has found that its monthly distribution of some 200 copies of newsstand extra copies of major American magazines has become a fruitful project.

The magazines, made available by the local agent for American publications in the Kenyan capital, include well-known pictorials, news magazines, and science publications.

A letter from an American science teacher at Mangu High School, Thika, Kenya, thanking USIS for the magazines, concluded:

"At the end of terms I stage a mass handing out of all the accumulated publications from USIS. We have boys from 28 tribes here, and when they go home for vacations, the first real piece of modern publications reaches the back country places—stamped 'Compliments of USIS.' Thank you for the efforts and kindness in providing this facility, and I hope you will find it possible to keep it going."

DR. RUTH C. WRIGHT, Director of the Lao-American Association (Binational Center) in Vientiane and Vietnamese students admire a USIS Washington's birthday photo exhibit. The birthday of America's first President also was celebrated with a songfest and tea in the LAA, attended by 150 students and members of the Association.

Problems of Communism Gets New Format

The Agency's bi-monthly PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, now in its 13th year, has a new, more attractive format.

The face-lifting will show in the March-April issue and marks a radical departure from the past. The principle is still that appearance is to be subordinated to content, says Editor-in-Chief Abe Brumberg. The bi-monthly, after all, *is* a serious journal on Communist affairs, he notes, and its effectiveness depends first and foremost on the quality of its contributions and the authority of its contributors. Nevertheless, it is assumed that its 35,000 readers all over the world (an increase from mere hundreds when the magazine began in 1952) will find it even more appealing if its type is larger, the spacing wider, the cover more attractive, and the layout more varied.

The new format was designed by Cliff Prine, Chief of the art staff of IPS Pamphlets, with the cooperation of the editors of the journal (the others include Managing Editor Terry House and Associate Editors Clarke Kawakami and Cary Fisher, plus Editorial Assistant Pat Leisner).

POC henceforth will be not only more attractive, but bulkier, its total number of pages increasing from 64 to between 72 and 80.

The editors are planning to use the new format to introduce new sections in the magazine, such as one dealing with the history of international communism, and a review of current Communist publications.

'Berlin—Test for Freedom'

IMS is field-testing a three-reel, black and white German-made documentary, "Berlin—Test for Freedom." It is a filmed resumé of many history-making events preceding the Communist building of the Wall in Berlin in 1961.

IMS believes that in all areas the film could serve both as a reference document citing historical background leading to current problems in Germany, and as supporting evidence of the U.S. aid in maintaining West Berlin as a symbol of liberty against Communist aggression.

In a speech, included in the film, the late President Kennedy noted the dangers of the crisis and the commitment of the Western powers to continue efforts toward freedom for all Berliners.

'Captive' (But Willing) Audience Shown USIS Films

USIS films have been shown under many unusual circumstances, but Togo PAO Charles D. Searles reports one use of the special IMS film "Today" which he thinks deserves special mention. He writes:

"USIS Lomé's contract English teacher, Joe Wilkins, projected the film in a hospital room at the conclusion of one of his conversation lessons with the Togolese Minister of Commerce and Industry who was convalescing there after a minor illness. The Director-General of the *Togo Presse* and his wife, who were patients in the next room, joined the Minister for this intimate screening. . . ."

Variations . . .

(Last month's reorientation and retraining course for Binational Center Directors, Student Affairs Advisers, and Directors of Courses gathered in Washington came to the conclusion that just about everything in the information business "varied from place to place." Out of this theme emerged the following "Preprandial prosit" by course coordinator Marshall Swan, over which BNC personnel had a good laugh at the "happy hour" preceding their farewell dinner.)

Knowing nothing about BNC's,
On returning from years overseas
I was Agency host
To a group of the most
Versatile, varied grantees.

A stupid, though curious, host
I asked about life 'round their coast.
The man from Calcutta
Observed with a mutter,
"It varies from post to post."

I turned next to a busy young mentor
Hoping to learn e'er she went: "Er,
I say, in L. A.
Do grantees make much hay?"
"It varies from center to center."

"But how do you manage to pass
Those dopes who flock in by the mass?"
The teacher from Burma
Replied in a murmer,
"It varies from class to class."

"The Michigan exam and the rest—
What results do you get from your best?"
Said Pete from Meshed
With a shake of his head,
"It varies from test to test."

"With Agency colleagues I know
Grantees may have to go slow."
"Sometimes", said Natal,
"Unlike femmes fatales
It varies with each PAO."

"Do your lessons give more than a dab?
Do your tapes teach the gift of the gab?"
Sighed the lady from Naples,
"It's one of the staples
That varies from lab to lab."

Each question I posed semed a dilly.
Their answers—from the filly from Chile
To the kid sent to roast
In the Vietnamese boast—
All varied from shally to shilly.

But before I depart like a ghost
Would you join in this corporate toast?
HAPPY HOURS FROM RIO
TO BANGKOK—BUON DIO—
DON'T VARY FROM POST TO POST!

P.S. Was the course a success?
We'll hazard a guess
That it varied from grantee to
grantee.

USIA · Profile · Congressional Charmer

Congressmen have many problems: hearings, tax bills, corresponding constituents and the constituents' children's high school essays—not to mention the tribal customs of Government agencies.

But USIA lightens the Congressman's load through the deft and smiling service of Marion L. Ball, Congressional Liaison Officer. She can untangle the knotty problems of the solons and find material for the students' theses.

"We consider ourselves a Congressional service as well as an Agency service," explains Marvin Cox, the other Agency Congressional Liaison Officer. "One of Marion's main duties is to assure prompt and responsible answers to Congressional correspondence. She evaluates the letters and drafts cogent replies. She is invaluable to the Agency because she knows Congressional procedure and personnel. She is tactful, courteous and resourceful—an asset to our whole establishment."

Both Cox and Mrs. Ball are part of USIA's Office of the General Counsel.

Marion knows who is on the Congressional Committees, where the documents are, and how to call the cloak rooms. But the Hill does not hold the same mysteries for her that it does for others. It is where she came in. For five years she was assistant to the superintendent of the Senate Radio and Television Gallery, a complex job that required covering Senate debates, summarizing the speeches and keeping track of resolutions and votes for the soundproof studios just off the Senate Press Gallery. All four major networks of the time relied on this service. She knew and kept track of the more than 200 active gallery members, and could find them at a moment's notice. She was a competent radio reporter herself, gaining her own experience as assistant to Commentator Bryson Rash when he was at WMAL-ABC.

She learned Congressional procedure on the ground floor as personal secretary to the late Blair Moody, Senator from Michigan. This proved a romantic as well as exciting venture, for she met and married the Senator's Administrative Assistant, the late Robert S. Ball, a native Washingtonian despite his Michigan activities. Mr. Ball had worked with Ernie Pyle on the Washington *Daily News* before he went to the *Detroit News* in 1935. He returned to Washington with Senator Moody, and after his chief's defeat in 1952 became Washington correspondent for the Detroit paper. He died in 1961.

Before entering Blair Moody's service, Marion had worked for Congressmen Youngblood and Rabaut, also of Michigan's 14th District. She still is a member of the Senate Administrative Assistants' Club, and takes part in the programs. "Everybody up on the Hill likes her," volunteers Carl Downing of Senator Magnuson's staff. "She's able to help us with so many problems quickly and effectively. She always knows our need for promptness in filling requests for constituents — including those that may be 'way out in left field!"

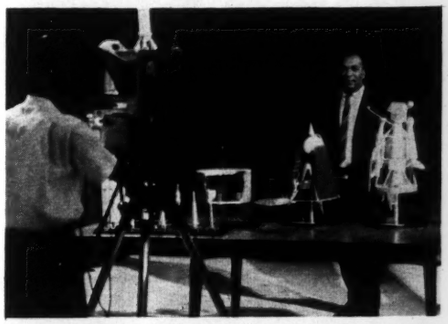
Another of her pre-USIA activities was acting as Public Relations Director for the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. She covered the first international conference of these groups on this hemisphere, held in Puerto Rico in November 1961.

MARION BALL is shown with a replica of the trophy which is given with the Robert Ball Memorial Award, established in memory of her late husband for his outstanding coverage of the Sheppard flight. The only space-writing award in existence, it is given annually to competitors from the U.S. and Canada.
—Joseph Pinto

A native of Danbury, Iowa, Marion attended St. Patrick's Academy there, Marycrest College in Davenport, Iowa, and the National Business Training School in Sioux City. She has lived in Washington since 1942, working first with the old War Department, then the Civil Aeronautics Board, before going to the Hill. She has been with USIA since July 1962.

Congress still must seem like home to her, for she now lives in an attractive house on Capitol Hill, along with a dog, "Dr. Grenfell," and a Siamese cat, "Pyewacket." Her home life is almost as busy as her office life—her so-called "relaxation" includes such sturdy activities as gardening, cooking and sewing. Compounding exotic dishes is one of her hobbies—her touch with souffles and patés is as deft as her touch with Congressional matters.

—By Olga Arnold, I/R



USIA SPACE LECTURER JOHN TWITTY (right) scores an historic "first" in Monrovia as the first guest star on Liberia's new TV station, ELTV, which began transmissions in January. The telecast came the same week as the Saturn, Echo II and Ranger VI launchings, when public interest in U.S. space accomplishments was intense. Twitty's half-hour telecast explained the significance of the three launches and their role in the total U.S. space program.

USIA Officer Finds Old Washington Portrait

A Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington, which has been in India since 1801, is now back in the U.S., thanks to the efforts of USIA's Duncan Emrich.

Emrich, now with IRS, was CAO in Calcutta from 1958 through 1962. During his tour, while doing history research as a hobby, he turned up mention of an unknown Stuart painting.

The masterpiece, Emrich says, was commissioned by some New York and Boston merchants as a token of esteem for an Indian merchant prince, Ramdoolal Dey. He had advanced credit to the Yankee traders, who decided a portrait of Washington was an appropriate thanks. It was sent to Ramdoolal Dey in 1801, and in the 1880's was purchased at auction from the estate of his son.

Because State had no funds to purchase the painting, Emrich appealed to Erick Kauders, an old friend in Marblehead, Mass. Kauders has not disclosed the purchase price, but believes the painting is worth "a minimum of $250,000."

It has not been decided where the painting will hang—but it will be "where the public can see it," Kauders promises.

Only career or career-conditional employees are eligible to transfer from one Federal agency to another.

'HORSES,' A WOODCUT by Jacob Landau, is one of 30 contemporary American prints USIA is circulating in Europe.

USIA SENDS NEW ART TO EUROPE

A collection of 30 contemporary American prints by 24 of the country's leading graphic artists is being given wide circulation by USIA in Eastern and Western Europe.

The prints, selected for the Agency by the Print Council of America, are original works of art created within the last five years.

At the end of the European tour they will be displayed as permanent decorations in USIS Berlin, Belgrade and Zagreb.

The exhibition illustrates the great diversity of styles and techniques in American graphic arts. It includes woodcuts, etchings, engravings, lithographs and serigraphs. All lean toward the abstract.

American graphics are among the most popular exhibitions circulated by USIA. Currently there are 15 print collections on tour in Japan, Brazil, India, Germany, Ghana, the Soviet Union, Mexico and other countries.

The new collection was shown earlier this month at the IBM Gallery in New York, its only American showing.

NOT THAT IT WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE . . .

In a recent report from Guatemala City, PAO George N. Butler wrote:

"Voice of America programs have received special attention through the mechanism of the Club de Radio Aficiondas de Guatemala, the 'ham' radio club . . .

". . . to which the PAO and the IO (Jules B. Grad) belong. The IO is a member of the board of directors."

USIA Wife Writes Indonesian Book

"Siti's Summer," a new children's book from Macmillan, is the work of Betty McKelvey Kalish, wife of IPS Central Services Division Chief Stanley E. Kalish.

Although the book will appeal to young readers anywhere, it is Indonesian from its batik-like cover through its descriptions of even the small facets of daily living in that country. It is expected to deepen young readers' understanding of Indonesia.

The Kalishes went to Indonesia for USIS in 1958. Two years later, on home leave, Mrs. Kalish found that the children's editor at Macmillan was eager for more books with an Asian setting.

MRS. BETTY KALISH (left) looks at her new book on Indonesia with Mrs. Mohamad Chosin, wife of the Minister-Counselor of the Indonesian Embassy in Washington, and the Chosins' interested daughter, Newi Nandita.

—Joseph Pinto

"When I returned to Indonesia," Mrs. Kalish says, "I worked out the idea for 'Siti's Summer.' From then on, the editor and I were exchanging pages of my manuscript across the seas for more than two years. I finished it after my husband and I returned to the U.S. in 1962."

The book is illustrated with drawings by Sumatran artist Ipe Maaroef.

Mrs. Kalish says the book would not have been possible without the help of Indonesian friends. Adult students in the English writing class she taught in Djakarta provided many details for the book.

Born in Minneapolis, Mrs. Kalish was a reporter for the *Milwaukee Journal* and other U.S. newspapers before her marriage. Since then, while traveling with her husband and raising their daughter Betsy, now 21 and married, she has done free-lance writing for magazines and newspapers.

In her introduction to the book, she says:

"Indonesia was my home for four and a half years. I left it with regret and with fond memories of its warmhearted people, who are proud of their ancient customs and cultures but eager to learn the ways of today's world and to take their place in it. . . .

"In retrospect, it is not Indonesia's magnificent scenery that I remember most vividly, nor the exotic music and dancing. . . . It is the people—and perhaps most of all, the delightful children like Siti, who could be any one of many little Indonesian girls."

VOA Sponsors Essay Contest

American recording companies contributed 200 long-play albums as prizes for an essay contest to be launched April 1 by VOA.

Contest announcements will be broadcast for a week to listeners to the Voice's English-language "Breakfast Show," which is heard by millions throughout the world.

Listeners will be asked to explain in 150 words or less why they prefer a particular kind of American music—whether jazz, folk, popular, show, or classical music. Entries will be judged on the basis of originality and sincerity, not on the fluency of English, which is a second language for most of VOA's listeners.

Winners will be announced on the "Breakfast Show" June 1. The entries will provide the Voice with information on the tastes and locations of its overseas listeners.

USIS LA PAZ REPORTER-ANNOUNCER Horacio Alcazar conducts a VOA interview of miners from the Unificada mine at Potosi for the popular radio news program "Cronica." The event was the inauguration of a Food for Peace program and the initiation of a health project designed to control the spread of tuberculosis and silicosis among Bolivia's miners.

An American Film Library—And Its Guiding Spirit

Klaas Padding was the first person to introduce drive-in movies in The Netherlands. That was in 1952, in Zorghvliet Park, on the grounds of the former U. S. Embassy.

Today Klaas Padding, a former USIS employe of more than 11 years' service, is the Director of the American Film Library, a unique institution set up last year when the USIS Film Section was discontinued. He still works closely with USIS/The Hague.

The American Film Library receives all suitable USIS films available on long-term loan. At his own expense, Klaas has procured over 50 additional American-produced documentary films from other U.S. Government departments and American organizations, plus some public relations films from U.S. firms. Today the AFL is the largest documentary film center on U.S. subjects in The Netherlands.

For each one of his film evenings, Klaas takes an important USIS film as the central theme. By adding films from other sources he shows various facets of this theme and thereby creates a more complete and more interesting program.

Although the American Film Library had 2,714 film showings during the last year, the small fee Padding charges for administrative costs did not cover all his expenses. He hopes that eventually the AFL will pay its own way—and even get along without the small USIS grant-in-aid now received. The fee, however, he says, has not made the showings less popular—and in fact has removed the onus of propaganda from the Library.

A few statistics show how hard Klaas works. More than 200,000 people saw AFL films last year. Padding knows the exact figures: 146,653 during film shows he arranged through various organizations and groups, and 57,589 during his mobile unit trips through The Netherlands. This does not include the two to three million people who saw the 13 films he arranged to lend to Dutch TV stations.

KLAAS PADDING in his American Film Library in The Hague.

As an independent film producer, Klaas gets the cooperation of organizations and the attention of audiences which the former USIS Film Section had difficulty reaching effectively.

Now 36, Klaas was graduated from the Technical School in The Hague at 15. He went to work as a film projectionist, worked his way through various phases of film production, and was good enough to become an instructor in his chosen field when he went into the Dutch Army.

In 1951 he joined USIS. Last May he took a flying two-week visit to the U.S. with only one purpose in mind: to meet people somehow connected with the documentary film business. He also, however, visited his many friends in and out of USIA—but spent every other minute trying to make new contacts so that he can produce more and better films.

In reality, says PAO Heinrich B. Siemer, USIS/The Hague has gained new audiences and influence through this unique arrangement with the American Film Library. Klaas consults him almost daily, and remains a most enthusiastic and effective supporter of USIS objectives in The Netherlands.

MANAGUA CAO LYDIA WRIGHT (second from left) with U.S. observers at the recent Central American Red Cross Conference in Nicaragua. Lydia works as a volunteer at the General Hospital in Managua, and attended the Conference as a member of the Nicaraguan delegation.

VOA PROGRAM WINS TROPHY

The Spanish service of the Voice of America has been awarded a bronze trophy for a special program, "Christmas in the United States," carried by many Spanish stations. The award was made by the R.E.M., Spanish Radio Network.

The 30-minute program was written and narrated by Julian Fernandez, produced by Norma Palma, and voiced by Maria Luz Skelly.

It sought to capture the Yuletide spirit in America by touching on the Pageant of Peace ceremonies, community celebrations, home observances, remembered Old World traditions, visits of American youngsters to Santa Claus, carols, hymns, songs and spirituals.

BERLIN PAO ALBERT E. HEMSING (right) listens to (from left) American author Mary McCarthy, American artist Dorothea Tanning, and Berlin author Guenter Grass, at an exhibit opening of works by Miss Tanning at Amerika Haus.

USIS 'Bookie' Wins on Ponies

When personnel of USIS Caracas refer to Elric Crichlow, national staffer in charge of the book program, they carefully avoid calling him "a bookie" for "professional reasons only," PAO Richard G. Cushing writes.

The PAO's description of Elric: "A scientific horse player; he's 'way ahead of the game. The other day he hit the 'Cinco y Seis', a national lottery based on picking either five or six winners, for 3,367.85 bolivares—$841.03."

Crichlow is bonded, Cushing takes care to point out.

CALIFORNIA BOOKS AID BRITISH GUIANA

USIS Georgetown distributed to schools and cultural groups in British Guiana almost 25,000 donated books from the State of California and publishers during 1963.

Some 6,300 primary readers from the California Department of Education were turned over to Guiana's Ministry of Education which distributed them to 336 schools, including many in quite remote areas, PAO Kenneth Bache reports.

Bache wrote:

"In such faraway places . . . the only domestic animals the students know are those pictured in the books! These children come to school by 'dugout', remain the whole day without meals, returning home at the end of a school day. Until the USIS presentation there was no school library. The only books they knew were textbooks."

AROUND THE WORLD

DR. WALT W. ROSTOW (left), chairman of State's Policy Planning Council, is pictured with Ambassador C. Allan Stewart and CPAO Richard Cushing at the opening session of a USIS-sponsored seminar on democracy held at Merida, Venezuela. Dr. Rostow, keynote speaker, termed the seminar "extremely stimulating" and one of the finest projects he had seen USIS engage in.

* * *

OTTAWA—IO Ronald G. Moxness has been honored with election to the 1964 board of Canada's National Press Club. Since coming to the Canadian capital a year ago, Moxness has been an active member of the club of 400 representatives of press, radio and TV throughout the country.

* * *

MONTEVIDEO — The Indian Crafts Exhibit, shown in Salto to support a USIS Artigas-Washington Library project, was the main attraction at the Library's booth at a local fair, PAO Lemuel E. Graves reports. The fair's purpose was to get money for books and other school supplies.

* * *

SINGAPORE—The locally-produced USIS exhibit "Higher Education in the U.S.", which was adapted for showings in other parts of Malaysia, drew audiences of 7,350 in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, and Ipoh.

UDORN PAO GORDON W. MURCHIE with some of the Hill tribe people he reaches for USIS on some of his many trips out of the Thai city.

MOSCOW—The U.S.-USSR cultural exchange agreement for 1964-65—under which, among other things, the U.S. sends AMERICA ILLUSTRATED to the Soviet Union and the magazine USSR is sent to the U.S.—was signed here February 22.

* * *

BUENOS AIRES—Some 5,000 persons visited the first large-scale U.S. travel photo and poster exhibit produced by the Post and shown in downtown Buenos Aires. In addition, the Argentine Automobile Club volunteered to display the exhibit at its own expense at two other prominent locations.

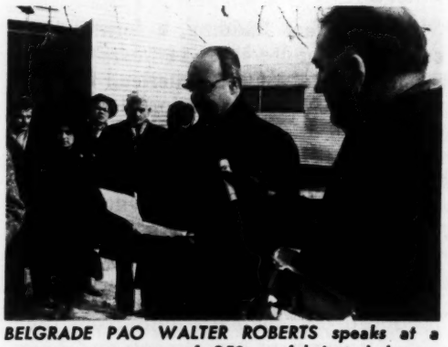
* * *

MEXICO CITY—When the U.S. Space Science Exhibit was displayed in Chihuahua and Ciudad Juarez, the first large-scale U.S. exhibit shown in either city, crowds of 85,000 and 50,000 respectively made it a "day and night" affair, according to Hermosillo BPAO Douglas A. Zischke.

BNC GRANTEE DAN RITTER, Director of the newly-classified Class A Center in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, and his recently overhauled Centro panel truck. He had its sides painted with the center's name as the "cheapest and best free advertising I could get" as part of his program to increase enrollments.

* * *

BOMBAY—USIS Bombay recently participated by invitation in a seminar of 47 newspaper editors and journalists of Maharashtra State. BPAO Donald Shea, IO William Miller and Assistant IO James Feldman attended the seminar, held under the auspices of the Bombay College of Journalism. The Agency film "Small Town Editor" was shown, and books on American journalism made available for guests' reading.



BELGRADE PAO WALTER ROBERTS speaks at a ceremony as some of 250 prefabricated houses are given to the city of Skopje by the U.S. following that Yugoslav city's disastrous earthquake. At right, taping the program for a later VOA broadcast, is Press Officer Joe Braycich.

* * *

SALISBURY—Sponsored by USIS Salisbury to demonstrate U.S. interest in the future development of youth in Southern Rhodesia, a Youth Art Festival for youths five to 18 years of age had 746 entries from pupils of 50 schools and 1,200 individuals. Of these, 300 were selected for display.

* * *

NAIROBI--USIS' Press Section Chief, Joseph Thuo, appeared in a new locally-originated telecast on KBC-TV when the station increased its Swahili programming. The program, "Huku na Huko," makes weekly use of local officials, personalities and visitors who speak Swahili.

* * *

BRUSSELS—USIA's Oceanographic Exhibit, being circulated by the Belgian Ministry of National Education and Culture, is meeting with "great popular interest and success" in Belgium, PAO Phillip J. Conley reports. Showings have been at Ostend, Charleroi, Brussels and Liege, drawing large audiences.

USIS BOMBAY ASSISTANT Cultural Officer Alvin Perlman (right) presents sets of Books USA to Principal Ram Joshi in a classroom of the S.I.E.S. College of the University of Bombay. The presentation was part of a variety of activities sponsored by USIS and the University during a recent educational and cultural week.

IBADAN FILM CHIEF GEORGE OSUNMO presents USIS magazines and pamphlets to "Miss Agriculture" at the Ife-Ilesha Agricultural Show and Farmers' Festival. Looking on is S.A. Sanni, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources. An important visitor among the 8,000 guests inspecting the USIS booth at the two-day festival was the Oni of Ife, Oba Adesoji Aderemi II.

* * *

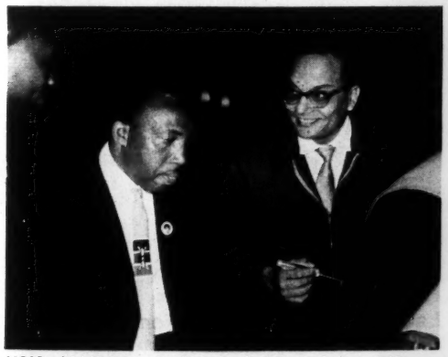
SEOUL—USIS Korea was presented a special citation by the Korean Federation of Education Associations for "its outstanding contribution to educational and cultural development in Korea . . . through seminars, exchange of teaching personnel, book translations and publications and production of educational films."

* * *

IBADAN—RADIO STATION WNBS, in cooperation with USIS, has just finished a 26-week series of half-hour Sunday afternoon programs featuring the choirs of predominantly Negro universities in America. PAA William Jones worked with the station on the scripts and did part of the narration.

* * *

GUATEMALA CITY—A Mercury Space Capsule model proved to be "the outstanding USIS exhibit success so far in FY 1964" when shown in 12 provincial cities to 185,000 people.



USIS NAIROBI Radio Technician John D'Souza explains space capsule complexities to Labor Minister E. N. Mwendwa (center) and Nairobi Deputy Mayor Isaac Lugonzo at an Electronics Exhibition. Over 15,000 Kenyans saw the U.S. Progress in Space Sciences exhibit, one of the show's most popular.

THE CORRESPONDENT is devoting two pages this issue to Around the World because of the many items received. Thanks to posts for the excellent contributions—and *do* remember that staff photographer's name, please!

BANGKOK—Completing a three-day projectionist training course given by USIS, 32 members of the Thai Border Patrol Police and the Provincial Police were given "graduation" certificates in a program which won police officials' acclaim. So successful was the first course that officials asked that it be given to 79 additional trainees who, like their predecessors, will be able to show USIS films more extensively in remote areas, according to PAO John R. O'Brien.

ANKARA PAO Leslie A. Squires (right) is received as the 500th member of the Golden Gloves Boxing Club. Awarding Squires a cup as the 500th member is the Honorary President of the Club, Dr. Necdet Egeran, who said: "Turkish-American friendship would remain undeveloped if it were restricted only to political and diplomatic relations. Fortunately this friendship has been spread to the cultural and social fields through the existing Turkish American Associations. We want now to bring this friendship to the field of sports."

* * *

MANAGUA—Displayed for a 10-day period at the School of Fine Arts, the exhibit "Recent Works by American Printmakers" evoked praise from the School's director who asked that USIS make similar exhibits available often.

* * *

TOKYO—Cooperating with the U.S. Travel Service, the Tokyo American Cultural Center has inaugurated a series of monthly programs with each usually featuring information on one of the 50 American states. An exhibit of descriptive material, films and music of the featured states are included in the program, the first of which was "Travel U.S.A.—Hawaii."

* * *

ANKARA—A policy newsletter, concerning the U.S. position on matters of worldwide interest and giving information additional to that included in regular USIS bulletins, now is being distributed to 1,500 opinion leaders.

THE MILLIONTH SOVIET VISITOR to USIA's "Graphic Arts-USA" exhibit stands between Jack Masey (right), Director of the exhibition, and Deputy Director Nikita Moravsky, at Yerevan, capital of the Armenian SSR. The exhibit, which closed there March 14, already has been seen in Moscow and Alma Ata, and will be shown in a fourth Soviet city next month.

* * *

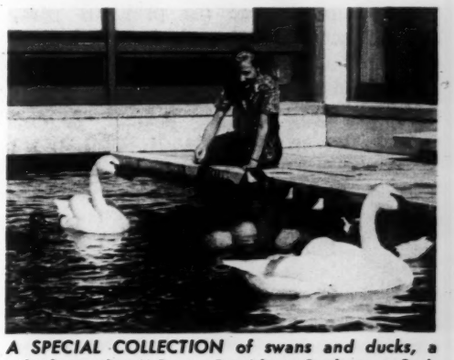
DAKAR—For more than a year USIS has been showing films each week to audiences of between 200 and 300 persons. Most of them, PAO Ted M. G. Tanen says, are agriculturists, mechanics, technicians, food specialists, and dieticians between the ages of 18 and 30 who will return to their provincial areas to take up various leadership roles.

* * *

LISBON—Described by PAO Howard A. White as "one of the most useful cultural projects undertaken by the post within recent years," USIS Lisbon recently collaborated with the Portuguese Musical Youth Organization in presenting an American Music Week. Opening with a showing of the film "Porgy and Bess," the week also featured the young American violinist Jack Glatzer and the North Texas State University Choir.

* * *

TEHRAN—A selection from the U.S. Navy's collection of paintings and drawings (Navy Combat Art), obtained by USIS, has been shown in Iranian cities including Tehran, Tabriz, Meshed, Abadan, Khorramshahr, and Ahwaz.



A SPECIAL COLLECTION of swans and ducks, a gift from the U.S. to President Soekarno, finds a temporary haven in transit in the Embassy fish pool in Djakarta and here shares a luncheon sandwich with USIS secretary Dolores Hall. The gift was arranged at the suggestion of Attorney General Kennedy during his peace-making visit to the Far East. The collection now graces the Presidential Palace gardens in Bogor.

USIS SAIGON Information Clerk Tran Tu Tien passes on to eager Vietnamese village children in the central highlands of South Vietnam copies of Huong Que (Rural Spirit), a high-circulation magazine that has become an important informational adjunct to South Vietnam's new rural life hamlet program.

USIS Beirut Services Schools With Bookmobile

An inexpensive needed bookmobile was arrived at by USIS Beirut when it equipped a 1957 panel truck with portable bookcases and sent it off to schools in Lebanon, PAO William R. Auman reports.

On arrival at a school stop, the cases are removed from the truck-bookmobile to the school courtyard or to a schoolroom, where students and teachers have access to the books. In general, each class is allowed a half hour for browsing and selecting books.

The collection totals nearly 6,000 volumes, of which some 3,100 are in Arabic, 2,000 in English, and the rest in French. Approximately 850 books are carried on each trip. New titles are added regularly, thus keeping interest high and broadening the scope of the collection, Auman says.

After schools open in the fall Bookmobile Librarian Sami Shami and library clerk Ahmed Ghossein renew contacts with schools served the previous year, arrange schedules for those wishing to continue, and make new contacts to fill a thrice-weekly schedule for the bookmobile.

The area served extends from Sidon to Tripoli along the coast and into the lower mountain areas. Winter road conditions preclude visits to schools in the higher mountains.

When the program was first set up in 1959, the bookmobile visit meant merely an exchange of books, with occasional guidance from the librarian. Now students and teachers ask for specific books, books by authors they have come to know and enjoy, and books on specific subjects. Librarian Shami has filled special requests from the main library collection and has "earned the confidence and good will of the patrons through his sincere efforts to meet their demands," PAO Auman reports. Most requests are for well written books in easy English, fiction, biographies of famous people, books on science and various phases of agriculture. Students also frequently borrow books for their parents.

The bookmobile also serves as a distribution vehicle to the schools visited—because of lack of rail communication and unsatisfactory postal service in Lebanon—carrying packets of pamphlets, translations and newsstand returns. It also assists the USIS Film Section to deliver films and motion picture equipment to schools on the circuit.

Auman concludes that during its five years of service to schools in the towns and villages of Western Lebanon, "the bookmobile has introduced USIS to many who had not previously known of its existence. It has brought to the rural areas something of the historic and cultural backgrounds and technical accomplishments of the American people to be discovered in books."

BEIRUT BOOKMOBILE LIBRARIAN SAMI SHAMA (at right with portable bookcase) gets ready for business at the Deir al Moukhalis School.

Love Letter to America

A leading Indian author and educator recently refused payment from USIS Calcutta for a contracted editorial job because he said his work had been a "labor of love" for America.

Dr. Mayadhar Mansinha of the east Indian state of Orissa, where the language is Oriya, had, under contract with USIS, reviewed the Oriya translation of a pamphlet which USIS Calcutta plans to publish. When Dr. Mansinha was offered the usual payment of Rs. 380 (approximately $80) he replied:

"Many thanks for the offer of the remuneration. But I do not feel like taking any, as this labour has gradually turned into one of love for a country and a people for whom I have had deep admiration since I read Lincoln's life in my student days, and which has deepened through years for both national and personal causes."

Dr. Mansinha continued: "Going through the Oriya translation of 'Meet America' also has been personally very educative to me, the country and the people whom I admire coming all the closer to my mind than ever before . . . Let the labour of this review, therefore, remain one of unalloyed love. This gives me very great psychological satisfaction, in being a sort of repayment of a spiritual debt I owe, but did not know how to give expression to."

A former Director of Adult Education for the state government of Orissa, Dr. Mansinha is now compiling an Oriya language encyclopedia. He is the author of 29 books of poems, essays, plays and literary criticism.

ARTICLE BY STOCKHOLM LABOR SPECIALIST GETS LARGE PLAY

A full page spread was given a USIS Stockholm evaluation of the report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women by *Tco Tidningen,* journal of Sweden's second largest labor organization, TCO (white collar workers). The author was Erik Sodersten, the Post's Labor Specialist.

The article brought a letter of congratulation to Sodersten from Mrs. Esther Peterson, Assistant Secretary of Labor and Chief of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. She said:

"Certainly a full page spread commands attention. We are grateful for your help in getting the Commission's story told."

SENEGAL: FIELD TRIP HIGHLIGHTS

A trip through southern Senegal to contact information and youth officials, show films, and distribute USIS materials, yielded many evidences of the effectiveness of the information program, Dakar Program Assistant Bruce J. Oudes reports.

Among them:

In Velingara, a primary school teacher proudly displayed one of the 17 copies of "USA: Its Geography and Growth" that the Ministry of Education had distributed to schools.

In Kolda, the wife of the Commandant de Cercle volunteered that she and her family regularly listen to VOA's French-to-Africa programs.

In Ziguinchor, 700 lycee students broke into spontaneous, prolonged cheering when the image of President Kennedy flashed on the screen during a USIS film showing.

In Tambacounda, Kolda, and Ziguinchor Information Centers, well-worn copies of USIS Dakar's information bulletin were prominently in evidence and "March on Washington" photo posters were on the walls.

In Seydihou, the Maison des Jeunes director expressed thanks for USIS materials he has received regularly, and said his program has been greatly helped by a USIS projector and films lent him.

DAKAR PROGRAM ASSISTANT BRUCE OUDES (second from right) presents "Nouveaux Horizons" books to students of the Junior High School in Tambacounda, Senegal. Also shown are (from left) M. Gerard Azoulay, Director of the school, Miss Dia Rama, Seck Lamine, Mady Souare, and Miss Ly Couba.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FORMED FOR 'LAW BOOKS USA' DRIVE

A National Committee has been formed in the drive to place in the hands of selected law students and lawyers of emerging countries packets of basic paperback books on the nature of the American legal system.

The "Law Books USA" campaign was begun in the Agency's Office of Private Cooperation in December 1962.

Lawyers throughout the U.S. are being asked to donate funds for packets for overseas colleagues. Each packet consists of eight paperback books and costs $8. The National Committee, a nonprofit group, will accept contributions in multiples or fractions of this amount. Recipients of the books will be encouraged to correspond directly with the American donors, whose names will be enclosed in the packets.

RABINDRA CHANDRA DEBROY (better known to USIS Calcutta colleagues as Robin DebRoy) is congratulated on his graduation from Calcutta University by Ambassador Chester Bowles. DebRoy, who has worked for USIS for 13 years, is currently assigned to the cultural section. He was a night student at the University for four years while holding down his daytime job at USIS. Married and the father of two, he now plans to continue his night studies for a master's degree.

Bryan Book Wins Award

"Come to the Bower," by Jack Y. Bryan, one of the Agency's Foreign Service Officers, has been selected as the best book of fiction by a Texan or about Texas published in 1963. It has won the $1,000 Jesse Jones fiction award, donated by Houston Endowment, Inc., and given through the Texas Institute of Letters.

The book, published by Viking Press last spring (and reviewed in the September 1963 USIA CORRESPONDENT), is an historical romance set against the dramatic events of the Texas war for independence, from the Alamo to the final struggle at San Jacinto.

Bryan has served in Bombay, Madras, Cairo, Tehran, and most recently as CAO in Karachi. He is now on extended leave to write another book.

USIA Linguists

(The following employes received S-3 or R-3 or better in world languages, or S-2 or R-2 or better in the difficult languages, in language proficiency tests conducted by the Foreign Service Institute during February. According to the definitions of language proficiency, the rating of "5" indicates educated bilingual competency; the "4" rating indicates the specialist level. The "S" stands for spoken language proficiency; the "R" for reading proficiency.)

Aulicino, John V.	French	S-3	R-4
	German		R-3
	Italian	S-3+	R-4
Beym, Richard	Spanish	S-4+	R-4+
Canby, Vadim G.	Spanish	S-4	
Castillo, Jay	Portuguese	S-5	R-4
Crowne, Sherwin A.	French	S-3+	R-4
Estes, Lawrence D.	Portuguese	S-4	R-4
Luschei, Martin L.	French		R-3
Ray, Katherine D.	Spanish	S-3+	R-4
Smith, Morton S.	Burmese	S-2+	R-3

ROCKEFELLER AWARDS NOMINATIONS DUE

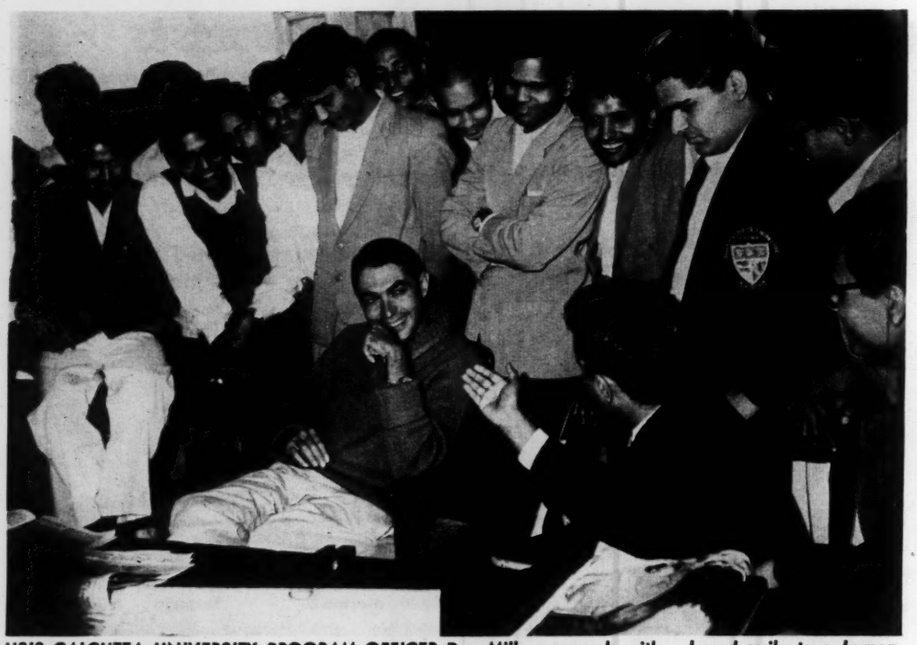
Heads of offices and services have been notified by the Office of Personnel and Training that nominations for the Rockefeller Public Service Awards Program for 1964 are due March 31.

The awards are given annually to men and women whose Federal careers have been marked by sustained excellence in service to the Nation. Candidates normally shall be in grades GS-15/FSR-2 and above, in the employ of the Federal Government for a minimum of 15 years, and between 45 and 60 years old.

Each winner receives an award of $5,000.

Nominations should be sent to Frances Whitely, Incentive Awards Committee, IPT/P, Washington.

CAMERAMAN KEN VAN SICKLE AND DIRECTOR BOB KAYLOR of the ITV crew make films for Panorama Panamericano. They are filming a story on a fishermen's cooperative in the port of San Lorenzo on the south coast of Honduras. Tegucigalpa PAO Donald Gould is shown in the center talking to a fisherman. This is the nearest that Gould, an ex-sea captain, has been to the water in his nine years with the Agency.



USIS CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PROGRAM OFFICER Dan Miller responds with a broad smile to a humorous note injected into conversation by Patna University student (back to camera). Young officers meeting students informally in their hostels has proved to be an effective means of establishing rapport and providing opportunities for serious discussions, reports PAO Gilbert Austin.

'Can You Speak Hindi?'

All seemed to be going well as University Program Officer Dan Miller sat on the floor of a Science College hostel in Patna, India, with some 100 student boarders and responded to their sharp, but friendly, questioning about matters political.

Midway through the session, however, an Indian senior student stood and launched a rambling monologue, the gist of which was:

"You people come to our country. . . . You don't learn any of our languages, but we travel to your country and have to know your language and why don't you pay some attention to our . . ."

Miller interrupted, saying in Hindi, "I am studying Hindi."

Amid the laughter of his companions, the heckler failed to hear the Program Officer and continued his tirade. Again Miller interrupted, again used Hindi, to say, "I can speak Hindi. Come on, talk. Ask me something."

According to USIS India PAO William H. Weathersby, the scene ended thus:

Student (in Hindi — incredulously): "You can speak Hindi?"

Miller (in Hindi), "I'm trying to learn. Can you speak Hindi?"

The student, overcome, nodded and sank back to the floor, to the delight of his fellow students.

Reaction to RIAS Program Provides Toys For Children

Staffers of RIAS (Radio in the American Sector, which is beamed to listeners in the Soviet sector of Berlin and the Soviet Zone of Germany, but which also is listened to by many citizens of West Berlin and West Germany) were pleasantly surprised at the response produced by a one-time appeal to the audience during a recent quiz program.

In the humorous quiz show run by RIAS reporter Hans Rosenthal, "Alone Against All," in which whole towns try to answer "stump-the-experts" questions, two West Berlin districts—Neukoellin in the south and Wedding in the north—were asked to compete in collecting toys for the Red Cross which recently took over a number of children's shelters. One reporter each was stationed at an appropriate location in each district, and the Red Cross provided one truck per location.

No mention whatever had been made of the plan, since it was being used to obtain a rough picture of radio versus TV audiences at the peak TV viewing hour of 8 p.m. It was estimated that about 500 to 600 toys would be donated.

The response was immediate—and immense. Shortly after the request had gone out over the air, traffic policemen had to be assigned to the reporters' locations because so many people came in cars to deliver toys, and thousands of people on foot soon surrounded the reporters. A group of 14 owners of private cars spontaneously and very quickly developed a fast system of collection. At the Wedding City Hall money also was spontaneously donated. In response to listeners' requests, postal accounts for donating money were established not only in Berlin but also in Hamburg and Cologne, where the program also is heard via North German Radio and West German Radio medium wave.

Morgenpost, the Berlin daily with the largest circulation, published a column about the broadcast on its editorial page which said, in part:

"More than 7,000 donors were counted by the stunned RIAS people, and seven trucks were needed to cart away this avalanche of toys. We have only the pleasant task now of saying Thank You on behalf of RIAS, of the Red Cross, and of the many children who will receive all those generous gifts."

TORONTO PAO EDWARD J. KILLEEN (left) interviews Canadian philatelist Douglas Patrick for the VOA program "The Passing Scene." Patrick conducts a stamp club program on the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. network which has members in more than 60 countries and on all continents.

LETTER FROM A READER . . .

Madrid Press Attache Jay Castillo says USIS recently received a letter from the village of Dosaiguas. Translated, it says:

"Gentlemen;

"Thank you very much for having sent me *Noticias de Actualidad* free of charge during many years.

"I am 86 years old now, and I am ill. This makes it difficult for me to give any time to reading, and I think it is my duty to ask you to take me out of your mailing list, so that my copy becomes available for someone else.

"I have always read *Noticias de Actualidad* with great interest, and I have given it to read to other people. I have found in your writings the true road to democracy, thus avoiding the extremist ideas that are the cause of disorders and revolutions against mankind.

Yours gratefully,

Jaime Cabré"

Sister City Program Grows

Forty-four new town affiliation programs between American cities and cities overseas were launched last year, according to E. Snowden Chambers, program adviser on community affiliations for the Office of Private Cooperation.

During 1963 in 260 American cities more than 1,500 groups and organizations comprising 50,000 participants donated more than 100,000 man-hours and over $230,000 in cash, plus $50,000 in materials, to carry out 600 projects with their sister cities in 52 countries of the Free World. Six hundred and forty persons were exchanged. No federal grants were made to any of the cities.

While some 500 projects were undertaken by the overseas sister cities, the amount of cash, donated materials and man-hours is unknown, according to the Office of Private Cooperation.

PERFORMANCE EVALUATION CONTINUOUS PROCESS, IPT SAYS

(Continued from page 1)

appraisal." Therefore, keeping an employe informed of the requirements of his job and of how he is doing is a "continuing responsibility" of the supervisor.

Mosley notes that "through frequent discussions, employes know what they are expected to do, understand the purpose of their work, develop their usefulness and abilities and contribute their full share to the Agency's mission."

Employes also have an obligation: to perform their work to the best of their abilities, to cooperate with their supervisors, and to work harmoniously with their fellow employes.

The success of USIA "depends on the quality of the work of each employe," Mosley declares. By day-to-day management of employes, supervisors can "motivate them to direct their interests, abilities and efforts toward the more efficient and economical accomplishment of the Agency's work."

The skilled supervisor recognizes the individual differences of employes and establishes a supervisor-employe relationship which makes effective use of the best the employe can offer.

Finally, if a supervisor has any hesitation about recommending a within-grade increase—even though such determination will not be made until a future date—he should discuss the reasons for his reservations with the employe, not only during the annual performance rating interview but at other times.

"An employe's performance can, and often does, change," Mosley emphasizes.

PAO'S IN AFRICA GET INTO THE THICK OF THINGS. At left, Lome PAO Charles D. Searles, at the microphone, salutes the creation of a new chapter of the Association Culturelle de la Jeunesse du Togo in Agoueve. In the middle of the photo is Mr. Antoine Fayossewo, President of the Association, and seated on his left is Mr. Dieu-Donne Sessi, President of the Agoueve Chapter. At right, American performer Gene Kelly barricades himself behind a table between bookshelves as 3,000 young Ghanaian fans rush for his autograph at the USIS Library. Shown beside him is Accra PAO Mark B. Lewis.

They Speak English, Thanks to USIS

It's almost a fourth of the way around the world from Osaka to Vienna, but that's the distance a piece of fan mail traveled to reach Dr. Walter Fangl, Viennese teacher of English on the Austrian TV national network.

Dr. Fangl has been helping Austrians with the USIS-supplied intermediate series, "Let's Speak English," after having presented the beginning course, "Let's Learn English", last year.

He received the Osaka-postmarked letter from a touring Tyrolean family of nine—musicians in the tradition of the famed Trapp Family. The letter read:

"Last year the whole family learned English in your TV lessons. . . . How useful and important it was we see now in our concert tour from Austria to Japan about the southern countries of Asia. Only in English—seldom in French —is it possible to speak with people . . . living in these countries and to hear something about their life and to try to understand many strange scenes."

The message was signed by the "Engel Family" which toured 13 countries of the Near and Far East on its Austria-Japan trip, singing and playing (more than two dozen musical instruments) in the style that has made its members radio stars and international entertainers.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS DOES BESSO BIBLIOGRAPHY

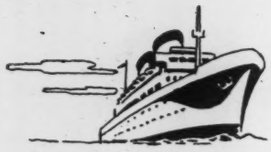
The Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress has just published "Bibliography of Ladino Books in the Library of Congress" by Henry V. Besso of IBS/RN.

The bibliography, first of its kind published in the United States, was prepared to draw attention to the collection in the hope that other institutions possessing analogous holdings will publish similar catalogs, Besso says. Ladino is the language spoken and written by Spanish Jews.

Besso formerly was a member of the staff of the Hispanic Foundation. As General Editor he was responsible for several volumes issued in the Library of Congress series, *Guides to the Official Publications of the other American Republics.*

Besso also had a paper, in Spanish, published in *Arbor,* Madrid (July-August 1963). This is the paper he read in the Spanish capital at the First Congress of Hispanic Culture last July, as a delegate from the United States. A third paper by Besso was published in *Le Judaisme Sephardi,* London (December 1963). In English, this describes the organization, activities and accomplishments of the Congress of Hispanic Culture.

HENRY V. BESSO of IBS/RN (with briefcase) is congratulated by Don Ramon Menendez Pidal, President of the Spanish Royal Academy of Madrid, on the paper he presented before the Congress of Hispanic Culture in the Spanish capital. Besso was a student of Dr. Menendez Pidal in 1938 when the latter was Visiting Professor at Columbia U. in New York City.



PERSONNEL CHANGES

(Actions reported by the Personnel Division as of February 28, 1964)

TRANSFERS

	From	To
Barnhart, David H.	Fortaleza	Porto Alegre (Amendment)
Bennett, Lowell	Washington	Tehran
Bradley, Holbrook	Washington	Seoul
Burke, Mary E.	Rome	Lagos
Campbell, Ivan M.	Washington	Bangkok
Castillo, Jay	Madrid	Washington
Chapman, George H.	Washington	Liberia Relay Station
Coleman, Bernard F.	Lagos	Dar-es-Salaam
Cooper, George W.	Rio de Janeiro	Djakarta
Cunningham, Kathleen A.	Brussels	Lima
Czuczka, George T.	Duesseldorf	Vienna
Damon, G. Huntington	Seoul	Lagos
Deal, Elva J.	Helsinki	Washington
DeSimone, Peter S.	Washington	Kampala
Dickie, Joan L.	Brussels	Lahore
Ewing, Gordon A.	Washington	Rome
Fregolle, Barbara	Bombay	Washington
Ganas, Stacia	Washington	Paris
Garvey, Paul S.	Saigon	Brussels
Gash, Gertrude L.	Vientiane	Hong Kong
Graves, John E.	Leopoldville	Bukavu
Griffiths, John L.	Bogota	Maracaibo
Grossman, Max R.	Washington	London
Harford, Carol V.	Manila	Washington
Heditsian, Corinne A.	Washington	Bombay
Hornbeck, Harold	Karachi	Washington
Jeanneret, Richard H.	Amman	Taiz
Jepson, Melvin T.	Tangier Relay Station	Colombo Relay Station
Knight, Bernardo H.	Washington	Istanbul
Krone, Barbara R.	Washington	Duesseldorf (Amendment)
Lepperd, John R.	Washington	New Delhi
Levy, Charles M.	Strasbourg	Washington
MacDonald, Kay M.	Mexico City	Paris
Mack, James L.	Washington	Khartoum
Mandros, James J.	Washington	Karachi
Martin, Thomas M.	La Paz	Caracas
Mattison, Lewis C.	Helsinki	Washington
McCarthy, John R.	Beirut	Damascus
McDonough, Jerome K.	Washington	Rangoon
Merian, Robert A.	Dacca	Taipei
Meyer, Charles R., Jr.	Panama City	Tegucigalpa
Minor, Ainslie B.	Panama City	Santo Domingo
Morrissette, Christine	Washington	Tunis
Myers, Edward D.	London	Washington
Nakki, Helen A.	Manila	Tokyo
Newman, Donald R.	Madras	New Delhi
Ocko, Stephen J.	Washington	Leopoldville
Olberg, Weston J.	Pakse	Washington
Peel, Harris	Washington	Lagos
Penney, Edward T.	Calcutta	New Delhi
Phillips, Ralph L.	Jidda	Washington (Amendment)
Pierce, Maude L.	Bonn	Washington
Poole, Henry B., Jr.	Thessaloniki Relay Station	Liberia Relay Station
Potts, Bertha C.	Vientiane	Washington
Powers, Robert A.	RSC-Manila	RSC-Beirut
Prass, Nancy Ann	Lagos	Montevideo
Quinn, Eugene F.	Ouagadougou	Washington
Raney, Mary Ann	Mexico City	Bogota
Reilly, Donald E.	Washington	Peshawar
Reuss, Peter J.	New Delhi	Madras
Savage, Edward J.	Helsinki	Washington
Smith, Morton S.	Rangoon	Washington
Sonke, Audrey L.	Cairo	Taipei
Stein, Herman	Panama City	Enugu
Stephen, Henry H.	Libreville	Karachi
Stevens, John E., Jr.	Karachi	Washington
Stewart, Ronald W.	Washington	Rangoon
Stingle, Howard E.	Hong Kong	Singapore
Talarico, Mary Theresa	Washington	Belgrade
Timko, Theresa Mary	Washington	Buenos Aires
Torjesen, Hakon D.	Vientiane	Lahore
Von Glatz, Richard	New Delhi	Calcutta
Weeks, Wilbur F.	Naples	Turin
White, Ralph R.	Phnom Penh	Vientiane
Will, Raymond B.	Washington	Abidjan
Williams, Carlin R.	Philippines Relay Station	Washington
Williams, Yvonne L.	Cotonou	Paris
Zorthian, Barry	New Delhi	Saigon

TRANSFERS FROM FOREIGN SERVICE TO DOMESTIC SERVICE

Sandra S. Craig, Gerald Flynn, Ralph Segman, Otto J. Strohmenger, Rudolph Tarquinio

TRANSFERS FROM DOMESTIC SERVICE TO FOREIGN SERVICE

Thomas Ayers, Albert Roland

PROMOTIONS

FOREIGN SERVICE

		From	To
Jidda	Burkhead, Ila A.	FSS-9	FSS-8
RSC-Manila	Huey, Joyce I.	FSS-9	FSS-8

DOMESTIC SERVICE

	From	To
IOA		
Coleman, Irving J.	GS-1	GS-2
Cowden, Patricia Ann	GS-3	GS-4
Glier, Clifford T.	GS-12	GS-13
Gordon, Arlene W.	GS-5	GS-6
Hahn, Miriam R.	GS-7	GS-8
Keil, Lucile B.	GS-7	GS-9
Koski, Joseph C.	GS-9	GS-11
Wright, Henry M.	GS-1	GS-2
IRS		
Eyck, F. Gunther	GS-13	GS-14
Martin, L. John	GS-14	GS-15
Swartz, Mary L.	GS-4	GS-5
IAA		
LoMedico, Josephine A.	GS-5	GS-6
IOP		
Perts, Sandra L.	GS-4	GS-5
Scott, Lula R.	GS-5	GS-6
IPT		
Flowers, Dona L.	GS-4	GS-5
Holmes, Horace R.	GS-13	GS-14
Howell, Hilda V.	GS-7	GS-9
Morton, Herwald H.	GS-11	GS-12
IOS		
Jock, Linda J.	GS-5	GS-6
IGC		
Moore, Ethel Lee	GS-7	GS-9
I		
Roberts, Whitt D.	WB-5	WB-6
IAS		
Cheernega, Julia M.	GS-3	GS-4
ICS		
Rosefsky, Bonnie L.	GS-5	GS-6

ROWAN SWORN IN

(Continued from page 1)

ing as sentinels of the deep—military might never surpassed in history, but might harnessed by a sense of responsibility for man's destiny and by a national desire for peace within freedom.

"And this nation is social ferment—a society caught up in concern for its aged and its ill, full of compassion for its impoverished . . . a people struggling as no society *ever* struggled to achieve a unity that transcends the incidental boundaries of religion, race, national origin.

"America is leadership—a nation whose destiny it has become to man the far-flung ramparts of freedom, marching with the fearful and the weak, the hungry and the harassed, toward the goal of a peaceful world community of free and independent states.

"Mr. Chairman, brevity forbids my saying all that this nation is. But I think that I have said enough to justify my fundamental belief that all we need wish the world to know about us is the truth. Through face-to-face contacts, through television, films and radio, and through the printed word, we shall spread the truth, and I am confident that the truth will keep us free.

"So my first mission will be to take the truth and PUT IT IN PERSPECTIVE. There is an abundance of facts about us, even in the most remote parts of the world, but there is an acute shortage of understanding of what the facts mean and how they relate to the hopes and dreams of those vast millions who today fill Asia, Africa and Latin America with turmoil and ugly conflict.

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in recent years I have observed that in much of the world what men need more than bread is hope. Hope that in their lifetimes they may breathe the air of freedom, escape the shackles of misery and squalor. The Voice of America can be the voice of hope if it says, louder than all else, that we Americans are not 'the gendarmes of the status quo,' to borrow a phrase from Secretary Rusk. I consider it one of USIA's first challenges, then, to relate to the world in a credible, meaningful way the truth about those several peaceful revolutions, some occurring during my lifetime, that have made our country the land of hope that it is.

"Inherent in every USIA action will be our desire to further the foreign policy interests of this country. In doing so, we must present this nation as one strong and resolute enough to retain the cherished ideals and liberties of our past, yet wise and flexible enough to welcome the inevitable changes of tomorrow. For our whole history reveals us to be people who understand that while not all change is progress, there can be no progress without change.

"I am not so naive as to assume that through this or any other program USIA can convince the rest of the world's peoples to shape their societies in a United States mold—nor is this our objective. But it is not unrealistic to believe that we can make our society and our system everywhere understood and almost everywhere respected.

"Mr. Chairman, let me say what you already know. I cannot meet this challenge with success unless I have the confidence and trust of the President and the understanding and support of Congress. President Johnson has expressed his confidence and trust with a clarity I find heartening. I shall count myself blessed if I may begin with the good wishes and support of this committee as well as the rest of Congress."

***MANILA STUDENTS** who had worked with Assistant CAO Carol Harford (center, with corsage and gift) really meant it when they said they hated to see her go, and showed up with these signs to prove it. Miss Harford is now Agency-assigned.*

Director Rowan also said in a Minneapolis speech last month:

". . . . What USIA does or what I do will not determine the course of history. But we can make a contribution, and try we will. . . .

"We all are indebted to a man whom I have admired and respected since my boyhood, Edward R. Murrow, whose reputation for integrity, courage, and clear vision is international, and whose unfortunate illness left a mammoth vacancy in the ranks which I now must strive to fill. But he also left an organization with a better staff, higher morale and higher prestige at home and abroad, than he found.

"As for myself, I have never worked harder in my life. I have never been called an idler—though on occasion I confess a weakness for good conversation, tasty food, a bowling ball, and a shot at an inside straight—but I cannot remember a time when I have worked with such enthusiasm."

PROMOTIONS —DOMESTIC SERVICE (Continued)

ICS			
Rushton, Donald A.		GS-3	GS-4
Yancoskie, Jean C.		GS-3	GS-4
IMS			
Colbert, Louise F.		GS-5	GS-6
Montgomery, Robert F.		GS-3	GS-4
IPS			
Finke, Blythe F.		GS-11	GS-12
Lewis, Dennis L.		GS-4	GS-5
Montgomery, Chester		GS-13	GS-14
Noll, Carmella A.		GS-5	GS-6
Thurston, Laura B.		GS-9	GS-11
ITV			
Boles, Kenneth E.		GS-13	GS-14
Deviney, John H.		GS-13	GS-14
Galanty, Sidney		GS-13	GS-14
Gannon, William J.		GS-9	GS-11
Hawken, Ashley L.		GS-7	GS-9
Hertz, Robert S.		GS-9	GS-11
Hussie, Barbara E.		GS-13	GS-14
Kelly, Gordon B.		GS-13	GS-14
McGowan, Clyde W.		GS-9	GS-11
Otterson, John P.		GS-13	GS-14
Stein, Frederick H.		GS-13	GS-14
Udel, Bernard H.		GS-12	GS-13
IBS			
Alford, Sterling G.		GS-12	GS-13
Bancroft, Howe		GS-13	GS-14
Engel, Richard		GS-11	GS-12
Guinan, John A.		GS-11	GS-12
Harden, Martha L.		GS-5	GS-7
Mellits, Allyn S.		GS-9	GS-11
Moore, Marilyn E.		GS-7	GS-9
Portuondo, Guillermo		GG-9	GG-10
Yankauer, James R.		GS-13	GS-14

a PAO reports...

BELO HORIZONTE PAO ELINOR HALLE *assists Professor Mauricio Prazeres in presenting a book to third-grade student Angela Beatriz Rocha during a broadcast of ITV's "Let's Learn English" program. The book was won in a drawing from letters received by the program—an average 100 per week.*

ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY *talks with Kuala Lumpur PAO Harry S. Casler during a visit to the USIS library and offices while on his recent peace-seeking mission to Southeast Asia.*

BLANTYRE PAO WAYNE CONNER *tapes Angoni dancing music for VOA's "Today" program as the warriors dance for the cameraman. The dancing was especially arranged for USIS by Inkosi Willard Gomani, Paramount Chief of the Angoni Tribe.*

KADUNA PAO ABOL F. FOTOUHI *joins a group of university students singing and dancing the "highlife," a popular tune in Nigeria. The students, from Ahmadu Bello University in Northern Nigeria, dress in rags for a week and offer personal services to individuals and organizations. Payments received are presented to the Blind Society. They are celebrating the success of their endeavors.*

COLOMBO PAO MARTIN C. CARROLL, JR. *calls on Venerable Amunugama Sri Rajaguru Vipassi Mahanayake Thero to pay his respects to the newly-elected head of the Buddhist clergy in Ceylon (Malwatte Chapter in Kandy). The Mahanayake Thero is leafing through a volume of Life magazine's World Nature Series. Six volumes were presented to him by Dr. Carroll.*

FLORENCE PAO FRANCES E. COUGHLIN *and American painter James Leong discuss one of his paintings (behind them) in his Italian studio. A former Fulbright grantee, Leong now makes his home in Rome. A major cultural activity of USIS Florence has been art exhibits featuring the works of American artists living in Florence.*

SANTIAGO PAO BARBARA M. WHITE *(second from right), attends a lecture of Nicolas Velasco, editor of Las Ultimas Noticias, upon his return from the American Press Institute at Columbia U. and travel in the U.S. In the front row (from left) are Patricio Prieto, Dean of the School of Journalism at Catholic University, where the lecture was given, Sr. Velasco, Miss White, and USIS Press Officer Holley M. Bell.*

—Rolf Moeren

VOL. 6, NO. 2
FEBRUARY, 1964

USIA Correspondent

Rowan Says Ideological Conflict 'More Intense'

AMERICAN ARTIST NORMAN ROCKWELL sketches Soviet citizens at USIA's Graphics Arts exhibit in Moscow. Also participating in the exhibit for the Agency were William Walton, Chairman of the Fine Arts Commission for the District of Columbia, and Alan Hurlburt, Art Editor of LOOK Magazine.

He Believes USIA 'Vitally Important'

Carl T. Rowan told the American people this month that "the ideological conflict" has been "stepped up" and "is more intense than ever."

The new USIA Director, interviewed on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" by Howard K. Smith, said: "This means that we've got to wage that war more intensely."

Rowan recalled that former Director Edward R. Murrow had warned repeatedly that "the United States is being out-published, out-broadcast and out-spent" by the Communists in the information and cultural field. "This is still true to an alarming degree," Rowan declared, "and I certainly didn't come into this office to preside over the liquidation of an Agency that I think is vitally important to the security of the nation."

Asked how he would present this country to people abroad, the Director-designate remarked that "what the world needs first of all is information. They need to know the truth about us; and if we can get the truth out, it makes the convincing a lot easier."

Rowan continued:

"I intend to have the Agency tell the truth and put it in perspective . . . To talk about an incident that happens today may be to tell the truth, but to talk about that incident may not be to tell the whole truth. You may have to talk a little bit about the past and what the hopes are for the future and what the role of the Federal Government is, what the attitude of Congress is, and when you have said all these things you have put that event in the kind of perspective that

(Continued on page 15)

Advisory Commission Commends USIA For 'Professional Competence'

The 19th Report to Congress of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information says that in its visits to overseas posts, members of the Commission find "signs of the growing maturity and professional competence of USIA personnel and of the cumulative impact of its work over the years."

The report, which covers 1963, also salutes USIA for these "recent accomplishments": IMS films, which are produced "with taste and technical proficiency"; the substantial increase in book translations, especially in Spanish for Latin America and in French for French-speaking Africa; the Agency's exhibits circulating in the Soviet Union and satellite countries, which are "well planned and constructed"; and the completion of the new transmitter complex in Greenville.

The report notes, however, that although progress is being made, two important questions still face the Agency. "The first is the need for greater support by the U.S. Congress for this type of 20th century diplomacy, and greater understanding of why its continued existence is necessary to the survival and

(Continued on page 13)

USIA Correspondent

Vol. 6, No. 2 February, 1964
Send Contributions to USIA Publications Division
(Editorial deadline is the first of each month)
Editor .....Mary Painter

Who's Typical?

It may be a blow to some of the Agency's husband-hunting females, but USIA's "typical" Foreign Service Officer is married, and has two children! (Only 16 percent are unmarried.)

The Agency's Office of Public Information, which turned up that fact, says he also:

—Is in his mid-forties, has spent a decade in Government service (most of it in overseas assignments), is adept in at least two foreign languages.

Other findings:

Eighty percent of the officers are males. The average annual salary is slightly under $12,000. While the average age is 43, one-fifth are over 50, and one-seventh are 30 years old or younger.

Overseas experience generally has been in two or more geographic areas; 57 percent have served in Europe, 38 percent in the Far East. One out of two had foreign work or study outside of Government.

Seventy-seven percent had an average four years' experience outside Government in one or more of the fields of mass communications, the social sciences, teaching or library work. Ninety-one percent hold B.A. degrees (13 times the national average for this age group), 37 percent have an M.A., and 19 percent hold doctorates. Ten percent were Phi Beta Kappa, and five percent subsequently attended the National War College or one of the senior service colleges. Their wives also have an impressive educational background: 42 percent have B.A. degrees and 12 percent have masters'.

Seventy-three percent have had military service, only one-third of them as commissioned officers.

Fourteen percent have authored published books, and another 20 percent have written articles for publication.

In hobbies, 61 percent are sports-minded, 44 percent like the arts, 39 percent reading, and 24 percent photography.

The survey resulted from an analysis of replies to a questionnaire filled out by 220 career officers, selected at random from USIA's 1,858 FSO's assigned to 228 overseas posts and in Washington.

President Orders Job Equality For Federal Women

President Johnson has given a "firm and flat" statement to the heads of U.S. Government agencies that "no distinction whatsoever" as to sex should exist when considering Federal employes for promotion.

The President also told a Cabinet meeting last month that he plans to install 50 women in "top" Government jobs shortly. He specified that by "top" he means up to and including Undersecretaries, Assistant Secretaries, and deputy heads of agencies.

There are about 600,000 women working for the U.S. Government today, or about one-fourth of the work force. Of the 2,600 jobs in the top grades (earnings of $15,000 and up), women hold less than one percent.

In USIA, four women have reached the upper ranks of the Foreign Service. Patricia van Delden, FSCR-1, is Deputy PAO in Bonn. Margot E. Cutter, Regional Book Officer in Paris, Helen Semmerling, Program Officer in Karachi, and Barbara White, Santiago PAO, are FSCR-2's. There are 14 women in FSR-3 and one in FSS-1.

The Agency has three women in Civil Service jobs at the Grade 15 level, out of a total of 79: Ruth Adams of IPS, Mildred Marcy of IOP, and Nancy Stephens of IOA. Eleven of the Agency's 180 GS-14 jobs belong to women.

How to make use of the full potential of women employes is being considered by two groups created by Executive Order last November 1: the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women, and the Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Both were set up on the recommendation of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, which was created by President Kennedy in December 1961.

STEVENS WINS JAYCEE AWARD

George Stevens, Jr., Director of the Agency's Motion Picture Service, has been named one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men of 1963 by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

At presentation ceremonies in Los Angeles on January 25, Stevens was cited for attracting to USIA productions a mixture of previously unknown young film-making talents and recognized leaders in the field, thereby creating a climate for a new forward movement in the American documentary tradition. He also was praised for his liaison work between the Government and the film industry, and a joint Government-industry program to develop new talent.

Former Director Murrow said that "the stamp of Stevens' creative imagination and vigor has revolutionized the character and quality of motion pictures produced by USIA."

Last year Stevens received the Flemming Award as "one of the ten outstanding young men in the Federal Government" service.

SIGNING AN AGREEMENT between the Agency and AFGE Lodge #1812 to have union dues withheld from paychecks (on employe request) are (left) Lodge President Bernard Wiesman and Director of Personnel and Training Lionel S. Mosley. Witnessing the signing are (from left) Bernice Greer of IOS, Chairman of Program and Publicity for the Union, Treasurer Esther Danenberg, Second Vice President Norman McKenna, and Alvin Schlossman, Personnel Officer in IPT.
—Jack Lartz

206 Domestic, FS Quality Increases Given In 1963

The Agency approved additional within-grade (quality) increases for 141 domestic employes during 1963.

The increases were given "in recognition of high quality performance above that ordinarily found in the type of position concerned," as provided for by the Federal Salary Reform Act of 1962, and regulations issued by the Civil Service Commission and the Agency.

A total of 65 Foreign Service staffers received extra within-class increases for meritorious service during the same period. Although the statutory basis is the Salary Act in one case, and the Foreign Service Act in the other, USIA's policy is to require the same standard of "exceptionally high quality work" in both instances, in the words of the Office of Personnel and Training.

The quality increases were distributed as follows: IBS—58; IPS—20; IOA—17; ICS—13; IRS—10; IMS—6; ITV—5; IOS—5; IOC—2; I, I/S, IOP, IGC and IAE—1 each.

Of the 65 FS increases, 17 were given to employes assigned to the Agency. The others were divided as follows: Near East—7; Africa—7; Latin America—6; Far East—5; Europe—5; and IBS extensions—18.

Rowan to Continue Murrow's Policies

Carl T. Rowan has pledged to do his "utmost to carry forward the basic policies" established by Edward R. Murrow.

At a staff meeting called a few hours after President Johnson named him to succeed Murrow, Rowan said: "I wish sincerely that there was no reason for the appointment of a new Director for USIA. The departure of Ed Murrow from his office was a great loss to the Government of the United States."

Rowan said he had "admired and respected" Murrow since he, Rowan, was a cub reporter. He noted that under Murrow's leadership, "the Agency reached new high levels of achievement."

Rowan told the meeting that his first order of business had been to ask Donald M. Wilson, Deputy Director, and Thomas C. Sorensen, Deputy Director (Policy and Plans), to remain. Both, Rowan said, agreed to do so.

"To tell the truth about this nation and its policies is the major principle that will guide me as it guided Mr. Murrow," Rowan said. "I share with him the firm belief that this nation and its system of government are great enough to stand comparisons in the world market of facts and ideas."

The mere recitation of isolated facts, however, must not be confused with telling the truth, Rowan added. "Facts must be presented in sufficient context so that the people overseas receive a truthful impression."

A BOMBAY STREET HAWKER SELLS student editions of Boys Life of Kennedy and John F. Kennedy: A Political Profile. The books, produced by American publishers in cooperation with ICS, cost one rupee (21¢) and have been completely sold out in India. The distributor has asked for 15,000 more of the second title.

LANGUAGE ABILITY PAYS—AND PAYS!

An analysis of the 1964 promotions of Foreign Service Reserve Officers shows that the promotion rate for officers who meet the Agency's minimum foreign language proficiency standards is more than twice as high as the rate for officers who do not.

As of December 31, USIA had 763 FSRO's with a tested proficiency of S-3 in a world language or S-2 in another foreign language. Of these, 202 (or 26 percent) were promoted in January. Only 75 (12 percent) of the 647 Reserve officers lacking such knowledge of a foreign language were promoted.

A higher promotion rate for language-qualified officers was found in every class where a significant number of promotions was made. It was equally true of both Career Reserve and Limited Reserve officers.

SOME OF AGENCY'S TOP OFFICERS CAMPUS-BOUND

School bells will ring again next fall for a baker's dozen of USIA's Foreign Service Officers.

Following is a list of candidates selected by the Agency Committee for the Service Colleges and Advanced Study Programs:

Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy (FSI):
James E. Hoofnagle, PAO Bonn
Charles B. Blosser, IAN Policy Officer

National War College (Washington):
Lemuel E. Graves, Jr., PAO Montevideo
Mark B. Lewis, PAO Accra
David P. Shepperd, Deputy PAO Saigon

Army War College (Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania):
Donald T. Shea, PAO Bombay

Naval War College (Newport, Rhode Island):
W. Clinton Powell, PAO Yaounde

Air War College (Montgomery, Alabama):
Daniel Garcia, Deputy Public Affairs Adviser, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, State

Alternates at Large:
John M. Anspacher, IPT/T
James N. Tull, IAF
Robert J. Clarke, IBS/R

Armed Forces Staff College (Norfolk, Virginia):
Donald E. McNertney, PAO Maracaibo
Raymond E. Benson, IO Belgrade

Alternates:
Robert D. Levine, IO Geneva
Jack W. Gallagher, CAO San Salvador

Brookings Institution (Washington):
John J. Karch, IBS Policy Staff Officer

Bologna, Italy Center of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies:
Jack H. Shellenberger, IBS Regional Editor

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Cambridge):
Douglas E. Pike, Special Projects Officer, Saigon

QUEEN JULIANA OF THE NETHERLANDS inspects Walter Schirra's Mercury Spacecraft as USIS tour Project Officer John P. Foster explains the arrangement of the astronaut's cockpit.

'SIGMA 7' STILL 'ORBITING' FOR USIS

USIA is piloting Astronaut Walter Schirra's "Sigma 7" Mercury spacecraft on a ground-level world tour. By the time it returns to the United States next July, it will have been inspected at close range and admired by huge and enthusiastic crowds in cities around the world.

"Sigma 7," which made six successful orbits in space in October 1962, started its current orbit in Sao Paulo last spring when it was featured in the International Aeronautical Space Exposition there.

From Brazil it went to France, where General de Gaulle and thousands of others saw it in the U.S. Pavilion at the International Aviation and Space Exposition in Paris.

After quick side excursions elsewhere in France, it was displayed in Marathon, Greece, during the World Boy Scout Jamboree in August. It then went to Athens for a week-long display at the famous Zappeion Gardens, where it broke all records in Greece for crowds and popularity.

Next stops were the U. S. Pavilions at the Thessaloniki (September) and Tunis (October) International Trade Fairs, before arriving in Amsterdam just in time to be seen by then Vice President Johnson when he officially opened the huge Exhibition sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

USIS Athens Radio-TV Officer John Foster was assigned as the Project Officer to accompany "Sigma 7" on its showings in Greece, Tunisia and The Netherlands. In addition to caring for the one-and-a-half ton museum piece in proverbial "mother hen" fashion, Foster worked with USIS and Embassy officials along the way in presenting lectures on America's space activities and hosting special target audience groups for private showings of Schirra's vehicle.

"Sigma 7" is currently being shown in several Japanese cities on a special tour arranged by some of Japan's leading newspapers. USIS Tokyo's Exhibits Officer, Hartzell Dake, has taken over the Project Officer-lecturer responsibilities. Following the tour in Japan, the spacecraft will make the final showing of its current tour as a feature of the U.S. Exhibition in Algiers next summer.

Foster said of the spacecraft at the end of its Amsterdam tour, "It's a 'natural.' Whether our visitor was a King or a shepherd, interest was equally enthusiastic. It seemed that 'Sigma 7' had something for everyone."

"Sigma 7" was built at a cost of $7,000,000 and is valued now as "a national historic resource." Strict criteria for security, display, handling and shipment were established by NASA for the tour.

In 1962, USIA and the Air Force teamed up to send John Glenn's "Friendship 7" spacecraft on a tour of major cities throughout the world.

El Salvador Chief Praises LBJ Pamphlet

So pleased was the President of El Salvador, Col. Julio Adalberto Rivera, with the IPS pamphlet "Lyndon B. Johnson, 36th President of the United States," that he congratulated USIS San Salvador on the publication.

In a note to IO Maurice J. Broderick, who had sent him the pamphlet, President Rivera wrote:

"I congratulate the United States Information Agency for such a splendid work. . . ."

King Hassan II Lauds USIS Rabat Telecast

A USIS Rabat-produced TV program, televised by Radio-Television Marocaine, brought congratulations from King Hassan II.

Awad Hanna, Assistant IO, prepared the live 30-minute telecast, given in Arabic at a prime viewing hour.

The program was primarily about Arab-American poets and authors. Much attention was given to Elia Abu Madi, who died in New York six years ago and whose poems stressed freedom of thought and action in the United States.

Compliments for Hanna came immediately from the Director of National TV, the Deputy General Director of Radio-Television Marocaine, the publisher of Morocco's largest Arab-language daily, and the editor-in-chief of the major magazine in Rabat.

Ultimate reaction, however, was reported by the Director of TV who said that a royal aide had called to say that King Hassan wished to congratulate the station on Hanna's program and to request that similar ones appear frequently.

POSTS LIKE USIS LONDON'S MAGAZINES

Many posts around the world are now purchasing English-language pamphlets and magazines published by USIS London.

SCIENCE HORIZONS, a monthly magazine which highlights U.S. space and technological achievements, is bought by 23 posts, which take a total of 1,290 copies. Tokyo gets 140 copies; Athens, Oslo, Helsinki and The Hague, 100 each; and Ottawa, 250.

Twenty-one posts order 1,627 copies of AMERICAN ECONOMIC REPORT, a monthly which attempts to interpret the state of the American economy as well as U.S. economic policy abroad. Ottawa is the largest customer, with 400 copies, but smaller numbers go each month to such places as Bangkok, Brussels, Managua, Nicosia, and Reykjavik.

Last year USIS London supplied 23,085 pamphlets to other posts in response to 54 orders. The most popular item by far, reports Deputy PAO John N. Hutchison, was John Hope Franklin's "First Century of Freedom." Seventeen posts ordered 7,535 copies. The author, who is Chairman of Brooklyn College's Department of History, wrote the text during his stay at Cambridge University as visiting Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions.

USIA Profile: Cultural Promoter

Almost 14 years ago a 22-year-old recent arrival in Israel walked into the American Library in Tel Aviv and asked for a job. She has worked there ever since—almost all her adult life—and today Mrs. Eva Weintraub is Chief of Library Operations for USIS.

As such, she is responsible for all library facilities in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the Haifa Reading Room, and the Bookmobile Service. During her association with USIS she has witnessed the inauguration of the Jerusalem and Haifa libraries and the rapid growth of the Tel Aviv Center into an institution of great popularity and well-founded reputation in the cultural life of the community.

In 1957, when she was entrusted with the task of planning the bookmobile operation in Israel, Mrs. Weintraub set up four distinct areas in which the bookmobile could travel, taking American literature and technical knowledge to settlements far from established USIS centers.

An exact itinerary was planned so the bookmobile could efficiently and usefully service 60 communities in the Galilee, the Emek, the Negev and the Arab villages. This operation has become so successful that the acquisition of a second bookmobile is being contemplated.

Born and raised in Budapest, Eva was not yet 16 when Nazi Germany occupied Hungary and she went into hiding with her family. Her studies at the Budapest Jewish Gymnasium for girls were interrupted for more than a year—while the vital lesson of how to stay alive was learned. The war over, she returned to school, and in June 1946 was graduated from the Gymnasium summa cum laude and valedictorian of her class.

Since she was not a member of the Communist youth movement, and since she belonged to a well-known Zionist family, Eva could not hope to be accepted at any of the by then Soviet-controlled universities in Budapest and so, with her engineer husband (a childhood friend she had married in December 1947), she left Hungary for Montreal in January 1948. There they remained with her husband's family until they emigrated to Israel two years later.

Mrs. Weintraub considers it a "special privilege" to have received her first training in librarianship from Anne M. Davis (now regional librarian in Addis Ababa), who had inaugurated the Tel Aviv Center a year earlier. "She taught me with the care and zeal so characteristic of her, and moulded me into the kind of librarian I became."

First entrusted with the preparation of library exhibits and displays, she gradually worked in all the library departments, and by 1955 became second-in-command.

In 1958 Mrs. Weintraub was chosen by the PAO to plan, publicize and attend (as USIS representative) some 40 official functions at which funds were made available to various Israeli cultural, scientific and educational institutions. "The contacts established then have served me in good stead since," she says.

MRS. EVA WEINTRAUB at work in her USIS office in Tel Aviv.

—Saul Cohen

The experience she values most highly, however, was her three-month employe orientation trip to the U. S. early in 1961. She visited elementary schools and universities, factories and mines, worked in libraries, attended concerts and theater performances.

"Everywhere, I was the recipient of the most generous hospitality and warm friendship," she recalls. "The education I received during those three months enriched and widened my horizons tremendously."

On her return to Tel Aviv she studied and later sat for the University of Pennsylvania Examinations in American Civilization. She received a diploma in American language, literature and the arts.

Mrs. Weintraub feels herself "particularly lucky to find myself in a position where I can help promote a cultural understanding between the United States and my own country."

USIS, American Women Sponsor Book Program

A unique book-lending program in rural Turkey has been made possible through presentation of a check for $1,000 from the American Women's Club of Ankara to USIS.

Trunks filled with 50 to 75 books in Turkish will be loaned to cultural institutions reaching into distant areas beyond Turkey's principal cities. Under the program, a trunk-load of books will remain in each cultural center for four to six months—depending on readership demands—and then will be replaced by another trunk-load.

The books will consist of Turkish translations of American books of history, literature, art and international affairs. The project, first of its kind privately funded in Turkey, is intended to create friendship and understanding for the United States through presenting to Turks examples of the best that has been written in America.

Funds for the project were earned by the Women's Club through its annual harvest fair.

MRS. LUCILLE DUNN, President of the American Women's Club of Ankara, hands CAO Walter M. Bastian a check for $1,000 to set up a book-lending program for rural Turkey.

KENNEDY FILM MOVES FILIPINOS

The IMS film, "Commitment to Freedom," featuring President Kennedy's speech in Naples during his last European journey, which was distributed to three Cebu theaters after his death, had a profound effect on audiences, Cebu PAO Arthur D. Lefkowitz reports.

He cites an editorial in the *Cebu Star*, which said in part:

"The rambunctious gallery, after seeing an equally rambunctious main feature . . . was suddenly silenced in awe as Kennedy's deep voice and unmistakable accent boomed out of the theater's sound system. It was not his presence in death, but that of him, living, that pervaded the atmosphere. In the stillness of the movie house, efforts to clear some throats came to evidence. In the dark, a few tears may have streamed too."

DIRECTOR CARL ROWAN PROVED A FIRM BOOSTER of IOC's Sports Kits project when he was Ambassador to Finland. This picture was made by USIS last September when Lyndon B. Johnson visited Finland as Vice President and presented two Baseball Sports Kits to the Finnish Sports Association on behalf of AMVETS and the Circle K Clubs of Kiwanis International. Shown are (from left) Erkki Kivela, Chairman of the Finnish Pesapallo Association; Lauri Pihkala, the "father" of Finnish baseball; Akseli Kaskela, Chairman of the Finnish Sports Association, Mr. Johnson, Ambassador Rowan, and Ambassador R. Seppala, Finnish Ambassador to the United States.

Patricia Van Delden Gets Federal Woman's Award

Patricia van Delden, Deputy Public Affairs Officer in Bonn, is one of six Government career women who will receive the fourth annual Federal Woman's Award next month. She was given the Award "for her consistent record of distinguished achievement in spreading understanding of the United States in other countries."

In the history of USIA, Pat van Delden has been a trail-blazing woman.

She not only is the highest-ranking woman in the Agency and the first to reach the top class in its career foreign service, she was the first woman to be appointed PAO for an entire country.

When Mrs. van Delden assumed her post as PAO The Hague in 1959, Queen Juliana of The Netherlands held a tea in her honor, in recognition of her wartime services in that country.

The story behind this official salute is one of active participation in the resistance movement in Holland under the Nazi occupation. Mrs. van Delden was married to a Dutch citizen shortly before the outbreak of World War II. The two were in Paris at the time of the Nazi invasion of The Netherlands, and might well have fled to safety. But they chose to return to Holland, and immediately plunged into the work of organizing the underground.

From 1939 to 1945, with the knowledge of the U. S. Government, Mrs. van Delden helped establish the first underground resistance group in The Netherlands.

Although her husband was captured by the Gestapo and subsequently died in a concentration camp, Mrs. van Delden continued working in the resistance movement. After repatriation to the United States, she worked for the National War Fund and later for American Relief for Holland in New York.

In 1948 Mrs. van Delden began her career in U. S. Government Service, first as an information specialist in the Office of Military Government in Berlin, and later as Chief of the Information Centers Branch with the U. S. High Commission for Germany in Bad Nauheim and Frankfurt.

From 1952 to 1954 she directed and coordinated the entire USIS program of six branch offices and 23 cultural centers inherited from the military occupation in Japan.

During 1955, while assigned to Washington, she served as Deputy Chief of the Intelligence Production Division of IRS. From 1955 to 1959 she was CAO in Copenhagen, and she was PAO in The Hague for four years before she went to her current assignment in Bonn.

The Federal Woman's Award Dinner will be held March 3. Tickets may be obtained from Frances Whitely, IOA, Room 714 of "1776." Also receiving an award at the dinner will be Dr. Margaret Wolman Schwartz, widow of Irving S. Schwartz, who served as Deputy Assistant Director for Administration in USIA from February 1955 until his death on December 28, 1960. Dr. Schwartz is Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control in Treasury.

VOA Contest Gets 85,000 Listener Replies

Eighty-five thousand overseas listeners to USIA's Voice of America entered a transistor radio drawing sponsored by VOA—an increase of nearly one-third over a similar contest held in 1961 when 64,386 listeners participated.

Such listener contests are sponsored periodically by the Voice to determine the size, composition and program interests of its audience for English-language broadcasts and those in 35 foreign languages.

During a selected week last fall, listeners to English-language broadcasts were invited to submit a card with their name, address, age, sex, occupation and the title of the program to which they were listening. Fifty winning entrants in the contest were selected at a drawing in VOA studios last month.

Agency researchers cite several factors for the sharp step-up in response to the 1963 contest: an increase in the number of overseas radio receivers (250,000,000 today outside the U. S. and Canada, versus an estimated 200,900,000 in 1961), strengthened VOA power, particularly from new transmitters in Greenville and Liberia, and an increase from 227:30 hours per week of English-language broadcasts in 1961 to 262:30 in 1963 transmissions.

Iran's Shah Helps As Film Translator

Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi of Iran, watching IMS films recently, turned translator for his guests, PAO Henry F. Arnold reports.

While the Shah, the Empress and some 20 guests were viewing films on the death of President Kennedy and his successor, Mr. Johnson, the Shah translated the English commentary into Persian so that all present could benefit.

The previous day, the Agency film, "The Five Cities of June," had been seen by the Shah, members of the royal family and about 40 guests. The day after the Shah had acted as translator, 12 members of the Shah's cabinet were guests of the Prime Minister and viewed the Kennedy and Johnson films plus "The Five Cities of June." A few days following this showing, the three pictures were seen by the Princess Shams, the Shah's sister, and 15 guests.

AROUND THE WORLD

BANGUI PUBLIC AFFAIRS ASSISTANT Helen Bodortha beams approval as members of the Center's English class sing in their new language. The class is composed of young teachers from 11 African countries in Bangui for a nine-month UNESCO course in educational techniques.

* * *

RANGOON—When USIS Library Director Thelma Graham and her staff were planting window boxes to make the library attractive as well as functional, a policeman arrived and congratulated them instead of giving an expected chiding for dirt spilled on the sidewalk, and an elderly woman gave some potted plants to help "pretty up" the place.

* * *

VIENNA—When "Steichen the Photographer," a Museum of Modern Art exhibit of the life work of the American artist of "Family of Man" fame, was officially opened in Vienna by the director general of the Austrian Printing Office and CAO William A. Lovegrove, even the Communist paper Volksstimme said "it deserves to be seen." The USIS-supported exhibit later was shown at Linz.

ITALY'S OUTSTANDING PRO SOCCER TEAM "Roma" lost an illustrious supporter when Deputy USIS Director Ed Schechter was transferred to Leopoldville as PAO after five years in Rome. The above picture, published in Il Tempo, a leading Italian daily, shows the club's president, trainer, and several members of the first team when they called at USIS to present a special soccer ball autographed by the team in tribute to the faithful support of Schechter (third from left, standing).

LEOPOLDVILLE—For a recent two-week trip through western Congo, giving film showings to more than 27,000 people, two USIS mobile information units received the commendations of Government officials, the chief of the United Nations Refugee Mission, and the public. Films of President Kennedy, shown before his death, were applauded and considerable interest was expressed in America's astronaut John Glenn and his flight in "Friendship Seven."

* * *

TUNIS—USIS included a model bookstore in the American Pavilion at the 11th annual Tunis International Trade Fair, the only exhibit of its kind among the 23 international pavilions. Stocked with 2,500 volumes, the bookstore attracted 125,000 visitors in two weeks, PAO John P. Nevins says.

PART OF INDONESIA'S FIRST JAZZ caravan gets set for a tour of more than 1,000 miles around the Indonesian archipelago. Shown are (from left) Jean Harvey, wife of MILTAG Chief Col. William Harvey, a soloist, Djakarta Radio Officer Lin Arison, and an Indonesian vocalist. The group of 11 musicians visited major universities in Indonesia, including military academies, to tell the history of jazz in America.

* * *

MEXICO CITY—Although it is customary in Mexico for publishers to pay for published book reviews, USIS has begun sending out reviews of books of the Regional Book Center, with considerable "free" success. The reviews, written by some of the best-known reviewers in Mexico, are available to all Latin American posts, says PAO Saxton Bradford.

LA PAZ CAO JAMES HOYT (center) and ACAO Doris M. Ohlsen (left) present 450 "Alianza para el Progresso" notebooks to the pupils of Miss Nelly Surarez (right), Principal of the UN Pilot School in La Paz.

* * *

CAIRO—*American Cultural Review,* a new quarterly magazine in Arabic being published by the post, offers representative examples of opinion and analysis current in the U.S. and elsewhere on subjects of intellectual and cultural interest.

* * *

ISTANBUL—Sixty-six primary schools, 24 high schools and lycees, six university-level organizations, five public libraries, 14 cultural and educational centers, two hospitals, and two workers groups, in the Istanbul area now are shown USIS films regularly. This is under an arrangement recently reached between USIS Istanbul and the Audio-Visual Center of the Education Ministry's Istanbul Directorate.

* * *

ROME—The post's Press Division has placed VOA commentaries on communist developments in dailies with a combined circulation of over 100,000, reports PAO Joseph B. Phillips.

USIS ANKARA's ENGLISH TEACHING OFFICER Helen Beko (tweed coat) has organized a special course in English requested by the officers of the National Jandarma, the Turkish law enforcement agency. Instructing the officers will be Donna Courtney (black coat), wife of Public Affairs Trainee Charles Courtney.

MRS. NINA KRUSHCHEVA, wife of the Soviet Premier, views the Graphic Arts-USA Exhibit in Moscow with USIA's Deputy Director of the Exhibit, Nikita Moravsky. This picture and the one on page 1 were taken with Polaroid cameras. A total of 725,945 persons saw the exhibit in Moscow before it was sent to Yerevan, in the Armenian SSR, where it will remain during February and March.

Agency Hams, Unite!

A new edition of the VOA Radio Amateur Directory is in preparation. It will list USIA, State and other U.S. Government personnel who are radio amateurs licensed to operate in the U.S. or who hope to do so at posts abroad.

Amateurs who would like to be included in the new edition are asked to send their name, mailing address, station call, power, whether voice or CW operation, frequencies and hours of operation to Gene Young, W4LIT, Room 2266, HEW Building, Washington.

A copy of the directory will be sent to all amateurs listed.

The present VOA Radio Amateur Directory lists 150 radio amateurs. While unofficial, it has the blessings of many in the VOA Technical Division. Young says that about 4:30 on the day President Kennedy was assassinated, the Voice's Africa Division received a 'phone call from a ham in Bethesda who said he was in contact with one in Monrovia, who had Jim Alley, a Voice engineer at the Liberia station, on the line. Alley wanted (and got) information on anticipated frequency and antenna changes. "This unofficial communications link enabled the Liberia station to prepare for special programs before commercial facilities, already choked with traffic, could reach Monrovia," the Africa division says.

Raymond P. Aylor, Jr., a project engineer, is one of the Voice's outstanding hams. He has a weekly program on his own station, W3DVO, designed to teach Morse code reception to thousands of other hams all over the East.

Exploring Space By Ball, Balloons

The Biographic Register doesn't give any indication of what the initial "C" stands for in the name of John C. Twitty, Agency Space Science lecturer who has been touring African countries. But it might well stand for "Creative."

USIS Accra reports:

"Twitty arrived in Accra—without his Spacemobile and without his equipment. The Spacemobile was to have been shipped by sea from Lagos—it reportedly could not be driven over because of floods in Dahomey—but it never left the Lagos dock.

"Twitty began his lectures . . . as scheduled, without his vehicle and equipment. He is a very ingenious person and . . . conducted lectures for five days with improvised science items, including color slides of space vehicles, a ball, some string and some balloons."

The floods in Dahomey finally subsided, and Twitty's Spacemobile and equipment reached Accra by road. The lecturer then was able to start his tour of the country in his mobile unit. All in all, he traveled more than 1,300 miles in Ghana, gave 33 lectures with more than 10,600 teachers and students from 89 schools attending.

DJAKARTA LIBRARIAN Caroline Knapp greets students Aida Nafsia from Borneo (left) and Abdurrachman Tjarsa from Java who attended a USIS training course for Indonesian Library school students.

AAFSW Wants Books

The Association of American Foreign Service Women says it is collecting NOW, for its October Book Fair,

Books that are lengthy, books that are short—
Books about cooking, music or sport—
Books very serious, books very funny—
On foreign affairs, on How to Make Money—
Des livres francais, Swahili or German—
(And records! Bach, Mozart and Merman)—
Books bound in leather, and paperbacks too;
Books YOU don't want—WE definitely Do!

Small lots may be left in the AAFSW book collection box in the lobby of "1776." Large donations can be called for at your home—telephone Mrs. Clyde Snider, EM 3-4637.

Warm Welcome for VOA In Icy Canadian North

Canada's far north has provided another example of the far-reaching nature of the listening audience of the Voice of America—and a striking contrast in the speed of communications if shortwave and "routine" mail delivery may be compared.

Ottawa PAO Donald E. Wilson says the following letter was received with a card bearing information for the VOA Transistor Radio contest:

"Dear Sirs: This card will be late in arriving because we have no mail service between the periods of open water and enough ice for a plane to land, as we have no airstrip. This is October 10 to December 20, and from April 30 to July 10, approximately, so we are very cut off except for our radios. . . We appreciate your programs!"

Writer of the letter was Mrs. Hilda M. Quarterman of Povungnituk, Arctic, Quebec, via Moosenee, Ontario.

SRO IN BEIRUT

The American Language Center in Beirut is a popular place. Located across the street from the American University, it has been under USIS auspices for two years. Some 450 students currently enrolled study English at various levels with 17 part-time teachers, most of whom are Americans.

English Teaching Officer Susan FitzGerald, who has charge of the center, also commutes regularly to several districts of Lebanon where she supervises English-teaching programs at 14 Lebanese Army centers and a four-day-a-week program in Tripoli.

Student parties, held each semester at the Beirut Center, have become key adjuncts to the formal curriculum. The last affair was so popular it had to be held in four installments—and even so, each of the four hour-long programs conducted by Miss FitzGerald played to standing-room-only audiences.

SUSAN FITZGERALD, Beirut English Teaching Officer, stands before an SRO class of English students in the American Language Center.

RYAN, SCHMIDT NOMINATED FOR CAREER AWARDS

Hewson A. Ryan, Assistant Director (Latin America), and G. Lewis Schmidt, former Assistant Director (Administration) and recently named PAO Bonn, have been named by the Agency as candidates for the 10th Annual Career Service Awards Program of the National Civil Service League. The League program is undertaken to strengthen the public service by bringing national recognition to significant careers in the Federal Service.

In USIA's Incentive Awards program, seven cash awards recently have been presented to Agency staffers. Henry B. Poole, Jr., Radio Engineer at the Thessaloniki Relay Station, received an award of $250 for the design and construction of a very complex program switching console which raised plant efficiency to the point where one less employe is required to perform plant duties efficiently.

In Tangier, Relay Station national staffer Francisco Monasterio received 100 Dirhams ($19.94) for his initiative in developing a better system for interchanging vacuum capacitors in the transmitters.

Another national staffer at the Tangier Relay Station, Leonardo Lamia, received $15.95 for his initiative and effort which resulted in a VHF antenna of superior structural design that saved the station maintenance time.

Other awards:

Sarah R. Rankle, IOA, was given $25 for suggesting that pertinent information be furnished by the Transportation Branch on packing orders and government bills of lading to expedite payment on vouchers covering shipment of effects and other charges.

In Rio de Janeiro, national staffer Milton Salomao de Araujo, Senior Wireless Editor, received $50 for suggesting a method to save teletype paper.

Also in Rio, Washington Lopes de Oliveira, USIS national staffer, was given $50 for his initative in saving innumerable books in the USIS Thomas Jefferson Library during a violent storm.

Albert W. Johnson, Radio Information Specialist, IBS, received $35 for his suggestion that musical recordings be obtained directly through the promotional departments of recording companies at a savings to the Agency.

'Atoms At Work' Works Wonderfully

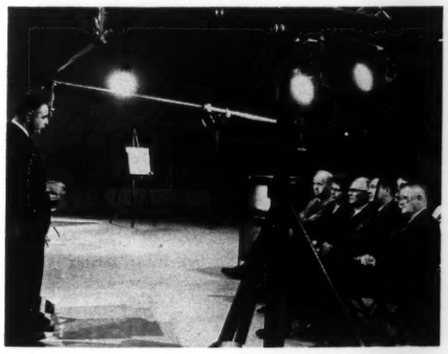
Belgrade PAO Walter Roberts says the AEC's "Atoms At Work" exhibit was quite successful in Yugoslavia.

Obviously the AEC exhibits officer "heartily" concurs.

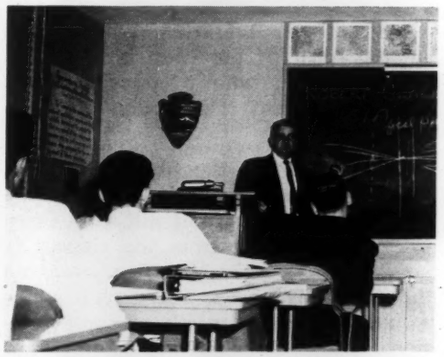
Reporting that USIS had loaned the officer projection equipment, typewriters, and secretarial help, PAO Roberts dolefully concluded:

"He was faithful about returning everything but the last mentioned: he married the Public Affairs Officer's secretary before he left town."

(Gloria Dearborn, the former Belgrade secretary, returned to the U. S. as Mrs. Jesse Taylor.)



ITV DIRECTOR ALAN CARTER speaks to members of the English Teaching Panel at ITV studios.



ROBERT CLARK, who is busy enough as IPS' Photo Coordinator, also has managed for the last several years to assist the U. S. Park Police by teaching a course in elementary photography and photography in law enforcement at the Police Academy of the U. S. Park Police. Here Bob, at the blackboard, instructs a class of new recruits.

HENRY KRANZ DIES

Henry B. Kranz, 69, who retired last July as a Cultural Affairs Specialist for IPS, died January 26 after a heart attack at his Washington home.

Upon his retirement he became a correspondent for Swiss, Austrian, and German newspapers. He had been with the Office of War Information, the Army, State and USIA for more than 20 years.

He is survived by his wife, Gertrude, and a daughter, Eleanor, 12.

ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY accepts a cash donation for the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library from two USIS staffers in Tokyo. Shown with him are (from left) Kazuo Matsuzawa, who works in the Motion Picture Branch, and who is Vice President of the Aoi-kai, Japanese Employes Association at the Embassy, and Kazushige Kaneko, President of the Association, who works in the USIS Plans, Research and Evaluation Office.

PERSONNEL CHANGES

Edward J. Savage, former IO in Helsinki, has been named Director of the Agency's Office of Public Information (I/R), succeeding Lowell Bennett who has been named Deputy PAO Tehran.

Alexander Barmine, for 16 years chief of the Russian service of the Voice, has left VOA to become officer in charge of Soviet affairs in the Office of the Assistant Director (Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—IAS). He will supervise and coordinate all Agency programs for the USSR.

President Johnson last month accorded the personal rank of Minister to William H. Weathersby during his assignment as PAO New Delhi.

VOICE LAUNCHES YOUTH PROGRAM

"Conversations With Willis Conover," a new weekly quarter-hour program on American youth, is being heard worldwide over VOA.

The new program series features interviews with experts in various fields of concern to youth, and in some instances with young people themselves.

In the first program Conover discussed American teen-agers with Mrs. Ruth Whitney, Executive Editor of *Seventeen*, a leading American youth magazine.

For the past nine years Conover has hosted the Voice's program "Music USA," heard six evenings a week by what is believed to be the world's largest radio audience. In that time Conover's name has become a household word to millions on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

ERNEST G. WIENER (center, clutching fur cap) is bade farewell by colleagues at the Agency's Foreign Correspondents' Center in New York. Ernie, the popular director of the Center since September 1961, is headed for Moscow as Counselor for Cultural Affairs at the American Embassy. Speaking at the farewell gathering is Edwin Tetlow, London Telegraph, the new president of the Foreign Press Association. Also shown are (beginning second from left) William Stricker, Deputy Director of the Center, Fitzhugh Green, who succeeds Wiener, and Malcolm Kilduff, Assistant White House Press Secretary.

NEW USIS CENTER OPENS IN ADANA

Attended by scores of government officials, local businessmen and press corps members, the new USIS Center and American Library recently opened in Adana, Turkey.

Introduced by PAO Howell S. Teeple, His Excellency Deputy Governor Bedrettin Oguz paid tribute to the good relations existing between Turkey and the United States.

The premises of the Center and Library are on the ground floor of a new building in the heart of Adana's business district.

Addressing the assembled guests, Country PAO Leslie A. Squires related some of the history of USIS in Turkey and expressed his gratification at the opening of the Center in the important area of Adana, a goal USIS Turkey has been working toward for more than two years. The opening received wide attention in the area press.

MRS. EVA PANAJON (right) discusses with some officers and members of the USIS Music Club their next activities.

—Tony Pineda

Manila's USIS Music Club

Manila's USIS Music Club may well be the only one of its kind in the world. Now in its 12th year of continued existence, it has four groups: jazz, violin, piano, and choral.

USIS Music Librarian, adviser, and guiding spirit of the Club is Mrs. Eva Ponce-Panajon, who oversees a music room that boasts a collection of 3,000 records.

In 1951, when the library of USIS Manila opened a music room where music lovers could—and still can—listen to records ranging from the classics to jazz—listeners asked Mrs. Panajon about the possibility of forming a club which would be made up mostly of non-professional musicians or just plain music fans.

Today, some 60 persons are listed as active members—not counting those from the provinces who get to Manila infrequently and come to attend monthly meetings and bi-monthly musicales. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, accountants and clerks make up the membership.

Mrs. Panajon, a graduate of the University of the Philippines conservatory of music, prepares a USIS music hour, American folk music programs, and a request hour—all presented at the music library. Members of the four music groups hold bi-monthly musicales, usually in a member's residence. Mrs. Panajon also handles two radio programs. The music library record collection also includes readings of poems, dramas, and stories of prominent men of letters.

AGENCY MISSES BLOOD DONOR QUOTA

USIA blood donors made only half of the Agency's 1963 quota of 520 pints last year. The 260 pints given by staffers also was considerably below the 323 pints contributed in 1962.

Of the multiple donors, the name of Bernard Wiesman of IRS led all the rest —with six donations during the year. William E. Youngs of IMS donated five times, and four-time-donors were Charles Lincoln of IOA, Roland Matthews of IMS, and Henry F. Vicinus of IPS.

Lisa Borreson of IPT, who has been in charge of the Agency's blood donor program since the death in January of Virginia Sparks, suggests that a memorial Miss Sparks would have liked would be an upsurge in USIA's donations. Mrs. Borreson also suggests that persons with rare type blood (particularly A negative, B negative and O negative) make themselves known to her (on 182-3771) so that they can be reached in cases of emergency.

Listed below are those Agency staffers who donated blood from August 1 through December 31, 1963, with the number of multiple donations in that five-month period listed in parentheses:

Abernathy, Billy V.	IPS	Kane, William	IOA
Anderson, Will	ICS	Kruetzer, Bruce J.	IOA
Baker, Louis	IPT	Lawson, Murray (2)	IRS
Ball, Marion L.	IGC	Lincoln, Charles (2)	IOA
Barr, Constance C. (2)	ICS	McRae, Dorothy S.	IPS
Barrett, Edward P.	IPS	Marlowe, Sanford	IOC
Bedgood, Muriel J.	IOA	Matthews, Roland (2)	IMS
Bennett, Marjorie J.	IOA	Mason, Irene	ICS
Butler, William P.	IPT	Mendenhall, John	IPS
Campbell, Howard D.	IAS	Newman, William	IPS
Carr, Edward F.	IPS	Painter, Mary (2)	IPS
Chamberlin, Charles D.	IAS	Powell, Phillip	IOA
Chubb, Allan (2)	IOA	Robinson, Frances	IPS
Corey, Frank G.	IPT	Rodgers, Edgar (2)	IBS
Dalton, Dorothy	IMS	Sellner, Marlene (2)	IPS
Davis, George	IOA	Seminara, George	IRS
Douglas, James	IPS	Stegman, Roberta	IBS
Draper, Brian	IMS	Steinberg, Leon	IBS
Dulaski, Benedict	IMS	Shute, Florence	IAE
Dulin, Charles	IOS	Smart, Alice	IBS
Fehner, Cornelia	ICS	Trattler, Bernard	IOA
Finney, George	ICS	Trupo, Russell	IOA
Flynn, Anna T.	IPS	Uhler, John (2)	IPS
Flynn, Lyman	IPT	Vicinus, Henry F. (2)	IPS
Friedline, Janice	IPT	Vines, Thomas V.	IBS
Giltner, William H.	IMS	Wagner, A. Jack	IPS
Glick, Nathan	IPS	Weaver, Donald	IBS
Greef, Gara	IPT	Wechsler, Irving	IRS
Gregory, Nicholas	IOA	Whittemore, James C.	IOA
Holway, John B.	IBS	Wiesman, Bernard (3)	IRS
Jewert, Russell J.	ICS	Youngs, William E. (2)	IMS
Jurvis, Lorin A.	IBS		

USIS Maracaibo Weathers Rough First Year

Three bombing attempts and one armed assault in its first year of existence have not daunted the spirit of Maracaibo's new Information Center. Last month more than 150 leading personalities, plus a group of 16 visiting U.S. newsmen, turned up to help celebrate the Center's first birthday.

For many months prior to Venezuela's national elections last December, the Center was on the target list of FALN, the local Castroite-inspired Liberation Army. Many American business houses and factories in Venezuela were less fortunate and were destroyed on the first attempt. USIS seemed to have the luck of the Irish (Branch PAO is Far East veteran Donald E. McNertney), plus the continuing vigil of civil police through the latter part of the year.

A McNertney rundown of the bombing and assault incidents:

January 15, 1963—Time bomb explodes around the corner to greet opening ceremony.

June 14—Smouldering time bomb discovered by janitor under exhibit showcase in front of building; successfully removed.

September 23—Eight-pound high-explosive time bomb found by police on windowsill in front of building; sucessfully removed.

October 1—Five extremists stage armed attack against Center. One policeman wounded, one extremist wounded and captured. "Unusual bravery" of remaining sole policeman, against heavy odds, saves the day for the Center.

The last assault was the most spectacular, receiving widespread news coverage. With the spotlight thus turned on the Casa, special programming was developed, and the response by the other 99 percent of the Venezuelans soon put USIS far into the "effective" category. Many unsolicited evidences of support appeared in the local press, on radio and TV. Library and films attendance rocketed, and the new Community Center was accepted by all as "our casa."

To help celebrate the first birthday, Country PAO Richard G. Cushing came from Caracas. In brief remarks at the cake-cutting ceremony, he paid tribute to a courageous staff in the light of a difficult first year. Judging by the size and enthusiasm of the large turnout, he said, the cause of understanding will continue bright in the new year.

MARACAIBO PAO and Mrs. Don McNertney cut the birthday cake at the first anniversary fiesta of the Casa Americana, while Caracas PAO Richard G. Cushing (center, with glasses) and staffers of USIS Maracaibo look on.

'Binats' Reorient, Retrain In 'America Today' Seminar

February was a month for reorientation and retraining for 28 of USIA's Binational Center Directors, Student Affairs Advisers, and Directors of Courses.

Gathered in Washington from 21 centers in Latin America, the Far East, Near East and South Asia, and Europe, these men and women met daily to learn first-hand of recent Agency developments which are of direct concern to them at their posts. Most already have served one or more tours of duty in the field.

In support of the Presidential directive defining the mission of USIA as "to help achieve U. S. foreign policy objectives," the "binats" joined many other Agency personnel in the two-and-a-half-week seminar called "America Today." They were seeking an updating of their knowledge of the vital issues involving the U. S. which are the subject of frequent inquiry in their daily personal contacts in the field with students, youth leaders and teachers.

Set up by the Training Division with Marshall Swan as course coordinator, the series of 13 three-hour sessions was designed to help both domestic and foreign service staff members of the Agency keep up-to-the-minute on the governmental policies they are charged with furthering. Among the topics covered were recent political, legislative and judicial decisions; housing, civil rights and social welfare legislation; foreign policy and disarmament negotiations; counter-insurgency and Communist trends; the economic state of the nation; agriculture and the Food for Peace program; and current developments in the arts and education.

The opening session, chaired by ICS Director Reed Harris, featured columnist Marquis Childs. Among the more than 20 other speakers were Housing Administrator Robert Weaver, Commissioner of Labor Statistics Ewan Clague, AFL-CIO Director of Research Nat Goldfinger, Dr. Karl Madden of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and Columbia University's Dean of Journalism, Ed Barrett.

The entire program was under the direction of William L. Grenoble, Chief of Training.

USIA Linguists

(The following employes received S-3 or R-3 or better, or S-2 or R-2 or better in the difficult languages, in language proficiency tests conducted by the Foreign Service Institute during January. According to the definitions of language proficiency, the rating of "5" indicates educated bilingual competency; the "4" rating indicates the specialist level. The "S" stands for spoken language proficency; the "R" for reading proficiency.)

Anderson, Alvin L.	Spanish	S-3+	R-3
Avila, Ramona	Spanish	S-4+	R-3
Barnhart, David H.	Portuguese	S-4	R-4
Bluestein, Jerome N.	Italian	S-3+	R-3+
Carpenter, Phyllis M.	French	S-3+	R-3+
Challinor, John R.	Portuguese	S-4	R-3
Ekelund, Doris N.	Spanish	S-3	
Flood, Lawrence B.	Spanish	S-4	R-4
Greifer, Elisha	Spanish	S-3+	R-4
Hayes, Robert	Portuguese	S-4+	R-4
LaGamma, Robert R.	French	S-3	
McKowan, Emmet	Spanish		R-3
McNicoll, Robert E.	Spanish	S-4	R-4+
Morville, V. Miro	Italian	S-5	R-5
Murchie, Gordon W.	Thai	S-2	
Pate, Lewis W.	Spanish	S-3	R-3
Putnam, Elizabeth A.	Spanish	S-3+	R-3
Reid, Peggy Ann	Spanish	S-3+	R-3
Spohnholz, Conrad	Spanish	S-3+	R-3+
Standish, Franklin	Greek	S-2	
Steiglitz, Perry J.	French	S-3+	R-4
Taylor, Lois	French	S-4	R-4+
Walton, Frank H.	Portuguese	S-3	R-3
Warner, Richard A.	Portuguese	S-3+	R-3
Wilson, David M.	French	S-3	

Effectiveness Of Training

USIS Bombay's Senior Editor, S. Raman, is a shining example of the effectiveness of the Agency's training program for foreign national staffers, Bombay PAO Donald T. Shea writes.

Raman most recently visited the U. S. on a refresher trip last summer and fall. He originally participated in a local employes' training program in 1955.

"The favorable results of his trips are shown not only in his press activities, but also in a series of important lecture-discussions developed since his return from his latest visit," Shea reports.

When he returned to Bombay, Raman was asked to discuss his trip before the combined Indian-American staff of USIS.

Shea says that "Raman was so effective in his initial presentation, most especially on the issue of civil rights, that a series of special lecture-discussions on his trip was subsequently set up for him in the USIS Cultural Center." His audiences consist of important journalist groups, university/college faculty-student audiences, and Indian grantees and students returned from the U.S.

"Raman is possibly most effective in his simple but forceful explanations" of how America is coping with the problems of civil rights, Shea says. However, his talks also center around "the most pertinent of the Agency's five themes and country objectives, as well as the American economy, Indian-American relations, etc."

Raman's lecture-discussion series are his first under USIS auspices. Plans also call for him to serve as a participant in an Indian-American panel series.

USIS BOMBAY SENIOR EDITOR S. RAMAN speaks to a packed auditorium of university and college students proceeding to the U.S. for higher studies. Bombay IO William J. Miller is seated on Raman's right.

IPS Pamphlet Focuses On Women

The American woman is the subject of a new pamphlet being sent by IPS to posts in 105 countries for adaptation, translation and distribution.

The first run of the pamphlet, titled "American Women," was printed in English by RSC Beirut as a pilot model. Individual posts are planning translations into local languages.

The 32-page illustrated publication traces the progress of American women from the early 17th century to the present. A special issue of AL HAYAT, the Agency's Arabic-language bi-monthly, carried some of the pamphlet's contents.

WHEN VOA'S WORLDWIDE ENGLISH DIVISION recently received its Award for Meritorious Service, the Division's former Deputy Chief, Donn M. Chown (right), was enroute to Djakarta as the newly-assigned USIA/USAID Liaison Officer. His certificate was forwarded to the post and presented at a meeting of the staff by Deputy PAO Burtt F. McKee who, coincidentally, was Chief of the WorldWide English Division at the time Chown joined it in 1961.

SOMETHING OF VALUE

A durable institution of the Arab world, and a last vestige of the great days of Islamic commerce, is the "ambling merchant." His collapsible shelves and humming roller skate wheels make him the best grass-roots barometer of business to be found.

If it's worth selling, he has it. And his need for mobility and low overhead make it important to keep only the fastest-moving items in his stock.

USIS Constantine was thus electrified, PAO James A. Scott reports, to learn that at least one ambling merchant is featuring a wide selection of USIS pamphlets. Scott notes that "IPS will perhaps be dismayed to learn that all titles are going for the same price: NF.50, or about 10 cents each, with no regard to quality of prose, paper stock, artistic value or the bureaucratic blood and sweat that went into producing and delivering these works to the merchant."

Scott adds, however, "We urge the positive view," and says the program value is obvious: since the Agency and its branches are prohibited from selling these materials and since any propagandist worth his salt knows that people who buy things are convinced of their worth, "we are indebted to this ambling merchant of Constantine for taking us off the hook. Since this is at least the second time around for these pamphlets, we know the U.S. has had its return on investment at least once."

CLAIRE BOYLE DIES

Claire E. Boyle, 57, a Foreign Service Staff employe on assignment to the Staff Personnel Office in Washington, died January 17 at her home in Washington.

She served in private industry in secretarial positions for eight years before beginning her Government career with the Civil Aeronautics Administration in 1936. She entered the Foreign Service in 1950, and served in Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, India and Germany.

PRESIDENT ASKS FAIRNESS, EFFICIENCY FROM GOVERNMENT WORKERS

President Johnson, in his budget message, had this personal note for Government employes:

"I call upon all Government employes to observe three paramount principles of public service:

"First, complete fairness in the administration of governmental powers and services:

"Second, scrupulous avoidance of conflicts of interest; and

"Third, a passion for efficiency and economy in every aspect of Government operations.

"For its part, the Federal Government must be a good employer. It must offer challenging opportunities to its employes. It must be prompt to recognize and award initative. It must pay well to attract and keep its share of dedicated and resourceful workers. It must welcome fresh ideas, new approaches, and responsible criticism.

"For 33 years I have been in Government service. I have known its challenge, its rewards, and its opportunities. But all these will multiply in the years to come. The time is at hand to develop the Federal service into the finest instrument of public good that our will and ingenuity can forge."

Caracas Press Attache Almost Gets Kidnapped

A plot by the pro-Castro FALN extremists to kidnap Caracas Press Attaché Pete Synodis during a recent business visit to Maracaibo was revealed by Venezuelan police.

Pete arrived in Maracaibo on a later flight than expected. He thought something was odd when he checked into a hotel and was told two strange men had been asking for him. The next day's visits to newspapers and radio stations were without incident, however.

Shortly after Pete boarded a plane for Caracas, the local police anxiously asked Branch PAO Don McNertney if Synodis was still in town. They had uncovered an FALN plot to grab him, just as the pro-Castro group had kidnapped the Spanish soccer player Alfredo de Stefano a few weeks earlier. The FALN probably thought that kidnapping Pete was good for another world headline, says PAO McNertney.

THIS IS NOT AN IRATE BOSS looking for his secretary but an Indian doing an Apache dance. More of the same will be performed in State's West Auditorium March 13-14 by a group of 4 Indian dancers (tickets available in Room 641 of "1776"). Also on view (for free) in State's Main Exhibit Hall from March 2-14 is the 2nd annual American Indian and Eskimo Contemporary Art Exhibit. Both are sponsored by the State-USIA Recreation Association and the American Indian and Eskimo Cultural Foundation.

Former IPS Director Leland Briggs Dies

Leland S. Briggs, 72, who was Director of the Agency's Press Service from November 1954 to March 1958, died February 2 in Princeton.

Born in Auburn, Maine, he was graduated from George Washington University and its law school. He joined the New York advertising firm of McCann-Erickson in 1912, and rose to become vice president and general manager of the company's eastern regional offices, and creative director in charge of advertising copy. He retired from the firm in 1951.

After he resigned as Director of IPS, Briggs continued as a consultant on the Agency's pamphlets operation and its Russian-language magazine, AMERICA ILLUSTRATED.

He is survived by his wife, a son and a daughter and four grandchildren.

Advisory Commission Commends USIA, Lists Continuing Problems *(Continued from page 1)*

prosperity of the United States. The second is the continual accumulation of unresolved problems that are both internal and external to the work of the U.S. Information Agency."

The report, written before Director Murrow's January resignation, says:

"Despite a serious illness, Mr. Murrow has been dedicated to his task and has added prestige to the Agency. The record is clear that neither he nor any of the 11 directors of the U.S. foreign information program who preceded him has succeeded in communicating to the Congress of the United States an adequate understanding of the foreign information program. This Commission also has attempted, with limited success, to impress on the Congress the magnitude of the effort necessary to compete effectively in the cold war. However, USIA has not had the degree of support commensurate with its requirements and potential."

The report commends Congress for providing the funds for the Greenville facility, but adds, "it is just as important that adequate funds be provided for USIA's programs as for engineering and construction . . . Evidence indicates the need for additional and better facilities, programs, personnel and material."

The report also urges the Agency again "to examine, study and act on a number of accumulated problems which have been called to its attention." It says these "continuing problems" include the need—

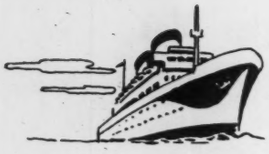
1. To improve internal management, communication and coordination.
2. To reduce the number of publications.
3. To seek outside evaluation of USIA print and radio programs.
4. To reduce the number of USIA buildings in Washington from 11 to 1.
5. To improve and strengthen long-range planning.
6. To expand the research program and to use its results more effectively.
7. To obtain legislation for a career Foreign Service Corps.
8. To coordinate and concentrate the Government's programs for orienting and training foreign specialists in mass communications.
9. To review and study the role of the Cultural Affairs Officer.
10. To restore the balance of the Agency's cultural programs.
11. To reconsider the USIA decision to reduce the number of libraries or information centers in Western Europe.
12. To assume full responsibility for planning and executing the President's trade fair exhibition program.
13. To consider the need to consolidate into one agency of government the related but widely scattered programs in information, education and culture.
14. To seek the advice and guidance of local Latin American practitioners of mass communications in presenting the Alliance for Progress to Latin America.
15. To confine USIA's domestic public relations to a minimum and limit the distribution of its media products in the United States in accordance with the intent of Congress.

The report concludes that "during the first 10 years of its existence as an independent Agency, the Commission believes USIA has made progress." However, it says it has "long urged" that USIA "examine and review the programs and media that are sponsored by USIA in Washington and by each post in the field . . . to eliminate marginal, superfluous or out-dated programs and media." It adds that the Agency "must demonstrate a tough-minded attitude toward the continuous task of weeding out programs or media that are no longer necessary."

The report also suggests that USIA "may wish to consider the appointment of a permanent career administrator to furnish continuity in the top management . . . He would be responsible for providing the Director with continuing evaluations of the Agency's programs."

The Advisory Commission consists of five private citizens appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate for three-year overlapping terms. Its members represent the public interest. They are: J. Leonard Reinsch, Chairman; Sigurd S. Larmon, Clark R. Mollenhoff, M. S. Novik and John L. Seigenthaler.

During the past year, the Commission met 10 times in Washington. In 1963 Chairman Reinsch visited USIS posts in Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia, and Lima, and Novik visited USIS posts in Rome, Athens, Ankara and Istanbul.



PERSONNEL CHANGES

(Actions reported by the Personnel Division as of January 31, 1964)

TRANSFERS

	From	To
Adams, Clifford	Karachi	Washington
Adelman, Sime H.	Tokyo	Pusan
Adkins, Jack W.	Nairobi	Monrovia (Amendment)
Ball, Albert	Leopoldville	Abidjan
Barnhart, David H.	Washington	Fortaleza
Birn, Donald S.	Washington	Madras
Bishop, David R., Jr.	Washington	Lome
Cohen, Sigmund M., Jr.	Washington	Dacca
DiLegge, Michael L.	Tripoli	Benghazi
Eisenstadt, Gerd M.	Guayaquil	Belgrade (Amendment)
Farrell, Joan M.	Washington	Cairo
Fenhagen, F. Weston	Tunis	Leopoldville
Filskow, Carl A.	Washington	Athens
Gardiner, Alice E.	Nicosia	Athens
Gelles, Irving	Tangier Relay Station	Lahore
Getchell, John S.	Bangui	Washington
Gostlin, Charles R.	Washington	Manila
Harrison, Stephen J.	Washington	Tehran
Haworth, Mervin E.	Taipei	Washington
Hein, Anna Marie	Caracas	Belgrade
Heinecke, Roy E.	Kuala Lumpur	Bangkok
Henehan, Anne	Phnom Penh	Djakarta
Hodge, Philip G.	Kingston	Washington
Hogan, Patricia N.	Lahore	Rabat
Horan, Donald C.	Georgetown	Washington
Huber, Naomi	Washington	Lagos
Jordan, Robert F.	Tegucigalpa	Seville
Kasanof, Anton N.	Salisbury	Lusaka
Landi, Anthony M.	Ankara	Washington
Light, Judith L.	Washington	Seoul
Marilley, Marjorie	Amman	Bombay
Mattison, Lewis C.	Helsinki	Washington
Newbold, Billy C.	Phnom Penh	Hong Kong
Pedersen, Wesley	Hong Kong	Washington
Ridgeway, William	Manila	New York
Sedgley, Harry E.	Seoul	Washington
Sestanovich, Stephen N.	Singapore	Helsinki
Slocum, John J.	Cairo	Washington
Struck, Dianne L.	Washington	Singapore
Taylor, Lois	Brazzaville	Tunis
Wertime, Theodore A.	Tehran	Washington

FROM DOMESTIC SERVICE TO FOREIGN SERVICE

O. Lee Harrison, Charles D. Segrest, Ernest C. Pate, Jr., Walter Molic, John D. Gray, John D. Lamar.

PROMOTIONS

FOREIGN SERVICE

		From	To
Beirut	Holliday, Charlene J.	FSS-9	FSS-8
New Delhi	Tiegs, Shirley J.	FSS-9	FSS-8

PROMOTIONS (Cont'd)

	From	To
DOMESTIC SERVICE		
IBS		
Baker, Allan E.	GS-13	GS-14
Bonder, Ruth S.	GS-8	GS-9
Bunnag, Xaloey	GG-8	GG-9
Cheshes, Martin L.	GS-7	GS-9
Conley, Edward F.	GS-11	GS-12
Darlys, Barbara	GS-6	GS-7
Hall, Ralph R.	GS-11	GS-12
Hechler, Rita M.	GS-10	GS-11
Howard, Imogene	GS-4	GS-5
Hyde, Wayne F.	GS-12	GS-13
Kalsi, Jawahar	GG-10	GG-11
Li, Helen Y.	GS-10	GS-11
MacFadyen, Blanche J.	GS-7	GS-9
Mackin, Anna L.	GS-9	GS-11
Nwe, Mya Mya	GG-8	GG-9
Rupp, Carol A.	GS-5	GS-6
Smith, Deloris D.	GS-3	GS-4
Tripp, Richard W.	WB-2	WB-4
West, Lydia L.	GS-4	GS-5
Zaw, Myint Myint	GG-8	GG-9
ICS		
Anderson, Bernice L.	GS-3	GS-4
Leerar, Marvin G.	GS-4	GS-5
Shank, Sandra K.	GS-3	GS-4
Tomikawa, Kathryn K.	GS-9	GS-11
IMS		
Brown, Gail L.	GS-3	GS-4
Simpson, Karen J.	GS-3	GS-4
IOA		
Dixon, Jesse	GS-1	WB-4
Mitchell, Mildred E.	GS-5	GS-6
Newhart, Linda M.	GS-5	GS-6
Vild, Patricia A.	GS-4	GS-5
IOS		
Miller, Diana C.	GS-3	GS-4
IPS		
Cassell, Charles K.	GS-11	GS-12
Donehoo, Elizabeth	GS-4	GS-5
Kummer, Adelaide	GS-12	GS-13
Lefkow, Leonard	GS-12	GS-13
Skovran, Kathryn M.	GS-5	GS-6
Weaver, Donald C.	GS-11	GS-12
IRS		
Dauer, Janetta L.	GS-4	GS-5
Evans, John W.	GS-14	GS-15
Hartland, Robert E.	GS-14	GS-15
Spielman, Janet E.	GS-5	GS-7
ITV		
Glover, George O.	GS-7	GS-9
Gordon, Teresa C.	GS-6	GS-7

USIS Genoa Helps Host Blind Children

When part of the Sixth Fleet, including the aircraft carrier, *USS Independence*, visited Genoa, USIS Information Assistant Bruno Lisi was instrumental in arranging for special attention to be paid to blind children.

Two groups of sightless youngsters visited the huge carrier. On hand with Lisi to interpret and help was another USIS national staffer, Bona Montezemolo.

Following the young people's inspection of the *Independence*, a return visit was paid to the Institute for the Blind by the ship's Band and Glee Club as added entertainment for the children.

In addition, the director of an orphanage, knowing of the Navy's previous charitable activities, wrote Genoa PAO Ernest G. Land, asking if some of the sailors could paint the institution's community hall. This was done: "gobs" from the *Independence* arrived at the hall with paint and brushes and "restored it to white splendor," PAO Joseph B. Phillips reports.

FAR EAST PAO'S ATTENDING THE REGIONAL PAO CONFERENCE AT BAGUIO LAST MONTH pose with their hosts. Shown are (from left), John R. O'Brien, PAO Bangkok; William E. Phipps, Acting PAO Seoul; John R. Higgins, PAO Rangoon; Earl J. Wilson, PAO Hong Kong; John H. Esterline, PAO Manila; John M. Mecklin, PAO Saigon; Charles B. Fahs, PAO Tokyo; Arthur R. Lee, PAO Phnom Penh; LeVan Roberts, PAO Canberra; David P. Sheppard, Deputy PAO Saigon; Thomas Driver, PAO Wellington; Gerard M. Gert, PAO Vientiane; Gerard A. Donohue, Director, Bangkok Program Center; Richard M. Service, Deputy Chief of Mission, American Embassy, Manila; Thomas Parker, Director RSC Manila; W. K. Bunce, Assistant Director (Far East); N. Paul Neilson, PAO Djakarta; Richard S. Barnsley, Program Coordinator, IAF; Harry S. Casler, PAO Kuala Lumpur.

Rowan Says Agency is Vitally Important *(Continued from page 1)*

constitutes the whole truth."

Asked if he thought it was USIA's job to tell the whole truth, Rowan answered:

"If we are going to further the objectives of American foreign policy in our commentary—that is, where we are expressing editorial opinions—obviously I think it reasonable to talk about the things that are good about America. We've got enough people talking about the things that are bad . . .

"A lot of people who would like to have USIA tell less than the truth always want you to hold back the things that are most foolishly held back, the kinds of things that the people of the world already are seeing on the front pages of their newspapers. This to me doesn't make any sense. To establish credibility, the Voice must talk about what the other news media of the world are talking about. It must do it with equal honesty. And then in the commentary we go on to explain just what this means.

"That is why, for example, I have never been the least bit embarrassed or bothered when somebody abroad has asked me about racial incidents in the United States, some of them ugly, some of them quite embarrassing to the country, because I think that when put in the proper perspective they tell a pretty interesting and remarkable story about what kind of country this is."

In reply to a question about being a Negro in his new job, Rowan replied:

"As far as my direction of this Agency is concerned, I consider my race to be incidental. I am going to make the decisions that have to be made on the closest thing I can find to the intellectual considerations that go into pushing the foreign policy interests of this country.

"I don't intend to be especially timid for fear that somebody will think I have done something because I am a Negro, and I don't see any need for me to go out and make any special efforts to push this question of race because I am a Negro."

Smith asked Rowan if he felt that his race would help him to understand better the emotional needs of the two-thirds of the world which is non-white. Rowan referred to the favorable reaction abroad to his appointment, and said:

"I think it has been fairly obvious that the peoples of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America feel that there is some kind of kinship that they sense, there is some kind of extra credibility that they may sense, but I don't intend to rely on that. I intend to rely on what I think are the good things about this country.

"Now it is true that most of our problems in the world today involve a tremendous amount of emotional content, and I think you are a step or two ahead if you know what is bothering the other man and this permits you to direct your best attention to those specific problems, and that is what I hope to have this Agency do."

Questioned about his reputation as having a penchant for controversy, the Director-designate replied "I don't think I am a very controversial guy. I don't like controversy. I don't look for it, but I do just happen to believe that this country wasn't built and it didn't become the great country it is because we had a lot of timid people running around afraid to speak the truth and afraid to say what they think the people of this nation must do if we are going to live up to our heritage and to this country's promise of the future.

"I have seen enough of social injustice, I have been a part of it on enough instances to know what impact it has in the world, to know what it means in the hearts and minds of this great mass of humanity that has risen up in the last few years. I feel that if I were not the kind of man who had the reputation for speaking honestly— reasonably but honestly—when these things rear their heads, then I wouldn't be worth a nickel to the U.S. Government, and nobody should ever dream of asking me to take on this kind of job or any of the other jobs I have had in government."

Rowan said he feels that an election year "presents USIA with a really wonderful opportunity to illustrate to the world what goes on in a country where there is a great deal of freedom of speech . . . We are not afraid in our newscasts to let them hear what each candidate has to say. We are going to do our doggondest to make sure it is a balanced presentation and we are going to do our doggondest in our commentary to make sure that they understand that while we Americans sort of get at each other's throats, verbally speaking, come election time, that when the chips are down we are still a very united people and we will be when the election is over."

Rowan said that during his tour as Ambassador to Finland—from March 1963 until he was named Director of USIA—"I learned something from the Finnish people about political courage and political shrewdness and what it means to really care about freedom of speech and freedom of religion, even when you may live next door to a big neighbor who has a different political and economic system. I think I learned a little bit about how to talk about our system in Finland, and I hope I can carry that over in USIA."

USIS AND SCOUTS AROUND THE WORLD . . .

IN INSTANBUL CAO RALPH C. TALCOTT (with glasses, center) watches as Consul General Ben H. Brown, Jr., plants the first of 2,000,000 trees in Kennedy Forest on the outskirts of Istanbul, a memorial project of the Turkish Land and Sea Scouts.

IN BEIRUT, CAO E. RUSSELL LINCH discusses "Be Prepared, a Program on Scouting" with a member of the Moslem Girl Scout Association. The combined exhibit and film program attracted 1,805 Boy and Girl Scouts to the American Library.

IN IBADAN, PROGRAM ASSISTANT William E. Jones (left) presents Today 67, a documentary on the West Boy Scout Jamboree at Ibadan, to C. A. Ajao, Secretary of the West Regional Scout Council. At right is T. A. Adekunle, Field Commissioner of Scouts in the Western Region.

IN KARACHI, 8,000 TEXTBOOKS donated by the students of James Madison High School in Vienna, Virginia are presented to the Pakistan Boy Scouts Association. Deputy PAO Robert M. Beers (center left) made the presentation to Justice Inamullah, Senior Judge of the West Pakistan High Court. Fourth from right is Mir M. Mohsin, National Secretary, Pakistan Boy Scouts Association.

IN MANILA, FILIPINO BOY SCOUTS were guests of USIS during Boy Scout Week. Above, they watch USIS artist Bing Vergara work on another adventure of one of their favorite cartoon characters, "Sebyo," which teaches agriculture reform and community development, and which is read by more than 200,000 rural residents throughout the Islands. Tour guide, left rear, is JOT Arnold J. Silverman.

78 FSS PROMOTIONS GIVEN

The promotion of 78 members of the technical, specialized and secretarial staff of the Foreign Service has been announced by Director of Personnel and Training Lionel S. Mosley.

Following is a listing by class of the promotions, which were effective January 19:

To Class FSS-1
Bass, Carson A.
Brannen, Charles W.
Jepson, Melvin T.
Locke, Charles A., Jr.
Rosenblatt, Joel H.
Sauer, Werner

To Class FSS-2
Aleksa, Joseph J.
Carpenter, Robert R.
Casey, John B.
Cleveland, Carlton
Dale, Ira J., Jr.
Droegemeyer, Don J.
Droullard, Maurice E.
Frazee, Alvin M.
Giannico, Salvatore A.
Guzowski, Andrew P.
Hoff, Donald W.
Kiichli, Jeffrey
Koeblitz, Bert H.
Kugler, William
McCabe, Evelyn E.
McKnight, Cleon J.
Miller, Douglas
Murawsky, Walter J.
Murphy, Emmet J.
Pilger, Richard
Poole, Henry B.
Schuchmann, Lloyd
Sherwin, Leonard J.
Smith, Lloyd C.
Szabo, Thomas
Tate, Frank A.
Taweel, Kamel O.
Van Den Berg, Johannes
Westerdale, Neil R.

For Promotion and Conversion to FSLR-4
Gelles, Irving
McCarthy, Edward R.

To Class FSS-3
Adkins, Jack
Copal, James M.
Farmer, Thomas A.
Haney, Fred L.
Huston, Hayden
Johnson, Cecilia
Lassiter, Otha N.
O'Malley, Kathleen
Padian, Elizabeth C.

To Class FSS-4
Adams, Barbara T.
Carpenter, Phyllis M.
Edwards, Verna L.
Hildenbrand, Suzanne
O'Neil, Rita K.

To Class FSS-5
Boccard, Donald
Taylor, Thomas T., III

To Class FSS-6
Bayer, William S.
Gash, Gertrude L.
Krell, Gerald
Langston, Kenneth
Ocko, Stephen
Rossman, Allan
Rotharmel, Marjory D.
Shahboz, Mercy A.
Zubrinsky, Aida

To Class FSS-7
Cooper, Patricia L.
Corbitt, Jane M.
Deane, Nancy M.
Farrell, Elinor M.
Gardiner, Alice E.
Hoke, Beth P.
Horne, Ann Phyllis
Josefe, Elena
Kradlak, Aloysia
Metcalf, Susan J.
Mitchell, Nannette
O'Connor, Madeleine A.
Renzell, Ann
Reynolds, Patricia
Slemp, Claudella J.
Smith, Daisy B.

USIA Correspondent

VOL. 6, No. 1
JANUARY, 1964

MURROW RESIGNS; ROWAN NAMED DIRECTOR

CARL T. ROWAN is congratulated by the then Vice President following his swearing in as Ambassador to Finland in March 1963. Johnson told the assembled guests, "Rarely have I seen a public servant who had all the qualifications I think a public servant should have. Carl Rowan has those qualifications." Rowan's two sons are in the middle.

President Lauds Murrow, Successor

President Johnson named Carl T. Rowan, 38, Ambassador to Finland, as Director of the U.S. Information Agency following the resignation of Edward R. Murrow on January 21.

Rowan's nomination awaits the Senate confirmation required of key Government posts.

In a statement extolling Rowan's qualifications, President Johnson called him "the man most eminently qualified to supervise this vital program of telling America's story abroad."

The President added, "Mr. Rowan—like our country—is young and dynamic, and he has had a breadth of private and governmental experiences that are especially valuable qualifications for this job."

He cited Rowan's career as a newspaperman, his selection as one of America's 10 outstanding young men of 1953, his travels in Asia, Africa and Latin America and his knowledgeable writing about those areas, and his service with State.

"As a perceptive observer of world affairs, as an effective diplomat and public servant, as a tireless worker for the improvement of America's position in the eyes of all the world, he is superbly qualified by training and experience to carry on the work of Ed Murrow," President Johnson said of Rowan.

He added: "I am reluctant to recall him from his important post in Finland, but I need him here."

Rowan was named Ambassador to Finland in March 1963, after having served as a member of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in 1962. He had joined State

(Continued on page 10)

277 FS PROMOTIONS GIVEN

The promotion of 277 members of the Agency's Foreign Service was announced January 15.

Two officers received the Agency's top rank, FSR-1 (FSR is equivalent in rank and pay to State's FSO rating). All the promotions are effective the pay period beginning January 19.

The list of secretarial and clerical promotions will be carried in the February USIA CORRESPONDENT.

Following is a listing by class of the promotions:

To Class FSCR-1
Lincoln, Robert A.

To Class FSLR-1
Zorthian, Barry

To Class FSCR-2
Bastian, Walter M., Jr.
Carter, Alan
Cutter, Margot E.
Dalcher, Laurence P.
Dorey, Frank D.
Gildner, Jay W.
Haney, Robert C.
Joyce, Edward J.
Joyce, James V.
Karst, Eugene F.
Masey, Jack C.
McGillivray, James H.
Murphy, Edmund R.
Rylance, George A.
Semmerling, Helen
Sestanovich, Stephen N.
Sheppard, David P.
Stoddard, John C.
Tenny, Francis B.
Tull, James N.
Wilson, Donald E.

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USIA Correspondent

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(Editorial deadline is the first of each month)
Editor .....Mary Painter

USIA, State, AID Set Up 'Executive Talent Pool'

Agency Foreign Service Career Reserve Officers who are in the top fifth of Classes 1 and 2, and Civil Service officers at the "super-grade" (16 or above) level, have been put into a new "executive talent pool" set up this month by the Department of State, USIA, and AID.

Purposes of the talent pool, set up on recommendation of the Herter Committee, are twofold: to give the heads of the three agencies a broad base of executive talent from which to make selections in filling key positions, and to provide more opportunities for officers with executive ability to broaden their experience.

Each agency will, in effect, "interleaf" names of officers of other agencies with those of its own, and consider all of them in filling specific top positions as vacancies occur. Each agency will furnish the other two with a list of officers for the pool, plus biographic data, including education, training and experience. The lists will be exchanged annually following the completion of work by promotion panels and selection boards.

Personnel officers have been told to use the concept of the "best qualified officer available" in making recommendations of candidates to fill key executive positions. Actual assignments to another agency will be negotiated on an individual basis.

IT'S HERE: PAY RAISE!

A Happy New Year gift will show up on the desks of Agency employes January 30 when paychecks containing the second phase of last year's salary increase are delivered.

The raise was effective January 5. GS, FSR and FSS employes will get the raise.

Night, holiday, and overtime work differentials will be adjusted to conform to the increased salary rates. A notice will accompany each check showing the computation of the new biweekly pay.

Personnel points out that deductions for Civil Service retirement, Social Security, and taxes also will increase commensurate with the increases in salaries.

New Media Priorities Announced

Before his resignation, Director Murrow redefined for Agency media offices five subjects for priority treatment in their output.

The new priorities replace the "areas of emphasis" stated by the Director on July 24, 1961, when the Agency made its first serious effort to focus output on a limited number of subjects directly supporting key foreign policies.

In a December 20 memorandum to heads of elements and PAO's, Murrow noted that "shifts in emphasis" rather than any substantial change in priorities required the redefinition at this time. The fact that "they have not changed substantially," the Director said, "reflects in still one more way the continuity of U.S. policy."

Murrow described the new priority subjects as those "most urgent at the present time and which should be given full and persuasive treatment in all media before other subjects are tackled."

The new priorities are:

THE PURSUIT OF PEACE. The United States has no more urgent task than the pursuit of peace. In the words of President Johnson, "We will be unceasing in the search for peace, resourceful in our pursuit of areas of agreement even with those with whom we differ." We believe this search for an attainable and honorable peace should be based on a gradual evolution in human institutions and on a series of concrete actions and effective agreements (such as the limited nuclear test ban) leading to general and complete disarmament. The United States

(Continued on page 15)

Foreign Service Wives Visit Area Hospitals

Joining with other members of the American Foreign Service Women's Association, the "feminine contingent" of USIA has taken on a program of visiting hospitalized foreign service personnel.

In conjunction with their counterparts in State and AID, USIA members of the Association pay weekly visits to the Public Health Hospital and Veteran's Hospital in Baltimore. They seek to give some measure of assistance which the regular nursing staffs cannot provide.

Members of the Association who wish to participate in this volunteer program are asked to call Mrs. Stuart Ayers, chairman of the USIA group, at 365-8766.

IRS' Dr. Murray G. Lawson (left, front row) stands with the class which took his course on Western Europe and the Atlantic Community at FSI. The course was set up to provide U.S. foreign affairs officials assigned to posts in Western Europe, or to desks in Washington, with an up-to-date introduction to the postwar Atlantic Community.

IPS' KEN SAYRE RECEIVES AWARD

Kenneth H. Sayre, Chief of the Printing Division of IPS, was one of two recipients of the 1963 Horace Hart Award of the Educational Council, Graphic Arts Industry.

Considered one of the most coveted commendations of its field, the award, which was presented January 17 in Miami, said in part of Sayre:

"His production techniques have made possible speedy, world-wide publication of USIA printing and publications, and creation of an organization that in many ways is unique in the history of world-wide printing."

Sayre, who has a long record of work in private business and government, has been with USIA since it became an independent agency in 1953.

The Printing Division Chief directs the technical operations of the Agency's three large printing plants in Manila, Beirut and Mexico City. Sayre also is responsible for technical advice, procurement of equipment and materials, and periodic inspection of Agency printing facilities in 100 countries. He has developed training programs and techniques which have made skilled operators out of national staffers who had never before seen a printing press, and he has provided assistance to local commercial printers in countries overseas in developing high speed, modern printing plant operations.

New Office Created; Personnel Changes

Before his resignation, Director Murrow created a new Office of Personnel and Training, combining the former Personnel Division and the Training Division of the Office of Administration. It will be a separate Office reporting directly to the Director of USIA.

Lionel S. Mosley, former Director of Personnel, will be its Director.

In creating the Office, Murrow noted that "Since its birth in 1953, the Agency has grown in size and in the scope and importance of its responsibilities. It has become increasingly apparent to me that nothing is more essential to our success than the proper recruitment, training, assignment and promotion of our employes. We stand or fall, in the last analysis, on the ability and devotion of our staff. To assure that the personnel and training functions of this Agency receive the appropriate, high-level, sustained attention they deserve, I am creating the Office of Personnel and Training (IPT)."

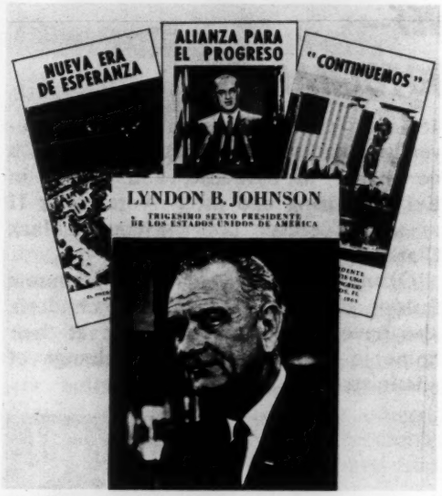
Other personnel changes include:

Reed Harris, Executive Assistant to Director Murrow, as Director of ICS.

Gordon A. Ewing, former ICS Director, as Country PAO for Italy, succeeding Joseph E. Phillips, who is retiring from the Foreign Service.

G. Lewis Schmidt, former Assistant Director of the Agency for Administration, as Country PAO for Germany, succeeding James E. Hoofnagle, who is returning to Washington to attend the Senior Seminar in Foreign Affairs at FSI.

Ben Posner, former Deputy Assistant Director in IOA, as Assistant Director of the Agency for Administration.



RSC MEXICO PRODUCED this pamphlet and three leaflets on the new President.

CAMEROONIANS LEARN of the new President from USIS exhibit windows in Yaounde.

Post Efforts Focus On New President

Gone was the man who said in his Inaugural Address of 1961, "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

In his stead was a new President of the United States, who told the people of all nations, "I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask your help—and God's."

Throughout the world USIS staffs responded.

Bogota, Beirut, Mexico City, Manila, New Delhi, Tokyo, Bonn, Oslo, London, Port-of-Spain, Hong Kong and all the rest worked overtime to tell the world of President Kennedy's assassination and of his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson.

Within a matter of hours, Washington-originated news stories, pictures and biographies were being distributed by the posts.

Here are a few examples of the USIS effort:

Karachi put out special editions of AMERICAN NEWS AND VIEWS and issued a fast pamphlet containing the text of President Johnson's first address to a joint session of Congress and his Thanksgiving Message. The post also is distributing 132,000 copies in English, Urdu and Bengali of the IPS pamphlet, "Lyndon B. Johnson, 36th President of the USA."

In New Delhi, the AMERICAN REPORTER (321,411 copies in English and seven Indian languages) was remade at deadline time, with both stories and Kennedy-Johnson pictures. The next issue of the magazine followed up on the new President's first two weeks in office. The December AMERICAN LABOUR REVIEW was remade on the press, as was SPAN. The post is issuing a total of 271,000 copies of the IPS Johnson pamphlet in 12 languages.

The March issue of SPAN will contain material developed in AL HAYAT's issue on the Presidency, with a color photo of President Johnson on the cover and inside color photos of Mr. Johnson in India. The press run of 78,000 copies also will have an over-run for pamphlet distribution.

USIS London reported: "Using Agency materials, we have emphasized the continuity of power provided by the American Presidential system." London printed 25,000 copies of the fast Johnson pamphlet. In addition, hundreds of pictures of President Johnson and his family were sent to magazines and newspapers "with excellent results."

At RSC Manila, only nine days elapsed between the time the raw copy

(Continued on page 16)

Agency Magazine Introduces Johnson To World

Issue No. 27 of AL HAYAT FI AMERIKA, the Agency's Arabic-language bi-monthly, which is entirely on the Presidency, also was printed by USIA in English as a 64-page glossy magazine publication entitled "The President of the United States of America."

It contains pictures, captions and articles by three Pulitzer-Prize winning American writers: one on President Kennedy by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., special assistant to both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, an article on the Presidency by Allan Nevins, which explains in simple terms the theory and practice of the American Presidency from George Washington to Mr. Johnson, and one on President Johnson by William S. White.

The *New York Herald-Tribune,* in a three-column, half-page article with a picture, headlined "64-Page Slick Introduces Johnson to the World," noted that the Agency is using "the most advanced techniques" to tell the world about the new President.

Copies of the pamphlet-magazine were airmailed to posts early in January so they could order language versions, and the RSC's in Beirut, Mexico City and Manila have begun printing them.

USIA 'LOSES' A BRANCH CHIEF— THE PRESIDENT GAINS A PHOTOGRAPHER

USIA hasn't seen much of its IPS Pictures Branch Chief, Yoichi Okamoto, since President Johnson took office. He's been at the White House and at the LBJ ranch in Texas almost constantly, snapping pictures of the new President, his callers, and his family.

President Johnson has been heard to remark that "Okie," as he is known around the Agency, is his favorite photographer—and it is also on the record that he snapped the President's favorite photo of himself.

Titled "The Lonely Man," it was taken in the President's office, and shows him from the back, seated in a high-backed chair and looking out the window.

Okamoto made five trips overseas with the then Vice President Johnson—to the Berlin Wall in August, 1961, to the funeral of Pope John, to the funeral of Dag Hammarskjold, another trip to Rome, and a trip to Jamaica.

Joining the information program in 1950 as a photographic officer for State in Vienna, Okamoto transferred to USIA in 1954. He received the Agency's Superior Service award in 1960. Well-known in camera circles, he has exhibited often in this country and abroad, and one of his portraits was included in the famed "Family of Man" exhibition.

In 1962 he made a five-month trip as a State Department Specialist assigned to lecture on American photo-journalism in India, Pakistan and Hong Kong. He also made additional stops in Paris, Munich, Vienna, Beirut, Saigon, Manila and Tokyo, where he discussed Agency visual products with PAO's and IO's.

Born in Yonkers, N.Y., Okamoto, now 48, was graduated from Colgate University, worked as a photographer on a newspaper in Syracuse, and served in Europe during and after World War II as a staff officer under General Mark Clark.

Okamoto's wife, a former Viennese fashion designer, and his two children, also haven't seen much of him at their home in Bethesda since the change of administration.

EASTMAN KODAK representatives present 20 Brownie automatic cameras to the Voice of America for use by the Latin American Service of VOA as prizes for an essay contest. Shown are (from left) Walter E. Shea, Washington representative for Eastman Kodak, VOA Director Henry Loomis, IOC Director Sanford S. Marlowe, who arranged for the donation of the cameras, and Keith Lewis, Eastman Kodak General Manager in Washington.

OKAMOTO GETS SET to take a picture of President Johnson in the White House Cabinet Room. The President is about to push a button which will lay the keel of the S.S. Louise Lykes. Between them are Congressman John J. Rooney of New York and Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana.
—Phil J. MacMullan, Newsweek

'Ayo Visits The USA'

An intermediate English-language reader for African posts, "Ayo Visits the USA," has been written by Louise Belcher, the wife of Stephen Belcher, now Information Center Director in Paris. The book was written when the Belchers were in Cotonou, where he was PAO. The exercises in the book are by ICS staffer Elizabeth Sadler.

ICS notes that while the reader was designed for use in the African English teaching program, it is suitable for any situation in which an easy intermediate reader is desired, such as regular and special Binational Center and local school classes, or seminars for teachers of English. The book will cost posts 30 cents each.

The book tells of the visit of Ayo, an African woman, to the U.S. with her husband. She visits American friends in Washington while he tours the country studying U.S. business methods for the government of his unidentified "new" country in Africa.

The story is formed by Ayo's experiences with the American family, in and around Washington, and at the UN.

USIA DESIGNATES HALF OF FS POSITIONS AS 'LANGUAGE ESSENTIAL'

A total of 478 positions have been designated as "language-essential" ones by the Agency (see November USIA CORRESPONDENT). This amounts to 52 percent of all officer positions in USIA's Foreign Service, exclusive of those at media extensions.

If countries where English is the primary or primary-alternate language are excluded, 64 percent of the overseas positions now require language-proficient staffers.

Language requirements can be met by knowledge of a "world" language (French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese) in 347 cases, but an S-2 proficiency in a "hard" language will be required in the other 131 cases.

Each country mission has been notified of the positions designated language-essential. Post recommendations concerning language needs and priorities also have been solicited.

By law, officers assigned to the designated positions after last December 31 must have a "useful knowledge" of the required language.

Commie Demonstrators See USIS Films, Read Pamphlets

At the request of the anti-Communist welfare committee of an underprivileged suburb of San Jose, Costa Rica, USIS recently presented an open-air showing of various films.

Word apparently got out to the Communists, and as the show was about to begin a group of high school-age boys and girls, carrying Cuban flags, appeared. The local group, known as *Amigos de la Revolucion Cubana,* recently had returned from an all-expenses-paid visit to Fidel's Cuba.

The enthusiastic audience ignored the group until the IMS color film on President Kennedy's visit to Costa Rica *(Unidos en el Progreso)* was given. The audience cheered Kennedy, and tore the Cuban flags from the demonstrators' hands. At that, surprisingly, the young "fellow-travelers" settled down to watch the rest of the show!

After the film showing USIS mobile unit operator Carlos Alvarado distributed anti-Communist cartoon-type pamphlets. The audience, which helped in the distribution, insisted that the demonstrators also take the handouts. The last seen of the demonstrators, they were leaving the area reading the cartoon books, reports San Jose PAO Edward N. Fogler.

USIA · Profile ·

Newsman, Novelist, Illustrator

A tough French parachute general in Vietnam called him "l'Amerlo" and saw to it that he was tipped off on all upcoming operations of interest; the Hanoi radio called him "the American spy with the sly smile"; the Binh Xuyen rebel group in Saigon honored him by placing his name on its "death list" and later managed to shoot a jeep out from under him; a British general congratulated him for turning out a film on the Nigerian Army; tough Marseille labor union members invite him to their pastis and guitar relaxations; and the President of the Screen Writers Guild calls him "the most efficient man I've ever met."

"How true," he is apt to say, for Howard R. Simpson, now PAO Marseille, is far from modest. A short, husky cigar and pipe smoker, with a bristling red mustache, a ready laugh and a newsman's tempered cynicism, he has moved around in his 38 years.

He entered the Army at 18 and was discharged and back in San Francisco at the age of 20 with three European campaigns to his credit and a monumental thirst. "It wasn't easy finding a bar that would serve a 20-year-old veteran," Simpson recalls, "but I managed."

After college via the GI bill, including a year on the Left Bank of Paris as an art student, he became a newspaperman in San Francisco. He joined the Agency in 1951.

His first assignment was a three-year tour in IndoChina. It was in Saigon that he met his wife, Mary Alice, who was working for ICA. Their first daughter, Shawn, was born the night rebel forces attacked the President's palace, four blocks from the hospital. Since then there have been two more daughters—Lisa, born in Lagos, and Kathleen, born in Marseille.

Simpson received the Agency's highest honor, the Distinguished Service Award, for his work as a war correspondent and press officer in IndoChina. In addition to his coverage of the war, he closed the USIS post in Hanoi and evacuated the national staffers before the Communist take-over. Staying on as a "Polish press officer," he managed to cover the Communist entry into the city with photos and first-hand cable accounts for IPS.

He left the Agency in 1955 to write a novel. Living in a small Mallorcan fishing village he "wrote six chapters in six months. They were terrible and I threw them out."

After a stint with the San Francisco Chronicle as a writer-illustrator, Simpson returned to USIA and an assignment in Nigeria as IO. There, working with Agency cameraman Olojo Kosoko, he turned out his first documentary film. "Both Olojo and I learned a lot in those days," Simpson remembers, "knocking around the various Regions with a beat-up Landrover, scripting and shooting as we went."

In 1961 the long dormant novel on IndoChina, "To a Silent Valley," was published by Knopf. Last September it was published in Italy. Simpson's second novel, dealing with Africa, has been cleared by the Agency and is now in the editor's hands.

Between novels Simpson turns out short stories for *Harper's* magazine, articles and cartoons for the *Foreign Service Journal* (a recent piece on guerrilla warfare was reprinted in the *National Observer,* and the original of one cartoon found its way to a White House office wall).

HOWARD SIMPSON in his USIS Marseille office.

Following his African tour Simpson was named PAO Marseille, served for a year as IO in Paris, and returned to Marseille as PAO in September 1962. He doesn't know yet where he will go when Marseille is closed as a branch post in June—but he is sure it will be interesting.

In France he has worked on a variety of assignments for USIS: press advisor to the U.S. delegation to UNESCO, press assistant for two Presidential visits and, for the fourth consecutive year, as an official U.S. Delegate and Agency representative to the International Film Festival at Cannes.

Writing in *Variety,* Simpson suggested that the next Festival make provisions for "a team of specialists on standby to treat the Delegate's livers, chopped by cocktail concoctions ranging from young Chianti to elderly Slivovitz."

Shortly before the close of the 1963 Festival Simpson was circulating among the "film greats" assembled for a cocktail party aboard Sam Spiegel's yacht, puffing contentedly on one of Spiegel's prize Havanas. A frowning Alfred Hitchcock scolded him jokingly, "What? A government official smoking a Cuban cigar!"

"I have been assigned," Simpson replied, smiling through a wreath of rich cigar smoke, "to destroy their existing overseas stock."

USIS HUE MOPIX Operator Tran Xuan Khoi (at the camera) with some of the 48 persons in the Quinhon area of Vietnam he has trained to operate USIS motion picture projectors.

IMS Films Aid Flood-Stricken African City

USIS Ibadan helped avert a possible dangerous epidemic in that Nigerian city of 750,000 when flood waters raced through the city recently following 12 hours of torrential rains.

All road and rail communication was cut, and the water works was inundated, cutting off all fresh water supply for four days, Program Assistant William E. Jones reports. With the possibility of an epidemic facing Ibadan, USIS contacted the Ministry of Health and offered its aid in organizing a health program. Until that moment, nothing had been done to inform the community about preparation of safe drinking water.

After hasty meetings, the IMS films "Water, Friend or Foe" and "How Disease Travels" were used on WNTV (Western Nigeria Television) to illustrate the dangers of drinking polluted water. The films were introduced by the Chief Health Officer of the Ministry of Health. IMS' "Clean Water" was secured from USIS Lagos, and the three films were shown at intervals during five days of the emergency.

LA PAZ LABOR IO Tom Martin (center) and IO Michael Kristula (right) are interviewed by NBC TV correspondent Ed Arnow in Oruro shortly after the two USIS officers reached there after being held 10 days as hostages by Bolivian miners. Looking on is Ambassador Douglas Henderson.

Two La Paz Officers Kidnapped, Held 10 Days

Two staffers of USIS La Paz had an idea their assignments in Bolivia would be interesting and maybe even exciting—but they didn't really realize it until last month.

On December 6 Assistant Information Officer (Labor) Thomas Martin, 27, and Assistant IO (AID) Michael Kristula, 41, Peace Corpsman Robert Fergerstrom, and Bernard Rifkin, labor advisor for AID, were seized by rebellious tin miners when they went to the Catavi and Siglo XX mining areas 150 miles south of La Paz on a project to build schools for the impoverished mining community.

The Americans had finished dinner with the Dutch manager of one of the mines, when trucks pulled up and some 150 miners brandishing guns barged in to arrest the manager.

Martin, who had visited the area previously, says one of the armed men recognized him as a U.S. official and began shouting to that effect—and in a moment the Americans also were seized, as were 17 other hostages, Bolivians and other nationals.

The Americans were taken to the library of the union hall at the Siglo XX mine, where they were held with the other hostages in an apparent attempt to force the release of two Communist labor chiefs imprisoned by the Bolivian Government. The library was next to a dynamite magazine, and they were guarded by the miners' wives.

Ambassador Henderson's demand that they be released unconditionally was buttressed by strong representations to Bolivia's President Paz and the national chieftan of the miners' union, Juan Lechin, who is also Vice President of Bolivia, and by American and international labor organizations.

By the tenth day, after the captives had listened to two miners' assemblies discuss terms for letting them go, AID staffer Rifkin decided that they had enough and said "Let's get out of here."

No one stopped them—and although the guards had told them they were "protecting" them from the people outside, Martin said, "When we went through the door, the people cheered us."

Then came a sort of "wild west ride" in a caravan of jeeps and other vehicles toward the nearby town of Oruro.

Kristula said at all times they were well fed and housed. He noted that only a small corps of local mine leaders were communists, and said that nine-tenths of the mine union membership voted to set them free, but they were outmaneuvered by the "handful of communists."

When they were freed on December 16, Kristula, Martin and Rifkin flew to Washington at President Johnson's invitation, met briefly with him, and left for a welcome Christmas vacation.

Rifkin will return to La Paz; after a course at FSI, Martin will go to Caracas as Assistant IO (Labor).

MONTEVIDEO ASSISTANT CAO Conrad Stolzenbach, file room clerk Nancy Johnson, and FSO wife Kathleen Willis take part in a program honoring the U.S. Labor Day and the Artigas-Washington Library.

IMS FILM ENTERED FOR ACADEMY AWARD

An IMS film, "The Five Cities of June," has been submitted as an entry for the 36th Annual Academy Awards of Merit of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, IMS Director George Stevens, Jr., says.

Dealing with five seemingly unrelated events in widely separated locations during June 1963, "The Five Cities of June" projects a striking image of multiple forces at work in the contemporary world: the death of Pope John XXIII and the elevation of Pope Paul VI in Rome, the launching in the USSR of a team of cosmonauts, with a summary of all U.S. and Soviet man-in-space achievements, the war against the Communists in a village in Vietnam, the enrollment of two Negro students at the University of Alabama, and the visit of the late President Kennedy to Berlin.

USIS Montevideo Library Celebrates 20 Years

Twenty years of service to Uruguay and to the United States merits a special celebration—and the Artigas-Washington (USIS) Library in Montevideo has just finished a month-long cultural festival for its 20th birthday party.

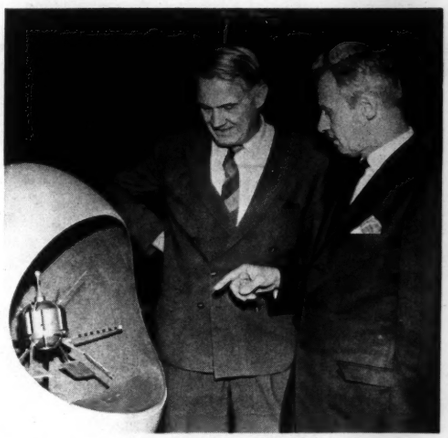
In 1943 the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Library Association, and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (USIA's predecessor in Latin America) sent Arthur E. Gropp with 3,000 books to found a free lending library in Montevideo.

Today, the Artigas-Washington Library is a cultural landmark of the city and contains 20,000 volumes, 60 percent of them in English, according to the Director of the Library, Mary McDonald.

The Library auditorium, newly redecorated and with improved lighting and acoustical treatment, displayed throughout the month-long celebration a loan of 11 modern American paintings. The celebration also featured receptions, press conferences, lectures, round tables, documentary and art films, jazz, folk music, choral music and drama. Gropp returned to Montevideo on a grant to participate in the celebration and teach a seminar on librarianship at the National University.

An estimated 1,300 intellectuals, students, labor leaders and journalists helped the 20-year-old institution celebrate its anniversary.

AROUND THE WORLD



BERN PAO B. FRANKLIN STEINER (right) explains one of the models in the Agency's "U.S. Progress in Space Sciences" exhibit to Professor Schuerer, Chairman of the Swiss Space-Study Group.

* * *

OUGADOUGOU—Presentations of "New Horizons" books were made to 10 Voltans who have read more than 50 books from the shelves of the American Cultural Center during the last year. The presentations were made at ceremonies commemorating the second anniversary of its opening. More than 125,000 persons have visited the library in the two-year period.

* * *

NAIROBI—USIS recently presented 360 American-donated books and other publications to Kenya schools, reports PAO John F. Hogan. Typical response came from Miss Josephine de Minvielle, teacher at the Women's Teacher Training College, who said ". . . you are not only helping these girls . . . you are helping countless . . . generations of Kenya children who will come after them . . ."

BOMBAY IO William J. Miller (right) and Consulate General Political Officer Jane Abell (center) present a set of 39 books for Indian libraries, plus 21 Marathi pamphlet titles, to local self-government institutions. Receiving them are (left) Shri Baburao Goregaonkar, President, Parbhani Zilla Parishad and (center) Shri Devrao A. Kendrekar, President, Hingoli Panchayat Samiti.

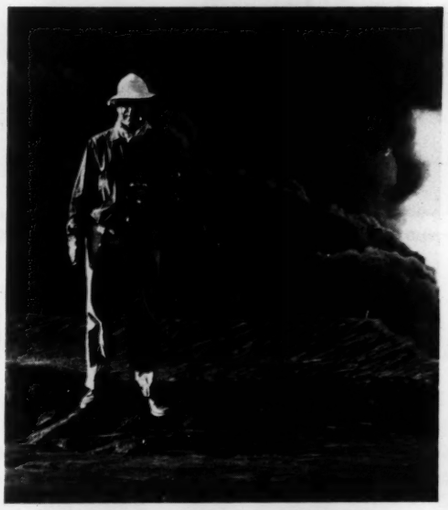
RIO DE JANEIRO—A seminar on the "Predicament of Democratic Man" and related subjects, co-sponsored by the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos in Rio, has met with singular success. The themes included "On Liberty," "Constitutional Government," and "The Republic and the School." All were taken from "Classics of Democracy," published under the USIS book translation program.

* * *

FRANKFURT—The Amerika Haus recently played host to 200 trade unionists from Germany, the U.S. and other countries during a three-day conference on automation. Technological progress and its social implications formed the major conference topics.

* * *

STOCKHOLM—The appearance of the post's new edition of "Fakta om USA" (Facts About the U.S.A.) was widely noted in the Swedish daily and periodical press. An editorial in the Sydsvenska Dagbladet said that "In only 96 pages it presents a quick review of those things the ordinary newspaper reader most wants to know about the USA."



SAN JOSE CAO ANDREW J. SCHWARTZ stands on the lip of the Irazu volcanic crater which has been erupting uncounted tons of volcanic ash since March, 1963. Schwartz and PAO Edward N. Fogler accompanied a U.S. newspaperman to the volcano, which is fourteen and a half miles from San Jose.

* * *

CALCUTTA—"Events like this rarely happen in Gauhati and one has to make it a point not to miss it." With these words the Station Director of All India Radio expressed his feelings at the recent formal opening of the American Corner, in Gauhati, Assam. The Corner houses a collection of 1700 books and 25 periodicals selected by USIS Calcutta and given on a long-term loan as part of the District Library in Gauhati.

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR KASHIM IBRAHIM, Governor of Northern Nigeria, receives a set of USIS pamphlets from Kaduna PAO Abol F. Fotouhi. The occasion was the Governor's visit to the USIS booth at a Red Cross bazaar.

* * *

NEW DELHI—"As India Builds," a major USIS India publication of 300,000 copies, has been distributed in nine languages to tell of the first 10 years of U.S. economic aid to India. Barry Zorthian, Deputy PAO, reports that the 96-page pamphlet, with 34 pages of color, "was greeted as a major piece of work by recipients throughout India, and continues in demand."

* * *

CARACAS—More than 2,000 students are enrolled in English classes at Caracas BNC—twice the number of last year—and some 1,500 others are taking extension courses at several other institutions of learning. Among the places where English is taught by request is the Central University Agricultural Station where many of the students frankly admit that they have no "pro-Western" tendencies, according to PAO Richard G. Cushing.

CAMBODIAN CHIEF OF STATE Prince Noradom Sihanouk receives Phnom Penh PAO Arthur R. Lee on the Cambodian Independence Day.

AT THE NAIROBI MONITORING OFFICE, former Technical Radio Officer Jack Adkins (left), now with the Program Center at Monrovia, and local assistant Peter Pegrume perform maintenance on a Collins 51J receiver.

IN BELGRADE, TRO John Russell evaluates the reception quality of transmissions beamed to his area.

AT THE TAIPEI MONITORING OFFICE, local assistants Paul Tung (left) and Sun join TRO Harry Cook in a concerted effort to identify interference on a broadcast.

KNOW YOUR AGENCY: The Voice's Technical Monitor

If you take a few liberties with the lyrics of the song, "Me and my shadow . . . all alone and feeling blue" it is possible to come up with a theme song for the staffs of the seven overseas Technical Monitoring Offices of the Voice of America, such as "Me and my receiver . . . all alone and listening to VOA."

For the Technical Monitoring Offices are the official "ears" of the Voice. They perform the vital service of reporting to the Agency on how well the Voice can be heard by its millions of overseas listeners. Since VOA's prime broadcast times are in the early morning or late evening hours when other USIS activities are at a standstill, the staff at each Monitoring Office finds that most of its listening to the radio waves is done in deserted USIS buildings or in lonely hotel rooms somewhere in the vast geographical area for which the office is responsible.

Belgrade, Helsinki, Nairobi, Panama City, Taipei, Tehran and Vienna are the strategic listening locations around the world where VOA Technical Monitoring Offices are situated. Each Monitoring Office is staffed by one American Technical Radio Officer plus two local assistants, and has available thousands of dollars worth of reception, measuring, research and test equipment. Each Monitoring Office calibrates its monitoring equipment, however, so that its routine reception reports reflect as nearly as possible how reception is on the equipment that the typical home listener in the area has available to him.

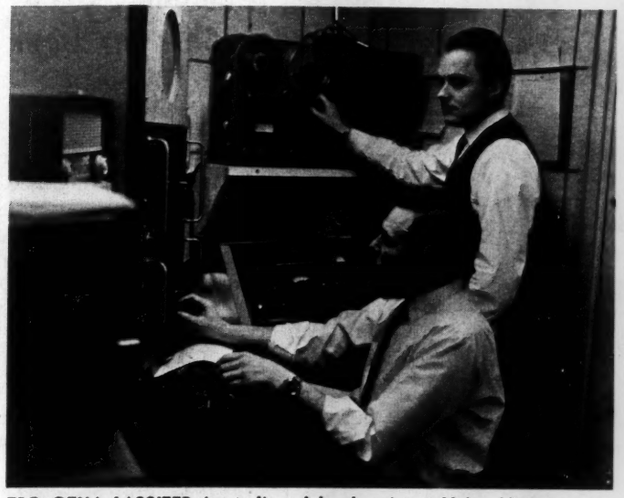
The Chiefs of the Monitoring Offices, all of them Technical Radio Officers, are John S. Russell in Belgrade, Otha N. Lassiter in Helsinki, Richard Jenkins in Nairobi, Harry Cook in Taipei, Harold W. Manley in Tehran, and Ernest O. Foster in Vienna. William E. Allen, TRO in Panama City, retired in December and his replacement has not been named.

More than 50 other USIS posts also submit supplementary monitoring information to the Agency when they have time. All reception information reaching USIA is used to statistically evaluate the receivability of VOA broadcasts in various areas of the world.

The monitoring network, established in 1953 by George Jacobs, now Chief of the Frequency Division, Office of the Engineering Manager of VOA, celebrates its 11th anniversary this year. Operationally, the Monitoring Offices function as a part of the Frequency Division, which is responsible for assigning facilities and frequencies for the world-wide broadcasts of the Voice of America.

Not only do the Technical Monitoring Offices evaluate the

and David
on a VOA



TRO OTHA LASSITER (seated) and local assistant Vaino Virtanen prepare to make an off-the-air recording of a Voice program at the Helsinki Monitoring Office.

AT THE VIENNA MONITORING OFFICE, TRO Ernest Foster (seated) and local assistant Dr. Haubenberger listen carefully to evaluate how well a VOA broadcast is penetrating communist jamming.

AT THE PANAMA MONITORING OFFICE, local assistant Mr. Chang listens to an explanation of some of the problems involved in locating short wave broadcasts on the overcrowded radio bands from former TRO William Allen, who retired in December.

ENJOYING A BRIEF PAUSE in his monitoring duties in Tehran, TRO Harold Manley enjoys a VOA "Music USA" transmission while seated at the monitoring console.

toring Offices

effectiveness of the multi-million dollar Voice operation from the listeners' point of view, but they also act as an electronic Sherlock Holmes to determine whether reception is being interfered with by some natural phenomenon or communist jammer—or whether VOA is unintentionally interfering with the transmissions of some other broadcast station.

To the uninitiated short wave listener, international broadcasting may sound like a conglomeration of multi-lingual voices —sometimes not too clear—mixed with all sorts of sputters, pops and crackles. The monitoring specialists, however, are trained to locate VOA broadcasts quickly in the mish-mash on the overcrowded short wave radio bands, and to evaluate their receivability. When there is interference, they are able to identify the source.

Everyone in USIA is familiar with the story of jamming. The Technical Monitoring Offices have documented this story, advising the Agency of which language programs, or portions of programs, are jammed and to what extent. The monitors were the first to alert the Agency when the communists stopped jamming many Soviet-language VOA broadcasts last year.

The Technical Monitoring Offices aid the Agency's frequency and facilities planning in many other ways. For instance, they evaluate how competitive the Voice is with respect to international broadcasts by other countries.

The American Technical Radio Officers, armed only with small portable radios and tape recorders, make frequent trips throughout the world checking on the reception of VOA. The average TRO will be away from home for from one to six months a year, moving from city to city. His time will be spent in hotel rooms busily twirling a radio dial, filling out report forms, and taping VOA shows to illustrate to the Agency typical off-the-air reception. Again his work period will be the evening and morning hours—and as frequently as he can keep awake, the daylight hours too. Since his free time and contacts in any one locality are limited, he often does not even have time to discover the name of a local restaurant in which to eat. One TRO reports his solution to this problem is always to take along two suitcases. In one goes his radio equipment—and in the other, crackers and canned pork and beans.

The Voice of America must use every possible technological development in its continuing effort to reach the peoples of the world. The monitoring specialists at the Technical Monitoring Offices stand ready to evaluate and report on these efforts—to answer the question, "Can the world hear our Voice?"

PRESIDENT OF TUNISIA HABIB BOURGUIBA visits a USIS photo exhibit on Presidents Johnson and Kennedy at Sbeitla, a small city 175 miles southwest of Tunis. The exhibit, one of a regular series supplied by USIS, will be circulated to culture houses and youth centers throughout Tunisia by the Ministry for Information and Cultural Affairs.

MURROW RESIGNS; ROWAN NAMED DIRECTOR

(Continued from page 1)

in February 1961 as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

Born in Ravenscroft, Tennessee, on August 11, 1925, Rowan grew up in McMinnville, Tennessee. He studied for a year at Tennessee State University at Nashville before joining the Navy during World War II. He was commissioned at 19, and served overseas.

Following the war he earned a B.A. in mathematics from Oberlin College. In 1948 he received an M.A. in journalism from the University of Minnesota.

A newspaperman for 13 years, Rowan worked for the Baltimore *Afro-American* in 1948, then joined the staff of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, where he worked until he joined State in 1961. After 1950, when he began reporting for that newspaper after a two-year stint on the copy desk, he won awards every year.

The new Director and President Johnson became well acquainted in May 1961, when Rowan was assigned to accompany the then Vice President on an around-the-world trip. He was Ambassador to Finland when Johnson visited that country during a Scandinavian tour last September. President Johnson said then that Rowan had "won America many friends in Finland."

Director Murrow sent his resignation to the President on December 19. At that time he wrote, "As you know I was separated from a cancerous lung in early October. The doctors assure me the operation was successful and that recovery to date has been normal. However, it will be several months before I can resume full-time duty."

Murrow said that shortly before President Kennedy's death he had told him he might feel obliged to resign. "After his tragic death, it had been my hope to continue to serve my country under your leadership," Murrow wrote to President Johnson. "My inability to do so is deeply disappointing." He suggested, however, that it would not be fair to Johnson to leave USIA without an on-the-job Director during his convalescence.

The President said Murrow "will be sorely missed," and paid tribute to the departing Director's "magnificent job." Promising to call on him for advice and help in the future, the President wrote him:

"Your entire life, your eloquence and idealism and sound judgment, your determined drive and sparkling personality all combined to make you superbly qualified for the task of conveying the true picture and purpose of this country to the world.

"You leave with the thanks of a grateful President and a grateful nation. I close, Ed, with a paraphrase of the words you made forever famous on radio and television, 'Goodbye, and good luck.' "

Murrow, radio-TV's top news analyst and reporter, ended 25 years with the Columbia Broadcasting System when he became Agency Director in March 1961. He brought to his job an enviable reputation in international reporting and analysis, a strong sense of mission, and a passion for realism.

As did Murrow, Rowan, when confirmed, will sit in on meetings of the National Security Council and the Cabinet.

He is the author of four books: "South of Freedom," published in 1952, "The Pitiful and the Proud," based on articles he did on Southeast Asia and his coverage of the Bandung Conference (the book was named to the American Library Association's annual list of "best books of the year"), "Go South to Sorrow," an analysis of the race problem in America, 1957, and "Wait Till Next Year," a biography of Jackie Robinson, 1960.

He speaks French, bowls, plays golf and likes touch football — which he played long before joining the New Frontier. He and his wife, Vivien, have a daughter, Barbara, 19, who attended Rosary Hill College in Buffalo, New York and the University of Helsinki, and two sons, Carl, Jr., 11, and Geoffrey, 10.

Agency Pamphlet Used As Geography Textbook

USIS Enugu is supplying the University of Nigeria with a "textbook" on geography, well-known in USIA circles as "USA—its Geography and Growth."

Kathryn O. Wallace, acting PAO, reports that the book's reception in the higher institution of learning is excellent. She also says that principals of secondary schools in various Nigerian communities "have received the publication with great interest."

Not seeking to take all the credit, Enugu's Acting BPAO says that Peace Corps members are helping to increase the circulation and use of "USA—its Geography and Growth."

Then from far around the world from Enugu, Ottawa PAO Donald E. Wilson says that a student reports that "USA—its Geography and Growth" and another USIA publication, "An Outline of American History" are considered by teachers as "most informative" on the United States.

HONOR NOMINATIONS DUE

Director of Personnel Lionel S. Mosley has reminded heads of offices and services and administrative officers that nominations for USIA's Eighth Annual Honor Awards program are due no later than March 15.

The awards give official recognition to those employes whose achievements have been "exceptional." Mosley notes that supervisors should review carefully the performance of employes at all levels "whose significant contributions deserve special recognition." Nominations for an Honor Award must be based on actual achievement and must be factual, concise, clear, and well documented.

Nominations for a Unit Award must carry a list stating the name of each employe included.

PHILIP MILBAUER—the smile is for retirement!
—Laura Winslow

Philip Milbauer Retires

The people who live around 100 Lefferts Avenue in Brooklyn may see a little more of Philip Milbauer since his December 30 retirement, but probably not much. His hobbies are traveling and electronics—with great emphasis on the first—and Phil, who has been almost everywhere in the world on his peripatetic vacations, plans to take up the slack now that he can devote full time to it.

Milbauer was officially listed as Printing and Publications Officer and Printing Plant Liaison Officer for the Agency's Russian and Polish Magazine, AMERICA ILLUSTRATED. But everyone concerned with AI concedes that the fact that the magazine got to its Russian and Polish customers on time each issue, and in such flawless technical condition, was a tribute to Phil Milbauer's eagle eye.

A native New Yorker (he was born in Manhattan), he attended business school until 1917, when he enlisted in the Signal Corps. At the end of the war he joined a printing firm, and for the next 23 years worked as estimator, cost accountant, and secretary treasurer, as well as a partner in a firm. He even worked on presses, holding a withdrawal card in Local 51, Printing-Pressman's Union.

With the advent of World War II Milbauer transferred his talents to the Office of War Information as a typographic layout man and printing engineer. During the war he was sent to Rome to manage a requisitioned printing plant which was producing psychological warfare material.

In 1946 he was loaned to the United Nations by State (which had then taken over the information program) to set up a printing section for the UN.

As Printing Plant Liaison Officer for AMERICA ILLUSTRATED, Milbauer worked both in Washington and in New York at various periods. He also will be remembered in the Agency as Printing Liaison Officer for USIA from 1954-56.

Phil returned to the Government 1,917 hours of sick leave he had earned. He attributes his long life and good health to his habit of smoking strong black cigars and drinking rum straight.

The traveling? He returned in September from his latest trip, a round-the-world cruise. Asked why he didn't wait for that until his retirement, he explains with a twinkle that if he cracked up he wanted it to be on Uncle Sam's time and expense, and not his own! A year before he spent a leisurely vacation in Spain and Germany.

Any other spare hours while he isn't traveling will be occupied with teaching an evening class at New York University on estimating offset and letterpress printing, as he did during NYU's 1953-54 fall and spring terms. And planning that next trip!

Spanish-Language Labor Film Done By IMS

IMS has completed a labor film, "Rivera," produced in the Spanish language with a Puerto Rican cast for showing in Latin America, IMS Director George Stevens, Jr., has announced.

The 30-minute, black-and-white dramatization depicts the activities of a local union of carpenters in an unspecified Latin American country and shows how bargaining sessions can result in negotiated agreements with management. The film points out that free democratic processes can obtain the very benefits for the worker that the Communists promise, but cannot deliver, through the use of violence.

Happy Holidays, Mr. Chuaviriya!

USIA has one foreign national staffer today who fervently believes in Christmas, Santa Claus, and the goodness of the Americans he usually works with in USIS Vientiane.

Here for an orientation training program, Tao Chuaviriya of USIS Vientiane last month received a check for $120 from his co-workers back in Laos. The accompanying letter wished him happy holidays and said the Americans were cognizant of the high cost of living and traveling in the U.S.—and would he take the enclosed check and spend it on something he could not otherwise afford.

"We will be very happy to see you when you get back," the letter concluded—and it is sure to be a sentiment that Tao Chuaviriya will reciprocate.

THREE WASHINGTON NEWSMEN interview Federal Aviation Administrator Najeeb Halaby (second from left) on VOA's popular "Press Conference USA" program which goes out weekly in English to all parts of the world. Shown (from left) are VOA Moderator William F. McCrory, Halaby, Charles Bartlett of the Chicago Sun-Times, Robert Doty of Aviation Week magazine, and Charles Yarbrough of The Washington Star.
—George Szabo

USIS CARACAS EMULATES THE UNITED NATIONS

A wireless simultaneous translation system built by USIS Caracas at a fraction of normal cost, using inexpensive transistor receivers and earphones, gave a recent USIS-sponsored seminar on higher education "the flavor of a United Nations meeting," says PAO Richard G. Cushing.

With this system the post furnished the 50 Venezuelan participants—rectors, vice rectors and other university leaders, as well as a high level group from the Ministry of Education—with a running translation of speeches and informal discussions by three visiting specialists from the U.S.

For less than $600 radio engineer Elias Hauel constructed the whole set-up, which, he says, should last for years. The equipment consists of a single-frequency low power broadcasting transmitter fed from a soundproof translator's booth. Transmission is effected through a loop of wire strung around the conference room and picked up on vest pocket transistor radio receivers with inexpensive earphones. The post used a similar set-up during a seminar on democracy last year.

The equipment was put to use later in novel fashion, Cushing reports. Through arrangements worked out by USIS, "A Streetcar Named Desire," staged by the English-speaking Caracas Theater Club, was heard by Venezuelans in the audience in a cooperative endeavor of the Ateneo de Caracas, which furnished actors to voice the parts in Spanish by radio from backstage. Fifty members of the audience, furnished transistors and earphones, heard the play in Spanish. Next, the Caracas Theater Club will voice a Venezuelan play in English, using the same system.

BOGOTA ACAO JOHN L. GRIFFITHS (center, in front of open window), congratulates the citizens of Lenguazaque for their teamwork which resulted in this new community center. The recent inauguration ceremonies were attended by the Department's Governor, USAID Director Charles Fossum, and many USIS staffers. Against the Center's window are (from left) Quiroga Center Director Wilson Bayona, Quiroga Center Grantee Jim Maloney, Dr. Charles Green, Community Center Grantee, and Mrs. Green, and Griffiths' mother, Jane L. Griffiths.

Take It *Easy!*

Among the millions of people around the world who have learned English via the Agency's popular "Let's Learn English" TV series, now broadcast in 36 countries, is one man who did it the hard way.

USIS Panama says it had a touching letter from a middle-aged man who asked that he be graded leniently on his final exam.

He had watched the program every night on a TV set in a furniture store window. The boys who also watched it were rough and shoved him around, he said—and besides it was hard work standing up taking notes on that window!

AN RSC MEXICO POSTER is used on USIS Managua's film mobile unit during its forays into the interior of Nicaragua. The unit presented film showings to help the Nicaraguan Ministry of Health and the USAID Mission organize local Alianza committees in villages. The unit also distributed USIS pamphlets.

IMS Films Promote Local 'Alliance' Groups

A week-long USIS mobile film unit tour in nine hamlets in southwestern Nicaragua was instrumental in awakening a spirit of self-help among residents as motivation for organizing "Alianza" committees for community development, Managua PAO James M. McDonald believes.

The result of the tour was nine new committees for development of local projects under the Alianza para el Progreso.

The USIS mobile unit, captained by Film Section Chief Bayardo Arrieta, presented special film programs in the afternoon at organization meetings in each community, and later, outdoor programs in the town plaza for the general public. The mobile unit crew also posted Alianza posters and distributed pamphlets to community leaders.

Of the eight films shown, audience reaction was most lively and favorable to "The School at Rincon Santo," says McDonald, since it "an excellent film done in a campesino ambiente very familiar to the audiences."

Similar field trips for other parts of Nicaragua are planned. On the trips, the USIS film crew works in cooperation with the USAID Mission and the branch of Nicaragua's Ministry of Health which is conducting a rural medical assistance program with the help of USAID.

Colombian Community Center Is Real Self-Help Project

The new Community Center in Lenguazaque, a town perched on the slopes of the mist-covered Andes Cordillera, 75 miles northeast of Bogota, is a *real* self-help project, David Garth, former CAO in Bogota, now with the Agency, reports.

USIS financial support for the Center was only $35—the cost of the sign which was placed on the roof of the 100 x 40 foot building.

With the assistance of several USIS officers, the town's "ciudadanos" raised sufficient funds (through bazaars, raffles, etc.) to complete partially the Center. At the last moment the Colombian Government awarded the Civil Action Committee a special grant enabling the people to meet the opening "deadline."

Although Botota Assistant CAO John L. Griffiths and other Post staffers made frequent Sunday visits to Lenguazaque, the people themselves did most of the work, Garth says. He adds that "In view of the self-help nature of the Center's planning and construction, the people of Lenguazaque are closely identified with the Center and are proud of their accomplishment."

The Center's doors are open to all "Lenguazaquenos", and weekly film showings, dances, exhibits, conferences, and athletic programs are already regular features. The Center also has daily vocational classes, and a Peace Corps volunteer has begun English-language classes. Garth notes that "with occasional Post guidance, the Center will continue to play a critical role in across-the-board community development. Futhermore, the Center is an excellent vehicle for reaching Lenguazaque citizens and campesinos with USIS material."

The Center has a large "Salon de Actos," library, two classrooms, office and interior patio. It already has become a "command post" for educational, cultural and social activities for the entire town and surrounding "veredas." It also is playing an important role in other community development projects, including the construction of four classrooms, the building of an all-weather road linking the town to the main Bogota network and, through the efforts of three Peace Corps volunteers, a cooperative for exporting *ruanas* to the U.S.

Garth concludes that everyone is confident that "the efforts of the Lenguazaque people will serve as a salient example to other towns and barrios."

1964 FOREIGN SERVICE PROMOTIONS

(Continued from page 1)

To Class FSLR-2

Doster, Jerry C.
Miller, William D.
Sabbagh, Isa K.

To Class FSCR-3

Astill, William
Boyle, James E.
Carney, Stephen M.
Cavanaugh, Frederick J.
Conner, Dewey W.
Coughlin, Frances E.
Davis, Stella E.
Donohue, Gerard A.
Drechsler, Garhard J.
Dubois, David J.
Elleby, Douglas A.
Entrikin, Isabelle W.
Ferguson, Marjorie F.
Friedmann, Eugene J.
Gould, Donald G.
Graham, James R.
Halle, Elinor
Jellison, Robert A.
Kibble, Stepney C.
Kirchwehm, Howard
Lotsberg, Roman L.
Manley, Charles C.
Mateer, William C.
McClure, A. Marvin
McLean, Malcolm
McVitty, Howard L.
Miller, George E.
Munsing, Stefan P.
Neumann, Edwin J.
Pate, Lewis W.
Peck, F. Taylor
Peel, Harris
Post, Edward E., Jr.
Ruggieri, Nicholas
Russell, John W. L., Jr.
Savage, Edward J.
Scerback, Clement G.
Searles, Charles D.
Shellenberger, Jack H.
Simpson, Howard R.
Stearman, William L.
Stephen, Henry H.
Turner, Neely G.

To Class FSLR-3

Bell, Brian
Blum, Melvin
Bonnesen, Niels A.
Feiler, Eric
Garvey, Paul S.
Haupt, Frederick, III
Irvin, Frederic B.
James, Alan E., Sr.
Martin, Fletcher P.
Moss, Stanley D.
Nieburg, Patrick E.
Smith, Ralph Stuart
Stover, Raymond J.
Wallach, George

To Class FSCR-4

Baskin, Myron A.
Bator, Edmund A.
Beko, Helen E.
Berg, K. Marshall
Berthold, Herbert
Bielak, Peter P.
Bradshaw, James E.
Carlson, Lawrence O.
Charouhas, Thomas
Coffey, Fred A.
Cohen, Alvin H.
Conley, James D.
Cooke, Francis A.
Crane, James F.
Culpepper, James L.
Curran, Robert T.
Dickson, William S.
Dobson, Mason C.
Ewing, John J.
Fawcett, Jack B.
Filskow, Carl A.
Ford, Donald R.
Fordney, Ben F.
Goplen, Orville H.
Groff-Smith, Geoffrey
Hackett, Clifford P.
Hitchock, David I.
Hughes, Richard M.
Johnson, Charles A.
Karppi, William J.
Klecka, Ivan T.
Liu, Theodore M.
McGinley, James A., III
Minor, Ainslie B.
Mulvehill, Thomas J.
Nayer, Arthur R.
Nyrop, Flemming E.
Peattie, Mark R.
Petty, Wilbert C.
Pugh, William H.
Riddell, William H., Jr.
Robinson, Blake W.
Robinson, Edward L.
Rogers, Robert N.
Russell, Howard H., Jr.
Scanlon, John H.
Shirley, John W.
Smith, David W.
Soergel, Donald E.
Stratmon, David L.
Sugden, G. Scott
Telford, Vernon R.
Undeland, Richard E.
Villarreal, G. C.
Weeks, Wilbur F.
Western, Dorothea
White, Walter P., Jr.
Windchy, Eugene G.
Zischke, Douglas A.

To Class FSLR-4

Aderton, Aileen
Allen, Robert M.
Arndt, Richard T.
Banks, Virginius H.
Bell, Holly Mack
Benson, Philip A.
Brauckmann, Karl F.
Brown, Dean K.
Brown, Ralph H.
Burleson, Hugh L.
Collinge, Robert A.
Copmann, Lyle D.
Darling, Bernard B.
Dieli, Samuel P.
Dixon, John
Dorn, Harold
Hamilton, Albert H.
Hawes, Madeline T.
Knowles, Richard E.
McDowell, Thaddeus O.
McTaggart, Arthur J.
Moraga, Peter
Perez, Alvaro
Rockweiler, Robert
Russell, McKinney H., Sr.
Savalas, Constantine S.
Shaffer, Frederick W.
Simon, Walter A., Jr.
Smallwood, Osborn T.
Smith, Douglas H.
Smith, Norris P.
Southwell, Sam B.
Steele, Sterlyn B.
Stieglitz, Perry J.
Torjesen, Hakon D.
Vogel, Joe B.
Von Allmen, Bertha E.
Welsh, James K., Jr.
Wilson, Richard P.
Woodward, Hugh M.
Young, Robert B.

To Class FSCR-5

Baer, Rex L.
Brandt, Edward R.
Bunn, Arthur L., Jr.
Challinor, John R.
Chatten, Robert L.
Dake, Hartzell L.
De Cou, James H.
Dove, Thomas C., Jr.
Droge, Dolf M.
Eisenstadt, Gard M.
Garnett, Norris D.
Giuliano, Arthur S.
Goodenough, Robert
Griffiths, John L.
Inman, Jerry L.
Kelly, Sean K.
Lefkowitz, Arthur D.
Lewinsohn, Joann
Murchie, Gordon W.
Nevitt, Robert L. M.
Noel, Edgar E.
Olason, Victor B.
Page, Philip K.
Pistor, Michael T. F.
Quinn, Eugene F.
Rentschler, James M.
Ruggiero, Robert R.
Shepherdson, Philip N.
Sholes, Christopher L.
Slak, Dorothy M.
Springwater, Ronald E.
Synodis, Peter N.
Voth, Robert C.
Wyant, Jack E.

To Class FSLR-5

Adler, Herbert
Brettell, John A.
Chouljian, George
Constable, John
Frierson, Edward B.
Gordon, Glenn D.
Halpine, Stuart F.
Jones, William E.
Jordan, Robert F.
Merian, Robert A.
Meyer, Charles R.
Mihailoff-Shelly, N.
Prehn, Jerry G.
Rounes, Aristides K.
Spaulding, Idda P.

To Class FSCR-6

Ball, Albert
Croghan, Allan B.
Curley, James R.
Dickerman, Charles R.
Donely, George A. T.
Donnelly, Neal T.
Ebbin, Steven
Elly, Edward A.
Hardy, Howard W., Jr.
Hogan, Patricia N.
James, F. David
Jeanneret, Richard H.
Kasanof, Anton N.
Krill, Robert F.
Lisle, Leslie M.
Miller, Daniel L.
Morad, James L.
Perlman, Alvin
Rivera, Ismael
Rosenblum, Sanders F.
Ruffner, Robert H.
Ryan, Henry B.
Shelby, Barbara M.
Stolzenbach, Conrad
Stubbs, William B.
Tanner, V. Jordan
Tryon, Jeremy W.
Williams, Yvonne L.
Woolfolk, Charles M. J.

To Class FSLR-6

Anthony, Doris O.
Chiancone, Frank
Martin, Thomas M.
McDonald, Mary L.

To Class FSCR-7

Blackburn, Paul P., II
Bodurtha, Helen H.
Courtney, Charles E.
Foresta, Donald A.
Henehan, Anne
Huey, Talbott W.
Lederer, Leon, II
Marilley, Marjorie
McLaughlin, Robert C.
Minault, Gail
Rochow, Joel W.
Traub, Daniel L.

PERSONNEL CHANGES

(Actions reported by the Personnel Division as of December 31, 1963)

TRANSFERS

	From	To
Baron, Robert K.	Washington	Caracas
Barraza, Louis A.	Washington	La Paz
Bennett, William F.	Pakistan	Washington
Brown, Michael D.	Kobe	Rangoon
Carrigan, James	Washington	Libreville
Casey, John B.	Liberia Relay Station	Dixon Relay Station
Charouhas, Thomas G.	Palermo	Cochabamba
Cruter, Gilbert	Enugu	Washington
Evans, F. Bowen	Bogota	Washington
Ewing, John J.	Washington	Mandalay
Fletcher, Robert S.	Washington	Buenos Aires
Keany, Katharine	Mexico City	Washington
Kiichli, Jeffrey A.	Liberia Relay Station	Washington
McGinley, James A.	Oran	Algiers
Martin, Fletcher P.	Addis Ababa	Accra
Mullins, Creston B.	Seoul	Washington
Murawsky, Walter J.	Philippines Relay St.	Bethany Relay Station
O'Connor, Madeline A.	Guatemala City	Brussels
Pagin, Renzo	Madras	Washington
Pate, Lewis W.	Arequipa	Saigon
Rhodes, John P.	Djakarta	Marrakech (Amendment)
Rimer, John T.	Toyko	Kobe
Rounes, Aristides	Vientiane	Fort Lamy
Russell, Clair B.	Rhodes Site Staff	Washington
St. Clair, Rebecca C.	Washington	Manila
Savalas, Constantine S.	Hyderabad	London
Scanlon, John H.	Algiers	Oran
Seaver, Gordon E.	Okinawa Relay Station	Honolulu Relay Station
Semmerling, Helen	Washington	Karachi
Smith, Donald G.	Cairo	Washington
Stieglitz, Perry J.	Vientiane	Paris
Stutz, G. Frederick	Khartoum	Washington
Tervola, Victor U.	Honolulu Relay St.	Dixon Relay Station
Volk, Lucille M.	Calcutta	Washington
Wertime, Theodore A.	Tehran	Washington
Zischke, Douglas A.	Mazatlan	Hermosillo

PROMOTIONS

DOMESTIC SERVICE

		From	To
	IBS		
Brown, Catherine M.		GS-3	GS-4
Case, Cheryl L.		GS-3	GS-4
Chabbott, Marilyn		GS-5	GS-6
Del Rio, Jose Perez		GS-11	GS-12
Doumurot, Antonia R.		GS-4	GS-5
Dowdell, Loretta E.		GS-3	GS-4
Dreyer, Eugene R.		GS-11	GS-12
Grim, Josephine V.		GS-3	GS-4
Hasan, Burhanuddin		GG-10	GG-11
Ke, Sinclair H.		GG-8	GG-9
Lindeman, Patricia E.		GS-3	GS-4
Liu, David K.		GG-9	GG-10
McMahon, Maria N.		GS-9	GS-11
Ochaba, Janet L.		GS-3	GS-4
Phan, Vu		GG-9	GG-10
Timcheck, Agnes M.		GS-5	GS-6
Ursteins, Osvalds		GS-11	GS-12
Ziruolo, Delores J.		GS-3	GS-4
	ICS		
Ray, Elizabeth		GS-3	GS-4
Smith, Wilma J.		GS-3	GS-4
	IMS		
Fronczek, Christina A.		GS-4	GS-5
Jowers, Roy B.		GS-11	GS-12
Park, Agnes G.		WB-8	WB-10
	IPS		
Augustin, John W.		GS-12	GS-13
Barezinsky, Paul R.		GS-4	GS-5
Graves, Clyne J.		GS-13	GS-14
Hale, Barbara A.		GS-7	GS-9
	ITV		
Flickinger, Eva M.		GS-5	GS-6
Sollers, Hellane J.		GS-7	GS-9
	IOA		
Baker, Barbara K.		GS-5	GS-7
Edgerton, Bernice G.		GS-5	GS-7
Murdock, Delores H.		GS-4	GS-5
Seemiller, Marie B.		GS-7	GS-9
Webb, John W.		GS-11	GS-12
Wilson, Sandra T.		GS-3	GS-4
	IOS		
Barber, Robert D.		GS-13	GS-14
Taylor, Sarah Jane		GS-4	GS-5
	IAS		
Grigorvich-Barsky, Constantine		GS-13	GS-14
	I/R		
Courtois, Lilyan		GS-6	GS-7
	IRS		
Farah, Winifred T.		GS-12	GS-13
McGee, Loretta A.		GS-3	GS-4
Shimabukuro, Katherine T.		GS-7	GS-9

Transfers from Foreign Service to Domestic Service: Atkinson, Otha R., Bartlett, Arthur

USIS Rio Sponsors Student Cultural Caravan

USIA Rio's Student Affairs Officer James Morad—cognizant of the tendency of Brazilian students to frown on the U.S. culturally—found a project to convince students that the U.S. is in the vanguard of the world's cultural movements.

Shortly after the American painter Adolph Gottlieb won the grand prize at the Sao Paulo Bienal, the international art exhibit that features the major works of modern art from countries throughout the world, he went to Rio. There USIS arranged a discussion with the artist and 50 advanced art students at the National School of Fine Arts. Through Mr. Gottlieb, USIS also presented the school library with a collection of books on American art.

But the real impact project came when USIS invited 36 students from all of the schools at Rio's three major universities to go to Sao Paulo for a week-end to visit the Bienal on a guided tour.

The USIS-chartered bus that took the students to Sao Paulo carried a banner made by the Exhibits Section which said "Student Cultural Caravan sponsored by the American Embassy." Each student was given a packet of reading material, including three books on U.S. music, literature and the theater, and pamphlets.

The project was "immensely successful," believes USIS Rio.

New Media Priorities

(Continued from page 1)

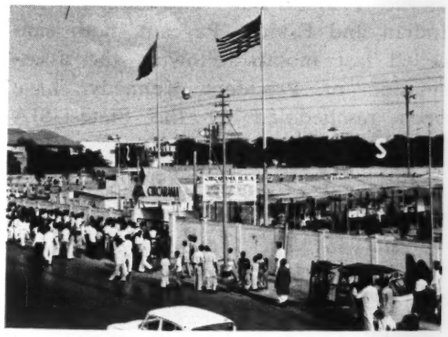
will continue to encourage the settlement of international issues by peaceful means rather than force.

STRENGTH AND RELIABILITY. The United States, matured and tested under the responsibilities of free world leadership, will maintain its strength in all fields to protect its own freedom and to aid in the defense of other free nations against threats to their independence and institutions. The United States can and will keep its commitments to its allies and to other countries.

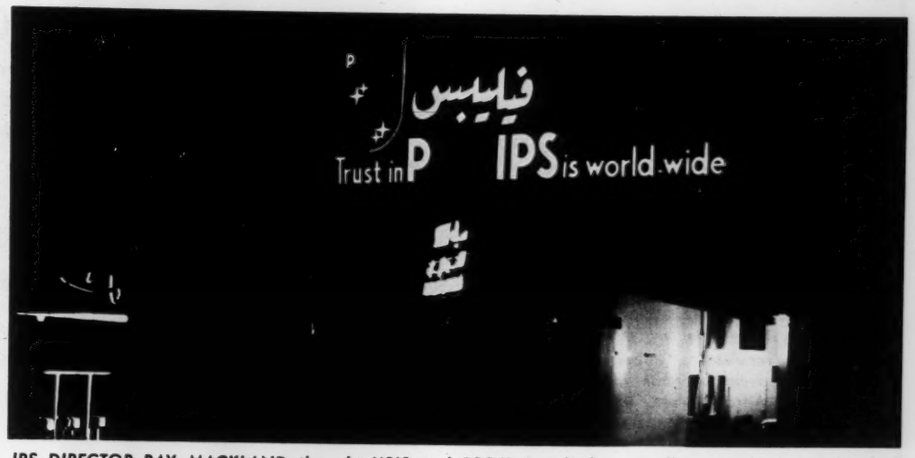
FREE CHOICE. The United States believes in a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future, free to build and change their own systems so long as they do not threaten the freedom of others. We believe in the dignity of the individual, and will continue to help other nations in their efforts to modernize their societies, to resist coercion, and to construct and maintain free institutions.

RULE OF LAW. The fundamental commitment of the United States is to freedom of the individual, of the community, and of the nation under law. This commitment is the hallmark which distinguishes societies of free men from societies where rule is based on privilege and force. Historically, the rule of law was a commitment of the people of the United States to themselves; today it is the cornerstone of both our domestic and international policies. We will continue to work toward perfecting the rule of law at home and encourage its extension to and among all nations.

UNITED NATIONS. The United States will continue its full support of the United Nations, seeking in concert with other countries to strengthen the UN's peacekeeping machinery. It will also continue to support UN functions which assist all free nations, large and small, to maintain their independence and to move toward political, economic, and social justice.



CITIZENS OF KARACHI line up to see Circarama. Some 700,000 saw the films in the USIS circular motion picture theatre with a 360-degree screen in Karachi and Lahore.



IPS DIRECTOR RAY MACKLAND thought USIS and RSC/Beirut had gone all out to welcome him last month when this large, illuminated roadside sign greeted him as he rode from the airport into the city. In reply to his question, he was assured that both USIS and RSC check every detail to make Agency visitors completely at home during their stay in Lebanon. In the case of the electric sign, The Phillips Corp. provided a slight assist. The letters 'HILL' in PHILLIPS did not light this particular night, leaving IPS illuminated in letters four feet high. The Press Service Director was on a month's visit to Bonn, Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Moscow, Cairo, Beirut and Paris to discuss problems related to IPS-produced magazines.

Virginia Sparks Dies

Virginia E. Sparks, an employe management relations specialist for the Agency, died in Washington January 12 of a brain hemorrhage.

Born in Tulsa, Okla., she attended Ohio Wesleyan University and Tulsa University, and worked for the U.S. Employment Service and as an employe counselor for an aircraft company in Tulsa, before joining the Department of State as an employe relations officer in 1944. While with State she went to Belgrade in 1948 with the American Delegation to the Danube Conference.

She transferred to USIA in 1953. Her title gave no indication of the many aspects of her job, official and unofficial. She participated in training programs, both for USIA's Training Division and at the Foreign Service Institute. She developed the procedure for Agency recognition of employes of long service upon their retirement. She coordinated campaigns for the United Givers' Fund, the National Health Agencies, and the Federal Joint Crusade. She was in charge of USIA participation in the Red Cross blood bank, and her persuasive voice lured many busy employes into dropping their chores and rushing to the blood center to answer emergency calls for blood donations.

She was available to all personnel of the Agency to answer or find the answer to questions of all kinds concerning Federal and community rules and regulations. She helped many individuals find places to live, secure emergency loans, arrange medical care for families, or psychiatric counseling. She helped lonely employes make new friends.

A supervisor noted her "unselfish and human activities—over and above the call of duty—which she is constantly performing." A co-worker said simply, "Wherever there was trouble, there Virginia was."

Reed Harris, Executive Assistant to Director Murrow, said "Virginia Sparks, always calm, cheerful and lady-like, gave freely and fully of her time, her thoughts and her energy to help fellow human beings, inside and outside the Federal Government. She already is very much missed by her colleagues and the multitude of people she helped."

She is survived by her father, Virgil K. Sparks, of the home address, 4701 Connecticut Avenue N.W., and a brother, John C. Sparks of Yellow Springs, Ohio.

STATISTICS PROVE USIS LIBRARY POPULAR

Totaling up attendance at the Biblioteca Lincoln, the USIS Library in Buenos Aires, for a recent month, Library Page Carlos Gasquet hazarded a guess that one person a minute had visited the library in that period.

Gasquet decided to put his guess to a test. Statistics for the month showed an attendance total of 17,781. The Library had remained open a total of 23 days, Mondays through Friday, for a period of 11 hours each day, plus three Saturdays for four hours each.

All this totaled 265 hours, or 15,900 minutes—an average of 1.11 persons a minute—making a very good guesser out of Gasquet.

USIA AWARDS FOR SUPERIOR AND MERITORIOUS SERVICE

UDORN PAO GORDON W. MURCHIE (right) receives a Superior Service Award from Bangkok Minister-Counselor Alfred Puhan, while Mrs. Murchie looks on.

USIS VIENTIANE STAFFER Boon Phonesawat receives his Superior Service Award from PAO Gerard M. Gert. Assisting is Field Operations Officer Ivan Klecka.

COLOMBO CAO RICHARD T. ARNDT receives his Meritorious Service Award from Ambassador Frances E. Willis. Looking on is PAO Martin C. Carroll.

USIS RECIFE RADIO-TV SPECIALIST Humberto Lacerda, recipient of the Agency's Meritorious Service Award, interviews Governor Aluisio Alves of Rio Grande do Norte.

POSTS FOCUS ON NEW PRESIDENT *(continued from page 3)*

of the IPS Johnson pamphlet was received and the time paste-ups went to production, with the first batch of pamphlets shipped December 11. The front cover of the January FREE WORLD was changed to a Johnson portrait, and eight pages in the front of the magazine were pulled and material on the new President substituted, stressing the smooth transistion. The pamphlet "Outline of American Government," was updated to include President Johnson.

RSC Mexico distributed an initial priority run of 50,000 copies of the IPS Johnson pamphlet, plus three fast leaflet-texts. The leaflets—the President's talk on the Alliance for Progress, his address to the joint session of Congress, and his UN speech—were especially designed for reproduction on posts' multilith machines from negatives supplied by RSC.

San Jose reported that *La Nacion,* the country's principal newspaper, gave serial publication to RSC Mexico's Spanish version of the Johnson pamphlet.

RSC Beirut printed and shipped by the end of December 175,250 copies in English, Arabic and French of the Johnson pamphlet, with 5,000 copies scheduled in Swahili. Eight pages on the change-over of the Presidency were inserted in AL HAYAT No. 26, which was held from late November and shipped in December with the insert. An eight-page special edition of NEWS REVIEW to wrap around the regular issue was prepared.

AL HAYAT's articles and pictures on President Johnson and his family, distributed as "pilot" material for pamphlets, have been widely utilized in the publications of USIS posts in a score of countries.

USIS Hong Kong's "World Today" sent a special issue featuring President Johnson to more than 100,000 Chinese in countries of the Far East and Southeast Asia.

Tunis PAO John P. Nevins received the following memo from national staffer Anwar Hadid a few days after the death of President Kennedy:

"On behalf of the press section and other USIS employes, and with their full concurrence, may I submit the following for your kind attention.

"In expression of our sharing with our American colleagues and the American people the agony of the tragic loss of their great President, we would like to have all the overtime hours worked during the period Friday night to Tuesday morning considered as volunteered contribution for which we claim no compensation.

"There will be no record of these hours. God help us all."

Polish Press Prints 'America' Photos

Two Poznan periodicals recently reprinted photos from the Polish edition of AMERICA ILLUSTRATED and—what is more unusual—gave credit to the source.

Both periodicals requested permission from the Consultate to reproduce the pictures, and permission was granted on the condition that the source be credited.

The November issue of *Health and Sobriety* used a photo from AI No. 55 as its cover illustration. The editorial board representative who requested the permission said the publication attempts to use only the best photos on its covers, and added that the publication would like to use photos from AMERICA ILLUSTRATED as cover subjects from time to time.

The *Peasant's Newspaper,* a weekly, filled the entire last page of its December 1 issue with photos from the life of President Kennedy—all taken from AI No. 25. The accompanying text also was largely based on the same source. The entire page was presented as an obituary of the assassinated President.

USIA Linguists

(The following employes received S-3 or R-3 or better in world languages, or S-2 or R-2 or better in the difficult languages, in language proficiency tests conducted by the Foreign Service Institute during December. According to the definitions of language proficiency, the rating of "5" indicates educated bilingual competency; the "4" rating indicates the specialist level. The "S" stands for spoken language proficiency; the "R" for reading proficiency.)

Baker, Sandra W.	Spanish	S-3	
Bell, Holly Mack	Spanish	S-3+	R-4
Boyle, James E.	Korean	S-3	R-2+
Bryant, James	Spanish	S-3	
Eisenstadt, Gerd M.	Spanish	S-3	
Ellington, Ben L.	Spanish	S-3+	R-3
Fernandez, Aurelius	German	S-4	R-3+
Flanagan, Lois H.	French		R-3+
Grunwald, Thompson	Spanish	S-3+	
McCully, John D.	Spanish		R-3
Quinn, Eugene F.	French	S-3	R-3
Synodis, Peter N.	Spanish	S-4	R-4
Trattner, John H.	French		R-3
Traub, Daniel	Spanish	S-4	R-3+
Weyl, Michael	Swedish	S-4	R-4+

DSRA RESCHEDULES PRINCESS BALL, INDIAN PAGEANT

The "Princess Ball," and the American Indian and Eskimo Pageant, both cancelled last month following the assassination of President Kennedy, have been rescheduled by the State-USIA Recreation Association.

New date for the Ball ($1.50 for members, $2.50 for anyone else) is February 7. The Indian Pageant (50c for children, $1 for DSRA members and $2 for non-members) will be held March 13 and 14 in New State auditorium. Tickets for either affair are available in Room 614 of "1776," or 610 of Walker-Johnson.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

Oct. 15, 1963

Memo: Ed Murrow

Two items to hasten your return to cure the problems we are creating in your absence:

Latest semi-annual report to Congress & Review of Operations,

Note from N.Y. Post (which Doug Dillon always thought a Commie paper) wishing thee well.

Lowell Bennett

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

20th REPORT TO CONGRESS

January 1 - June 30, 1963

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
Washington, D.C.

To: The Honorable the President of the Senate
The Honorable the Speaker of the House of Representatives

Sirs:

The United States Information Agency is now completing a decade of operations as an independent Agency. In that time it has matured and become an effective instrument to gain overseas understanding and support for our national policies. Its men and women, assigned to 239 posts in 106 countries around the world, are skilled communicators and serve as spokesmen for America.

They employ many techniques of communication to explain the people and policies of the United States to overseas audiences in languages, climates and cultures far different from our own. During the two and a half years as director of USIA, I have found its people to possess professional skills and a degree of dedication unsurpassed either in the Government or the private sector.

We cannot know what the future holds but we can be certain that the ideological confrontation with Communism will continue. USIA is in the front-line of that contest, thus ensuring that our way and our point of view are understood abroad. In this implacable competition I am hopeful that we shall have the backing of the Congress and the people.

The past six months have been marked by many USIA projects and activities that have achieved measurable effect. The Astronaut Cooper shot was fully covered by all media and as a result the flight attained greater dramatic impact than any previous space event. When President Kennedy met with the Central American Presidents, USIA ensured that the meaning of this event received broad and continuing attention.

Overseas officers are working closely with critically important youth and labor groups and are acquainting the world with U.S. scientific achievements. Backing up these activities, and reaching out to audiences behind the Communist curtains, is the electronic power of the Voice of America, which has been doubled. An overseas research program helps guide Agency operations and tailor the output of our media to the needs and interests of a worldwide audience.

A detailed account of this work during the past six months follows.

EDWARD R. MURROW, *Director*

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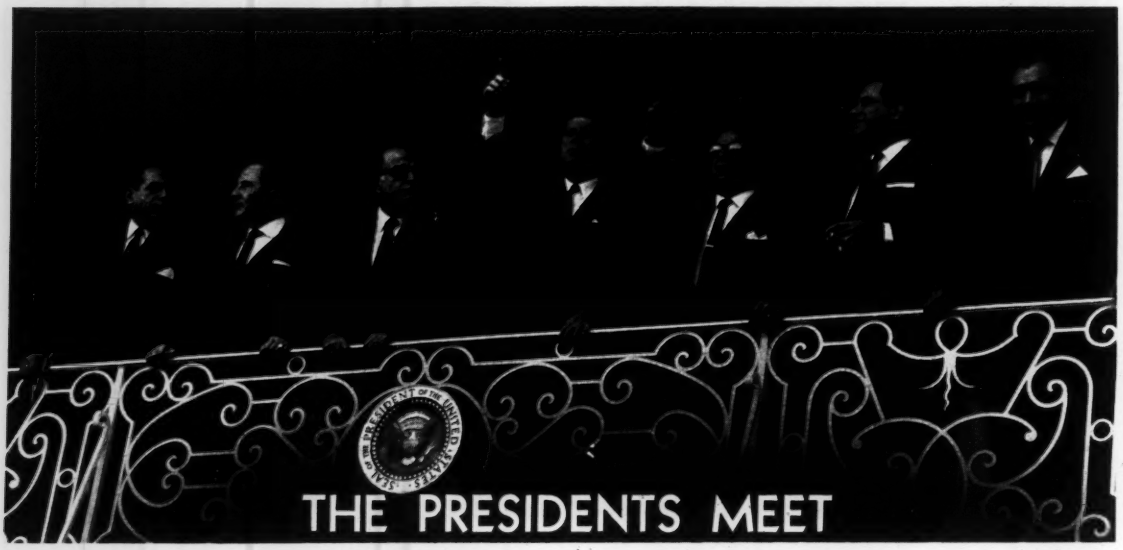


President Kennedy and Six Latin American Presidents Confer In Costa Rica—The Purpose is To Raise Living Standards in Central America—USIA Reporting Supports Conference Aims

CROWDS unprecedented in the history of Central America converged in San Jose, Costa Rica, last March to pay tumultuous tribute to 5 of their Presidents, to the President of Panama, and to John F. Kennedy, President of the United States.

The conference was called to help raise the economic standards of the peoples of the Isthmian countries under the Alliance for Progress. President Kennedy described the meeting as a "search for a better way of life for our peoples."

This meeting of the Presidents, which USIA covered thoroughly, was climaxed by the historic Declaration of Central America, in which the chief executives agreed that economic integration of Central America offers the best hope for improving the well-being of the peoples of that region. Concurrently the 7 Presidents declared that their programs of social and economic betterment depend on reinforcing measures to meet Soviet subversive aggression through Cuba or any other place in the Americas.

Advance preparation by all media of USIA laid the groundwork for smooth and coordinated coverage of the meeting, with a steady outflow of press, radio, motion picture, and television material to all parts of the world. This effort was aimed at assuring the broadest possible popular impact of the conference, at conveying to all strata of Latin American society the importance of the meeting and the hopes for a better future that it sought to realize.

An Agency press coverage team filed some 30 stories from San Jose, including full texts of all important declarations, for servicing in English and other languages via radio-teletype to more than 100 of the Agency's overseas offices, called USIS posts (U.S. Information *Service*). Correspondents covering the meeting were provided with background materials and a press kit prepared in advance. More than 6,000 photographic prints were made in special facilities at the post and dispatched directly to USIS outlets for placement in a great variety and number of overseas publications.

News coverage throughout Central

America and Mexico was thorough, with all leading daily papers giving the story heavy front-page treatment.

The VOICE OF AMERICA team at San Jose produced daily, 20-minute radio programs on the conference in both English and Spanish as well as half-hour summaries each morning and evening. It also transmitted a background study in Spanish on the Central American Common Market with quotes from various dignitaries attending the sessions.

This programing dominated VOA broadcasts to Latin America during the conference, and was used in abbreviated form in reporting to other parts of the world. In addition, VOICE reporters at the meeting prepared many recorded programs which were air-expressed to Agency posts throughout Latin America for placement on local radio stations. Commentaries supplemented the newscasts, and a final half-hour assessment of the meeting was aired twice on March 22 and repeated the following morning.

Twenty thousand feet of motion picture film, that included 3 preconference shows and 10-minute daily summaries of news developments at the sessions, were filmed for showing by TV stations and networks in many countries. A half-hour color documentary, UNITED IN PROGRESS, was produced. It consists of colorful and moving sequences in each of the 5 Central American countries and Panama.

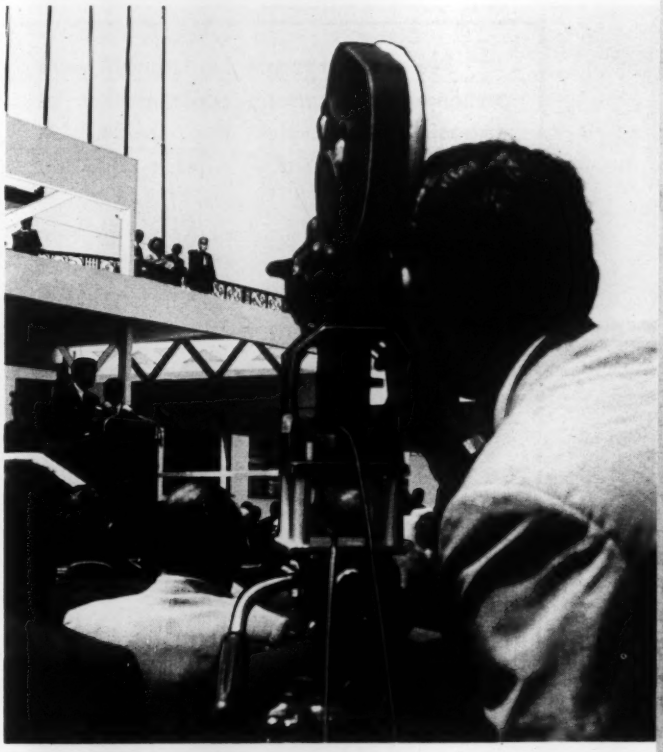
The film concentrates on people, their efforts toward industrialization, progress through self-help, and their close unity with the people of North America. It explores in detail significant aspects of the Central American Common Market and dramatizes the spirit of the Alliance for Progress. This film, one of a series of Agency productions dealing with heads of state, interprets a phase of U.S. foreign policy. It was distributed widely to theaters, libraries, labor unions, schools, and USIS mobile units throughout a major part of Latin America.

A shorter black-and-white film on the conference itself was also produced by USIS Mexico City and sent to all Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America within a week of the closing session.

These results required a great deal of advance preparations:

- Supplies were laid in.
- Round-the-clock working schedules for secretaries, interpreter-escorts, messengers, clerks, and technicians were arranged.
- The USIS staff in San Jose (3 Americans and 9 Costa Ricans) was augmented by personnel from other posts.
- Hotel space and transportation were reserved for the diplomats and communications personnel participating in the meeting.
- Two press centers and a photo laboratory were set up.
- A shuttle plane service was established between San Jose and Panama to speed USIS films and photographs to their destinations.

In addition, cables were strung; platforms for photographers were constructed at 3



USIS cameraman in San Jose records the speech by President Kennedy for film, **United in Progress.**

sites; communications facilities were installed; and quarters for the work crews were reserved.

The USIS officers at the media centers helped American press, radio, and television correspondents in conference accreditation and supplied them with background material. Crises were met hourly during the 3 days of the meeting. Bottlenecks in transportation were overcome; enthusiastic mobs pressing against the ropes toppled the photographers' platform, and necessitated rushing carpenters to the scene for hasty repair work; guards were mounted to protect the valuable film and television equipment. At the USIS offices, a staff steadily filed press stories; dispatched motion pictures and television films; sorted, captioned, and sent out photographs.

Messages from USIS posts showed that the advance preparations paid off. One from Quito, Ecuador, for example, said, "we received filmed television and taped radio coverage daily during the conference, usually within 24 hours . . . This is the best coverage we have ever received on any major event.

Newspaper readers in Istanbul were presented a dramatic confrontation of opposing ideologies this spring. A locally prepared USIS release, entitled *The Choice,* consisted of side-by-side photographs of President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev and captioned with a quotation from public addresses made by both heads of state.

The quote from the President's State of the Union message read:

"We seek not the world-wide victory of one nation or system, but a world-wide victory of man."

The Khrushchev quote was from a speech made the same day in East Germany in which he said:

"The future belongs to Communism. For others—get out of the way. Death is waiting for you."

The coverage was wide: 12 Istanbul newspapers carried *The Choice.*

Some examples of Agency pamphlets distributed in Latin America after the Conference.

We were able to place on local media every bit of the material received."

Through USIA, the world saw and heard the resounding welcome accorded President Kennedy—accompanied by members of the Senate and the House of Representatives—in the Central American capital on March 18. A crowd of 250,000 lined the 3-mile parade route from the airport, waving U.S. and Central American flags and even swarming onto the press buses for a closer look.

From San Jose's National Theater, President Kennedy said: "We will build a wall around Cuba—not a wall of mortar and brick or barbed wire but a wall of dedicated men determined to protect their own freedom and sovereignty . . ." Throughout Latin America, people heard the President declare: "We are confident of our ultimate success in protecting our freedom, in raising living standards of our citizens, of beginning a new era of hope in American history . . ."

Mr. Kennedy was the first American President to speak on a Latin American university campus when he addressed 10,000 students and guests at the University of Costa Rica. His remarks, which included the observation that Cuba is an example of Communism's failure, were spread throughout the world by USIA.

USIA media carried to all points of the globe the specific pledges made by the Presidents in their Declaration of Costa Rica to unify fiscal and social policies, cooperate on export programs, and to institute reforms in agriculture, taxation, education, public administration, and social welfare.

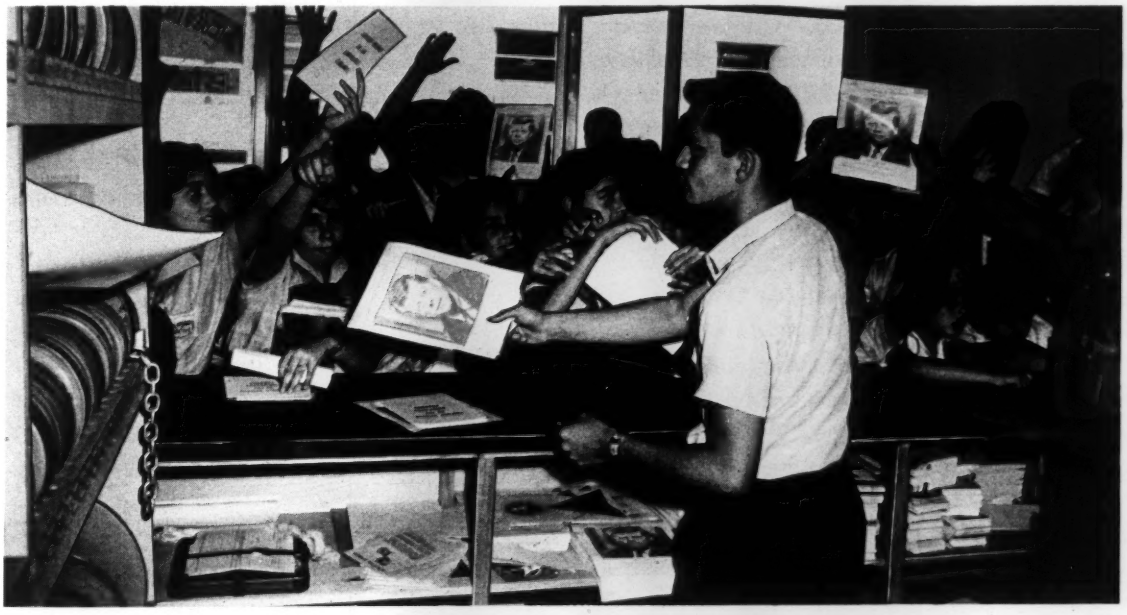
In their Declaration, the Presidents also reaffirmed their support of the principles of the Charter of Punta del Este—the document which set forth the goals of the Alliance for Progress, the 10-year cooperative program aimed at speeding economic and social development in the Western Hemisphere.

A number of meetings and seminars were subsequently organized in various cities of Central America to follow through with the recommendations made at the Conference.

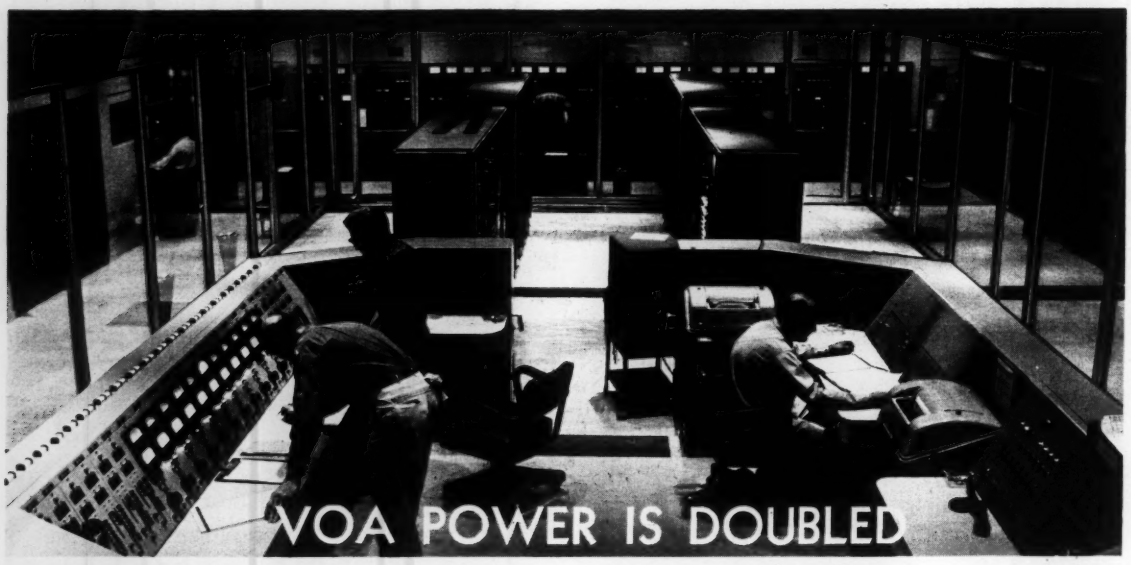
The President's June 11 speech to the Nation on civil rights was reported worldwide by all media. Far East and Latin America broadcasts of the *Voice*, on the air at the time, carried the message live. Broadcasts to other areas repeated extensive excerpts as they came on the air.

The full text was transmitted by radioteletype to 111 posts the same evening for distribution to all the news media, important government officials and others. The 3 USIA regional printing plants at Manila, Beirut, and Mexico City reproduced it as a leaflet in various languages. A color film was made and excerpts were dispatched by air for newsreel and TV showings throughout the free world.

The Agency has a continuing responsibility of supporting the Government's foreign policy objectives. Handling of the President's June 11 speech is a good example of the way in which it carries out this mission.



The USIS office in San Jose satisfies a brisk demand for photos, films and printed materials during the Meeting of the Presidents in March which captured enthusiastic popular attention.



North Carolina Transmitter Multiplies Voice of America to Power of 96 Strongest U.S. Radio Stations—Overseas Posts Report Fine Reception—A Quarter Billion Radio Sets Abroad

"MORE peoples in many new lands will now hear . . . the voice of this country, the VOICE OF AMERICA," President Kennedy said at the dedication of the world's most powerful long-range radio transmitter in Greenville, N.C., on February 8, 1963.

The new complex doubles the shortwave power of the U.S. Information Agency's global radio network and so will enhance the volume and clarity of broadcasts to Latin America, Europe, and Africa. Its output of 4,800,000 watts equals the 96 strongest U.S. commercial radio stations; the last decade's great electronic advances have been applied in its construction.

The President's prediction was soon fulfilled. Messages from areas in Africa, Europe, and Latin America, where VOA reception had been spotty, were unanimous in reporting that the new signal from Greenville was of excellent quality. Sample cables:

- Rabat, Morocco: "Coming in clear as a bell, almost booming in . . . at least holds its own with Moscow, the British, Monte Carlo and other powerful transmitters heard locally." Belgrade, Yugoslavia: "Signal clearly above normal levels."
- Amsterdam, the Netherlands: "I heard you for the first time . . . with excellent reception." Hamburg, Germany: "Greenville has improved our reception 1,000 percent." Mushin, Nigeria: "Please accept my high commendation for the very unbeatable and perhaps unequaled broadcasts . . ."
- Moscow University: "Here in Moscow the program is clearly heard." An Indonesian student in Moscow reported: "I hear the VOICE OF AMERICA every day in my room." Montevideo, Uruguay: "Sometimes it seems as if the transmitter station were across the street . . . signal excellent."
- Rio de Janeiro: "All bands loud and clear . . . anticipate rapidly expanding audience." USIS in Rio reported Greenville strength as high as 90 decibels, the highest measurement ever recorded on VOA broadcasts to Latin America. Leopoldville, the Congo: "Able to tune in without difficulty. It was particularly gratifying to hear the big signal . . . often the top station on the band."

Technical radio monitors in Belgrade and Vienna said the Greenville signals are the only ones from the United States that could be relied on in the early morning and afternoon.

Since the inception of the new complex, VOA relay stations in both Europe and Africa have been choosing Greenville signals for relay when they have been available. The Monrovia relays in Liberia and on the Island of Rhodes are now using Greenville 75 percent of the time.

At the end of May the Associated Press reported from Havana that "despite constant 'jamming' on mediumwave lengths, the VOICE OF AMERICA broadcasts reach thousands of listeners here who own shortwave receivers." The dispatch further stated that "apparently overwhelmed by their power and number, Cuban authorities seemed to have given up 'jamming' the VOA shortwave broadcasts in Spanish." The report said that jamming seemed effective only in the Havana area and that Castro himself recently hinted "that good reception of U.S. radio stations in Mantanzas Province had something to do with unrest in that area."

Spanish- and Mandarin-speaking VOA announcers describe "live" a Cape Canaveral rocket launching to wide audiences abroad.

The Soviet Union stopped jamming *Voice of America* broadcasts in Russian and U.S.S.R. minority and Baltic languages on June 19, 1963. VOA shortwave signals now can be clearly heard by audiences throughout a large part of the Soviet Union.

The Russians have tried to jam VOA programs since 1948 except in late 1959 and early 1960, and the 1963 cessation, which continued at the end of the reporting period.

To minimize interference with Radio Moscow's domestic broadcasts, VOA cut the nighttime power of its Munich longwave megawatt transmitter. The mediumwave transmitter there continues to operate at full power of 300 kilowatts, providing good reception.

Completion of the Greenville Complex is not the only step taken to strengthen the signal of the VOICE OF AMERICA.

Relay stations at Dixon and Delano in California and at Bethany, Ohio, are being modernized. RIAS, the Agency's station in Free Berlin, has been equipped with new antennas to permit a fivefold increase in nighttime power for broadcasts to East Germany.

The power of 6 transmitters, leased by the Voice from the British Broadcasting Corp. at Woofferton in England, is being increased 5 times to 250,000 watts each.

Work is progressing on a major relay station outside Monrovia in Liberia. It will be powered by six 250,000-watt and two 50,000-watt transmitters. Pending its completion, the area south of the Sahara is being serviced by three 50,000-watt shortwave transmitters, all air transportable, installed in Monrovia early in the year.

One other USIA transportable transmitter, also 50,000 watts in strength, has been broadcasting in Spanish to Cuba by medium wave from Marathon Key, about 25 miles off the coast of Florida.

More effective land-based transmitters

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are replacing those aboard the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Courier,* now anchored in the Mediterranean harbor of Rhodes.

In addition to its shortwave transmitters, the VOICE operates 7 medium and longwave transmitters. Three of these are megawatt units, located at Munich, in the Philippines and on Okinawa, and are among the most powerful in the world.

Agreements have been signed with the Governments of both Greece and the Philippines which, contingent upon Congressional appropriations, will strengthen VOICE broadcasts throughout the Balkans and the eastern half of the Asian continent.

Project Gamma in Thessaloniki, Greece, calls for the installation and operation of ten 250,000-watt shortwave and one 150,000-watt mediumwave transmitters. Project Bamboo in the Philippines will consist of ten 250,000-watt shortwave transmitters. This installation will be distinct from the present complex in the Philippines where the VOICE currently is operating a 1,000,000-watt medium-wave, two 100,000-watt shortwave, two 35,000-watt shortwave, as well as a complex of communications transmitters.

USIS studios located at a number of places in the Far East record new programs for local use.

The operation of the Greenville plant requires about 100 employees, working around the clock to transmit programs abroad at peak listening times in various areas. A receiver site and 2 transmitter locations occupy 6,192.9 acres near Greenville on North Carolina's coastal plain.

This location has these advantages:

- Favorable electronic and engineering conditions
- Remoteness from other communications service reduces the possibility of interference
- Great amounts of electric power available locally
- Terrain suitable for the type of construction employed.

The complex will cost $2,450,000 a year to operate, which will be offset somewhat by retiring obsolete transmitters at Wayne, N.J., and Brentwood and Schenectady, N.Y.

Greenville is the strongest single link in the VOICE OF AMERICA'S shortwave network. The complex includes six 500,000-watt transmitters and several smaller units, and 95 directional antennas.

The new receiving station, separated from the transmitting stations to prevent interference, is a reinforced-concrete-and-glass structure built along contemporary lines. Its most conspicuous features are the transmitting antennas and the imposing microwave tower which receives programs prepared in the Washington studios of the VOICE.

Inside the building, the master control presents a fantastic array of lights, switches, and dials. The receiver room contains long banks of receivers in 8-foot cabinets, and the

In June, various organs of the Soviet Communist Party voiced growing and vituperative concern at the effectiveness of USIA. ***Trud,*** the official labor organ, described the Agency as "a perfect example of an instrument for poisoning the minds of the people with deceitful propaganda." The principal journal of the Central Committee, ***Kommunist,*** charged that USIA "uses the entire arsenal of the means of mass influence over the minds of men." ***Komsomolskaya Pravda,*** the daily mentor of Soviet Communist youth, called Agency officers in Africa "specialists in the psychological seasoning and the ideological corruption of the population." That was not all.

On June 9, ***Radio Moscow*** lamented that USIA "provokes sleepless nights in Socialist countries."

In the Soviet Plenum in late June, Party First Secretary Leonid Ilichov told his audience that "Western imperialists have seen the folly of relying on military or economic superiority to subdue the Socialist world and have instead turned to psychological and ideological warfare."

Komsomolskaya Pravda, in an earlier article, contended that USIA efforts were doomed to failure because "it seeks to discredit in the eyes of the people the great ideas of Communism and to beautify by ideological cosmetics the disgusting face of Capitalism."

teletype room has a battery of intricate equipment and communications receivers. Since the building is somewhat isolated, it is also outfitted with a kitchen, food storage space, a dining hall, and working offices.

The 2 transmitter sites are of complementary modern functional architecture. Dominating the scene are huge orange-and-white "curtain antennas" which soar some 400 feet above the ground. One of these twin

VOA technical monitors, assigned to key listening points around the world, regularly evaluate the quality of ***Voice of America*** shortwave programs. They employ instruments that approximate the reception of an ordinary radio set in the area to determine the strength and clarity of the Agency broadcasts. Shown above is the team on the Island of Formosa monitoring a signal.

plants went on the air in December of 1962, the other began operations early in 1963.

Each building has three 500,000-watt, three 250,000-watt, and three 50,000-watt transmitters, which flank the master control console on a central dais. A massive radio switchgear structure, armored in aluminum, is a striking addition to the transmitter building itself. This unit stands 3 stories high and covers an area about one-third the size of a football field. It houses 55 switching modules, which connect and switch the 9 transmitters to the proper antennas to aim the particular program at its target area of the world. Offices, machine shops, and facilities for milling, antenna rigging, and testing and repairing of electronic equipment complete these installations.

At the close of the reporting period the VOICE was broadcasting a total of 789 hours weekly in 36 languages directly from Washington studios via strategically located relay

transmitters. In addition, some 14,000 hours a week of programs were prepared in VOICE studios and mailed by air to more than 5,000 local overseas stations. These were broadcast on mediumwave in more than 60 languages to immense audiences, and in many instances without attribution to USIA.

Recent Agency surveys show a 15-percent increase in the number of radio receiving sets overseas to a new high of over a quarter billion, and an increase of more than 25 percent in the aggregate number of listeners to the VOICE OF AMERICA—this within the past year.

The Far East registered the most dramatic increase in the number of receivers—61 percent—with the number rising from 31,-115,600 to 50,218,000. This was mainly because of a rise of almost 100 percent in Japan where sets in use jumped from 15,802,400 to 31,169,000.

In non-Arab Africa an increase of over 36 percent was noted as the total of sets rose from 3,230,300 to 4,390,000. Latin America gained more than 16 percent—from 26,273,-800 to 30,617,000.

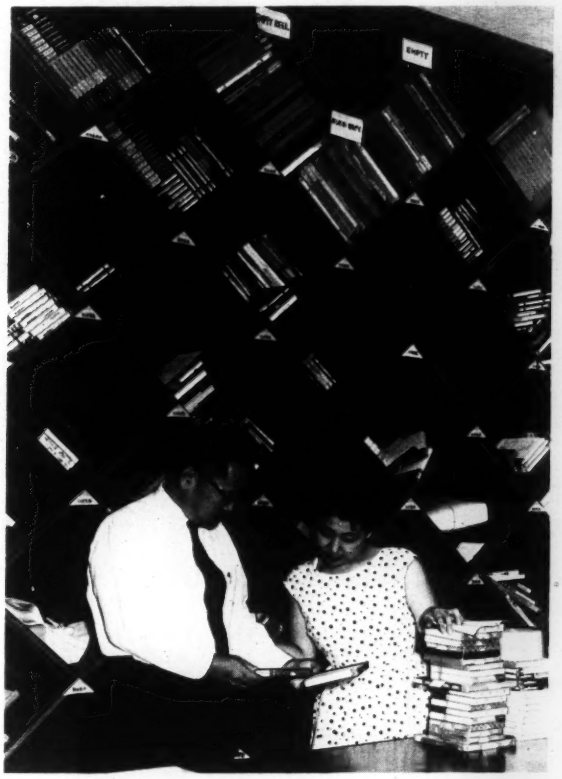
The VOICE periodically solicits listener response to broadcasts to determine the size and composition of its audiences. Reactions by mail to regular programs are requested, together with data such as name, address, age, education and occupation, all of which is useful in program planning.

Following a recent request for such information, 35,000 listeners in Latin America replied, including 1,500 from isolated Cuba. Similar broadcasts in Portuguese brought 11,-000 replies from Brazil and announcements in Arabic resulted in over 5,000 from widely scattered points.

These responses have provided a clearer picture of the typical VOICE listener and his program preferences. He tends to be in the 18–30 age group; he is a student, either at a formal educational institution or in a home study course; he listens to many foreign political broadcasts.

In addition, these audience reactions serve other purposes: they provide contacts for Agency officers abroad; they yield valuable information on signal clarity in areas where USIA has no monitoring station; they indicate the times of day when most people listen to radio; they show which types of programs are most widely appreciated.

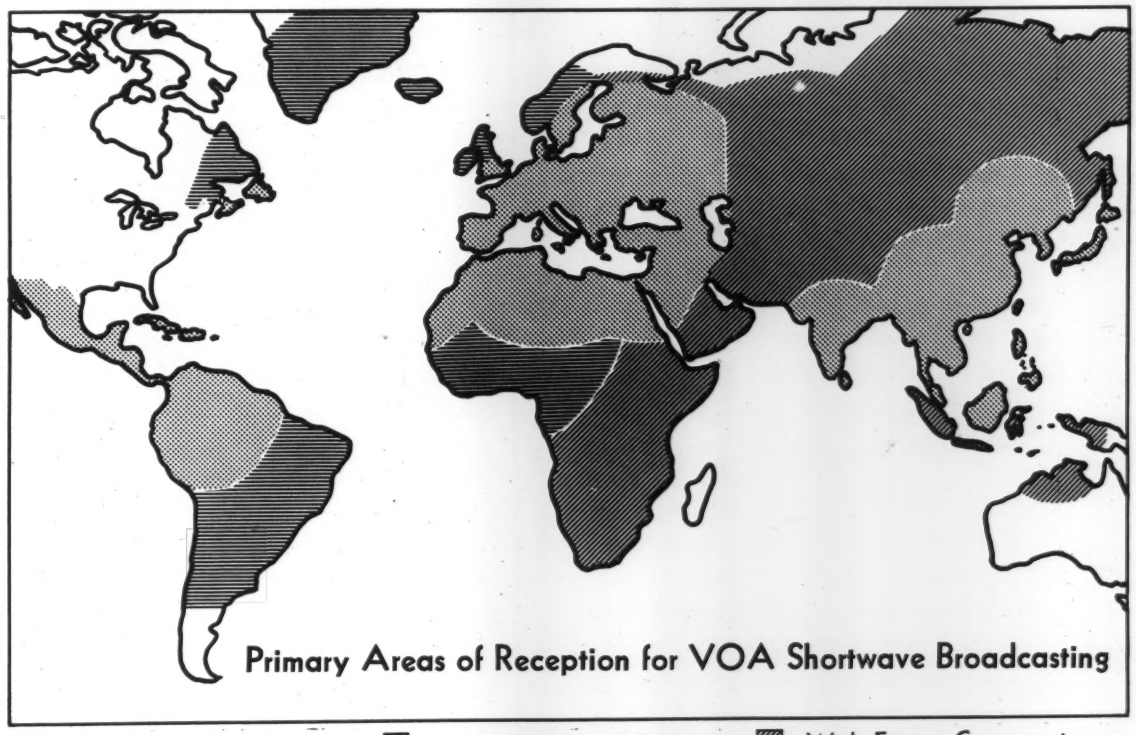
Voice of America field unit interviews Vietnamese villagers on resettlement program which is aimed to protect them and their families against the depredations of Communist guerrillas.



Each week hundreds of hours of taped programs are distributed to Japanese stations.

It is estimated that between 17 and 26 million people listen to the ***Voice*** on an average day and about twice that many during the average week. In times of international stress or when a big story breaks, such as a space shot, the audience increases dramatically. The worldwide USIA English broadcasts are heard by an estimated 5 million people daily, with the remainder of the total listenership spread among the broadcasts in 35 other languages. In the Communist world, the number who tune in the ***Voice*** is roughly calculated at 5 to 10 million daily and twice that many in an average week.

These audience estimates are quoted in ranges to avoid the spurious impression of precision. Nevertheless, they are based on data from several reliable indices, such as unsolicited mail. In the first half of 1963 VOA received more than 50,000 letters from listeners in all areas of the world.



Primary Areas of Reception for VOA Shortwave Broadcasting

On January 1, 1963 — With Greenville Relay — With Future Construction

IMPACT OF AN ASTRONAUT

USIA Prepares Detailed Coverage of Cooper Flight—Global Placement of All Materials is Result—VOA on Air 36 Hours Non-Stop—Record Overseas Radio Audience Listens, Thrilled

World attention was riveted on the 2-day orbital space feat of Astronaut Gordon Cooper in May. USIA communications media worked around the clock to recount the dramatic event and explain its significance to one of the largest overseas audiences in history.

Why this great effort? Survey research overseas showed that many people believed that the Soviets were ahead of the Americans in space. The Agency was determined to help dispose of this misconception by getting across the full story of a major feat.

The Voice of America was on the air with the story continuously for 36 hours—a new milestone in its lifetime and a first in the history of broadcasting. The normal 4-hour-a-day transmission of the Agency's Wireless File, a news service that is described fully on page 25, was extended to 18 hours to recount the running story.

Two Voice teams provided the bulk of this coverage, 1 at Cape Canaveral and the other in the Washington studios. Their work was augmented by special reports on overseas reaction from VOA reporters stationed around the world, other correspondents, interviews with Congressional leaders, and background material voiced by 3 NASA officials who worked in shifts around the clock. At Cape Canaveral, teams of VOA reporters broadcast live coverage in English, Russian, French, German, Spanish, and Malay.

For its continuous 36-hour English-language coverage, the Voice employed the largest radio network ever assembled, with 55 transmitters at strategic points around the globe and a total power output of 5,673,000 watts, equal to the aggregate power of 113 of the largest U.S. standard radio stations.

It was estimated that the event drew the largest overseas radio audience in all history. Direct feeds were made by Voice of America to the national networks of Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iran, Israel, the Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, and many African countries. In addition, individual stations throughout the free world were supplied by air with a total of 3,235 reels of tape recordings from both English and foreign language VOA programs, a production output

which kept 55 high-speed tape recorders fully occupied during the peak period—turning out some 730 miles of taped programs.

Compared with the previous orbit, twice as many stations abroad picked up and rebroadcast VOA's running account of the Cooper flight. In Latin America alone, 230 stations in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, El Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela rebroadcast on mediumwave the Spanish and Portuguese newscasts.

Regular VOA programs in 35 foreign languages were supplanted by the space story. An average of 80 percent of all air time during this period dwelt with the Cooper shoot. Each program as it went on the air at prime listening time summarized what had happened to date and then reported the events actually taking place. Listeners to programs in Laos and Thailand, for example, were able to hear live broadcasts in their own languages of both Cooper's launch and recovery.

A half-hour TV program about Astronaut Cooper had been preshipped to posts abroad. Copies of a world map in color, on which the paths of the planned 22 orbits were traced, updated a 7-panel full color exhibit called U.S. ASTRONAUT ORBITS EARTH, which had been sent in advance of the shoot.

In Leopoldville crowds waited outside the USIS library for bulletins issued every hour on the progress of Astronaut Gordon Cooper.

The Agency's TV service also provided coverage to networks and stations around the world and sequences were included in PANORAMA PANAMERICANO, the weekly news and feature show presented at peak viewing times in 48 Latin American cities.

A 10-minute film, PROFILE: GORDON COOPER was quickly released to 500 theaters abroad. Additionally, a 6-minute edited version was sent to newsreel theaters in 36 countries, and included in the Agency's monthly news magazine, TODAY, shown in some 2,400 African theaters.

The Agency's printing plants in Manila, Beirut, and Mexico City, along with many individual posts, produced leaflets and pamphlets dealing with the flight, the Mercury program, the preparations for the event, and the training of the astronaut. Thousands of color pictures of Cooper were mailed to posts where they were used as covers for a pamphlet telling the story of the flight and distributed within 24 hours after Cooper completed his historic and brilliant feat.

The advance preparations and actual coverage by the Agency's press service were equally intensive. As early as February, advance material was shipped to all posts overseas to be translated and adapted locally for placement in a variety of publications on the date of the launching.

The Agency dispatched photographs to 148 posts in advance, and color transparencies to 26. Approximately 3,000 newspapers without engraving facilities were given plastic plates of a Cooper portrait to hold for use at the time of the flight. Newspapers equipped for color printing were supplied sets of proofs from which color plates could be made by the ordinary engraving method, thus eliminating the expensive color separation process. The Agency's continuity strip, IT'S A FACT, was used to tell the story of the astronaut's training and projected flight plans. This strip is published by some 800 overseas newspapers in a great many countries.

A dozen full-length articles about the astronauts and their preparations for the fourth orbital flight were distributed. Thir-

teen additional articles, drawn from the authoritative writings and speeches of U.S. scientists and officials, and spanning the whole range of space projects, were sent overseas for use in broadening the impact and understanding of the flight.

The Agency transmitted 77 flight reports, totaling more than 24,000 words, by radio-teletype on the Wednesday and Thursday that Cooper was in orbit.

An exhibit on U.S. space exploration, emphasizing the benefits of international cooperation, toured Japan in the spring under the sponsorship of *Mainichi*, a leading newspaper, which also gave wide publicity to the 7,500-square-foot presentation. Models, panels, animated devices and USIS films highlighted the exhibit. Features of the show became the subject of talks at vocational and adult schools, and on educational TV network programs seen throughout the nation.

Posts abroad reported enthusiastically about use made of the full and speedy coverage. Ankara signalled: "Thanks for the exceptionally fast Cooper coverage which enabled USIS to dominate front pages of all Turkish papers." USIS Bonn cabled: "Our German output based on this file was heavily used by DPA (German Press Agency) and thereby distributed by teletype nation-wide."

The post at Sao Paulo reported: "Placed 2,644 column inches of 84 items plus 65 photos, most on front pages or first inside. Several full pages of USIS material." USIS Rome said: "Speedy, complete coverage Cooper flight . . . wrap-ups, chronology particularly useful. Most gratifying press utilization of text and pix material."

Far East posts reported equally heavy play on the story. Canberra said: "Australian interest high in Cooper flight. Media giving story very extensive coverage." Manila wrote that each of 4 papers front-paged a different color picture of Cooper, supplied by USIS, before the launch. Tokyo related that the story "commanded the front pages of all editions and spilled over onto the inside pages of some." Wellington stated that its placement of material on press, radio, and TV resulted in an alltime-high favorable audience reaction, and that "lights burned brightly in most New Zealand homes until the wee hours of morning" as thousands listened to VOA and NZBC all-night transmissions that described in detail the spectacular feat.

From Phnom Penh came the report that Radio Cambodia's interest in the flight exceeded expectations and even more material was requested. Seoul said that the flight coincided with a Korean national holiday and that thousands of viewers saw the USIS exhibit in the City Hall plaza where local army teams were putting on a military drill. It added that crowds continued to pack sidewalks and streets in front of the USIS library late at night watching an exhibit of Faith 7. Large-scale photographic enlargements featuring orbits over Korea and Japan and photos of Astronaut John Glenn telephoning Cooper also captivated the crowds.

USIS Hong Kong reported "saturation coverage," with material placed in 22 local papers, 3 radio stations, and 19 TV stations. The post also arranged a downtown exhibit, coverage by the leading magazine, stories and pictures in 36 Chinese papers outside Hong Kong, along with a half-hour film on TV and at the USIS auditorium. "Most dramatic here," it concluded, "was the live relay of VOA broadcast over Radio Hong Kong and commercial radio while Cooper was still in orbit—replacing scheduled broadcasts."

Bangkok reported "great interest and excited suspense evinced by Thai press, radio TV, and public" regarding the flight. The USIS press section was besieged by telephone calls from local papers for the latest news. During the flight it reported that "7 Thai radio stations broke all precedent by broadcasting USIS bulletins every half hour in disregard of their regularly scheduled shows." The Chinese radio editor spent 2 nights, it added, "broadcasting highlights of the flight

Crowds converged on the USIS space communication post in La Paz during the suspenseful flight.

over the only Chinese-language radio outlet that exists in Thailand."

In Latin America, Agency radio, TV, exhibits, and press materials were widely used. As the astronaut's re-entry time approached, crowds gathered in front of a USIS downtown office in Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic, to view a special exhibit, follow teletyped dispatches displayed in the windows, and hear a special VOICE Spanish broadcast over loudspeakers in the street. An excited laborer made an emotional speech saying that this was clear evidence of the difference between the U.S. and Russian way of doing things. "Here we are in Santo Domingo, in front of the cultural and information section of the U.S. Embassy, listening to every step of this flight and hearing about difficulties with automatic controls," he said. "We know this is really true. How do we know the Russians really sent somebody up there?" The crowd enthusiastically applauded.

Saturation coverage by all media was reported by posts throughout Bolivia and resulted in what was described by USIS La Paz as "a positive identification of Bolivian public opinion with a major Western effort." The post reported "the Cooper flight thus became the pride and delight of Bolivians. Burning kerosene pots, stretched for a mile along the slopes of a mountain adjacent to La Paz, and visible to everyone in the city, spelled out the words, *"Cooper en Orbita. Salud."*

Equally intensive interest in the flight and the use of USIS-supplied materials by all media was the pattern throughout the Near East and South Asia.

Jordan's King Hussein telephoned USIS Amman to ask that his congratulations be relayed to President Kennedy. The King said that he had stayed glued to his radio during the last hours of the flight and that he had not gone to bed until the re-entry at 1:25 a.m., local time, and he called the U.S. achievement "wonderful, simply wonderful."

All USIS posts in India reported that news coverage far exceeded that of previous orbital flights. Hundreds of phone calls with questions and congratulations clogged switchboards. The Government of India's central telephone exchange in New Delhi told USIS that its own special service section was unable

to handle the calls, so the post rushed over a full file of releases and other informational materials to the exchange. Record interest was evinced throughout India at USIS exhibits and window displays. Editorials and columns were replete with phrases such as "copybook flight," "pinpoint landing," "man's triumph," and "magnificent flight."

The USIS teletype operator in Colombo, Ceylon, received a call from a maternity hospital soon after the launch. The caller wanted confirmation that the flight was underway and said he was "just blessed with a son and was going to name him Cooper."

In Africa, interest was also widespread. USIS Salisbury reported extremely high curiosity on the part of the general public and all media. The Federal Broadcasting network of Rhodesia remained on the air for 2 days to carry the full VOICE relay and the Cooper message to Africa. All papers ran headlines and photos. THE DAILY NEWS stationed one of its own editors in the USIS newsroom to expedite relay of Wireless File materials. Crowds attended a special film showing and an exhibit at a specially constructed Space Information Center.

More than 12,000 people congregated at a special ceremony in Nairobi to await the astronaut's message to Africa. When direct transmission via the Zanzibar tracking station failed owing to atmospheric conditions, a VOICE recording of the message was broadcast to the highly enthusiastic gathering.

In Leopoldville, crowds surrounded the USIS Center and an office building where the post mounted picture displays, broadcast recordings of the launching, and posted periodic bulletins of progress during the orbits. Five thousand Congolese also gathered in the suburbs to see films of the astronaut and to hear French- and Lingala-language broadcasts of the flight. In Bamako the government radio broadcast the text of the Cooper message to African leaders and the Mali newspaper, L'ESSOR, carried an unprecedented 3-column picture story with photographs and text supplied by USIS. THE VOICE OF ETHIOPIA, an English-language daily in Addis Ababa, congratulated the astronaut editorially for his achievement and front-paged his message to the African leaders, as did the English-language ETHIOPIAN HERALD and the largest Amharic daily, ADDIS ZEMEN.

From Monrovia, a message was received that VOA was being heard loud and clear in Liberia. Abidjan on the Ivory Coast, Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika, Pretoria in South Africa, and Fort Lamy in Chad all reported heavy usage by local papers and radio

Chinese visitors thronged a USIS outdoor exhibit, shown in Taipei at the time of the event.

stations of USIS materials and laudatory editorials on the space achievement of Cooper.

USIS Athens reported tremendous interest in Greece and said that photo displays at 5 information centers stopped sidewalk traffic there; a similar exhibit at the USIS library in Thessaloniki created a traffic jam. In Cyprus, the Greek-, Turkish-, and English-language papers gave headline play to the story. Similar coverage was reported from Cairo, Kabul, Teheran, Taiz, and Tel Aviv.

"He Is Up Above" was the headline in a popular West Berlin daily. For more than 2¼ million people there, and the rest of Western Europe, no further identification was needed for Astronaut Cooper. From Rome to London, Oslo to Paris, all media hailed the flight. As the SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT in Berlin editorialized:

"The free world has a front row seat whenever an American astronaut is lifted into orbit. Instant and open communication will tell the world the results of an American space venture, be it successful or not, the moment the results are known."

USIS London distributes a special science packet monthly to selected newsmen, authors, researchers, and libraries. It consists of material from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other American scientific organizations, and it includes detailed findings of experiments and achievements.

The post also produces ***Science Horizons,*** a monthly magazine with a circulation of 7,500. Single copies are eagerly sought after by writers, editors, libraries, science teachers, students and other interested people.

LABOR INFORMATION STRESSED

Latin American Labor Welcomes USIS Advisers—The Agency Emphasizes Development of Free Unions as a Bulwark of Democracy—USIA Programs Tailored To Fill Special Needs

NINE USIS labor information specialists are assigned to Latin American countries where they have established a rapport with labor unions and workers that continues to expand and solidify. An important part of their mission is to help realize the goals of the Alliance for Progress. In the short time these officers have been on their assignments, a number of Latin American labor organizations have applauded their efforts.

The new officers contrast the freedom and strength of U.S. labor with the frustrations and impressment of workers under Communism, and they highlight the opportunities for improving living standards that can result from the Alliance for Progress. These men are now working in 9 countries, namely Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The officers sent to Latin America were chosen on the basis of special qualifications for the job. Five came from the U.S. trade union movement, 2 were labor reporters, and 2 had long experience in the Agency. All were trained in languages. They also received instruction in specific problems they would confront at their new posts; the Agency's labor adviser supervised this part of their training with the cooperation of specialists in the Departments of State and Labor.

Labor conditions in Latin America are extremely diverse. In some heavily industrialized areas, unions and collective bargaining prevail. In others, the labor force consists principally of peasants and rural workers, with low literacy, low living standards, and meager experience with organizations.

USIS labor advisers, with the collaboration of State Department Labor Attachés, establish contacts with the labor leaders in their areas. They also work with host Government officials and employees. Some of their other responsibilities are to—

- Supply labor magazines with materials
- Publish newspapers of their own
- Distribute Agency pamphlets
- Show films at labor gatherings
- Place American labor news on local radio and TV stations

They not only clearly document the achievements of American labor, but they also expose the hollow claims of what the Com-

munists say they have done for workers around the world. They are well supplied with materials to document their case.

The labor advisers' efforts have borne fruit. In Caracas, the USIS Information Officer, who for a time doubled as the U.S. Embassy's Labor Attaché, was presented with an award by the National Association of Employees, one of Venezuela's leading labor organizations, in recognition of his "constant collaboration and spirit of labor in the trade union struggle of our organization."

In Buenos Aires, top officials of the Confederacion General del Trabajo, Argentina's most influential labor organization, which comprises some 100 affiliates, formally offered USIS and the American Embassy "our fullest cooperation in your work in our republic," and hailed "a new epoch of friendly relations" between them. The Confederacion added: "we sincerely hope that the interchange of information and opinions will not be limited only to correspondence, but that personal conversations can be the cause of improving the relations between all countries, and particularly with the nation you represent."

When La Paz celebrated Labor Day on May 1, USIS produced a number of stories for the newspapers and tapes for the local radio stations. El Diario, one of the leading newspapers, carried stories about American labor and the trade union movement. These pieces were reprinted in 40,000 copies and distributed to labor unions, schools, universities, the police, and government offices throughout Bolivia. Two USIA articles were front-paged by Ultima Hora; El Diario carried editorials on 2 successive days; and the radio programs Cronica Liberal and Cronica Dominical, broadcast USIS stories over 42 stations throughout the country.

Where USIA does not have its own labor specialists, public affairs officers and information officers work closely with the U.S. diplomatic mission's Labor Attachés.

In addition to personal contacts, the Agency employs all of its media to project the story of American labor. A staff member of the press service is responsible for keeping in touch with labor news sources and for sending news to overseas posts. A typical story: the study of cooperative training programs, including the apprenticeship and retraining of workers who have lost their jobs because of automation. Another, called From Coal Face to Kilowatts, was an account of the

An exhibit on American unions in Calcutta.

changes in the way labor is used in an automated West Virginia mine.

In the Far East, the labor movement varies from the highly organized, economically and politically important groups in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, to union activities that have barely started in the developing countries. A number of stages of organized labor development are sandwiched between these extremes.

USIS programs in the Far East reflect these conditions by being designed, in both direction and content, to meet specific local labor situations. Allowing for this variety, selective use is made of Agency media output, including written materials, exhibits, and radio and television films, to acquaint local labor with the free trade union movement in the United States. Political, economic, and social developments in the United States of interest to labor are also brought to the attention of local labor audiences to assist them in developing their organizations.

Exchanges of American and foreign labor leaders and specialists have been used to increase personal contacts and to improve local knowledge of the United States and its labor

movement. Such exchanges have also been valuable sources of information used by the Agency in preparing materials for Far East distribution. This information is also employed by field posts in originating their own labor programs and materials.

A monthly labor packet of press and periodical materials is distributed worldwide. The February issue was devoted exclusively to the Department of Labor's 50th anniversary. The feature article was by Secretary Wirtz on HOW THE LABOR DEPARTMENT SERVES THE PEOPLE. Another by Assistant Secretary George Weaver told about the Department's role in international affairs. The packet also contained articles on the history and growth of the Department of Labor and the activities of its major bureaus.

Here are some samples of articles in the labor packet:

- THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF NEGROES IN THE U.S., published by the Department of Labor
- EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES UNION MADE, a pamphlet by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which describes the union's activities
- TRAINING FOR JOBS, a report of occupational education under the U.S. Area Redevelopment Act
- An analysis of a typical United Auto Workers' contract.

Texts of all important official statements in the labor field were also regularly distributed abroad in translation: President Kennedy's address at the 50th anniversary dinner of the Labor Department on March 4; Secretary Wirtz' speech on the proposed Federal tax reduction and reforms; the AFL–CIO resolution from its annual executive council meeting on the need for strong Atlantic partners. The Wireless File followed closely the settlement of the New York dockworkers' strike and the New York newspaper strike. It would, of course, cover any major development in labor relations, especially with any international overtones, and particularly if American unions were involved.

LABOR NOTES is a weekly column prepared by the Agency for all European posts. Some subjects covered:

- The Department of Labor's training and development programs
- Labor union activities
- The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped
- The effect of automation on employment and industry
- Profit-sharing plans
- Supreme Court decisions affecting labor

NOUVELLES SOCIALES, a monthly magazine produced by USIS Paris, regularly covers the labor field. Recent issues contained articles on the 50th anniversary of the Department of Labor, a steelworkers agreement, accidents in industry, and one entitled AMERICAN UNIONS ENCOURAGE MEMBERS TO PRACTICE THE FINE ARTS. It is distributed in France and in African countries where French is the language.

LABOR NEWS FROM THE U.S., published by USIS London, has a large circulation in the United Kingdom and is also widely distributed by posts in English-speaking Africa.

The VOICE OF AMERICA regularly tells the story of American labor to a wide audience and it often carries material particularly designed for the Soviet area. A frequent feature is called LABOR ANALYSES in which events such as the New York newspaper strike and the dockworkers' strike were covered. A LABOR NEWS ROUNDUP program discussed the latest events in the labor world. The VOICE also reported on the economic program adopted by the AFL–CIO Executive Council at its Miami meeting in February.

To Latin America, the VOICE inaugurated a regular weekly quarter-hour report, including a series of interviews with Latin American trade unionists attending courses sponsored by the AFL–CIO in Washington. This program was prepared with the assistance of the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

The series included an interview with a Brazilian trade union official who described the Inter-American Labor Leader Training

Course in Washington and cited the U.S. desire to strengthen democratic institutions in the labor field. Wide radio coverage was also given the Labor Ministers' Conference in Bogota, Colombia, from May 5 to 11, a meeting at which Secretary Wirtz headed the American delegation.

The Agency-produced television program, THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, is a 30-minute documentary of social and economic progress in the United States during the past 30 years which includes material on the growth and rights of the unions. Eighty prints have been sent to 38 USIS posts.

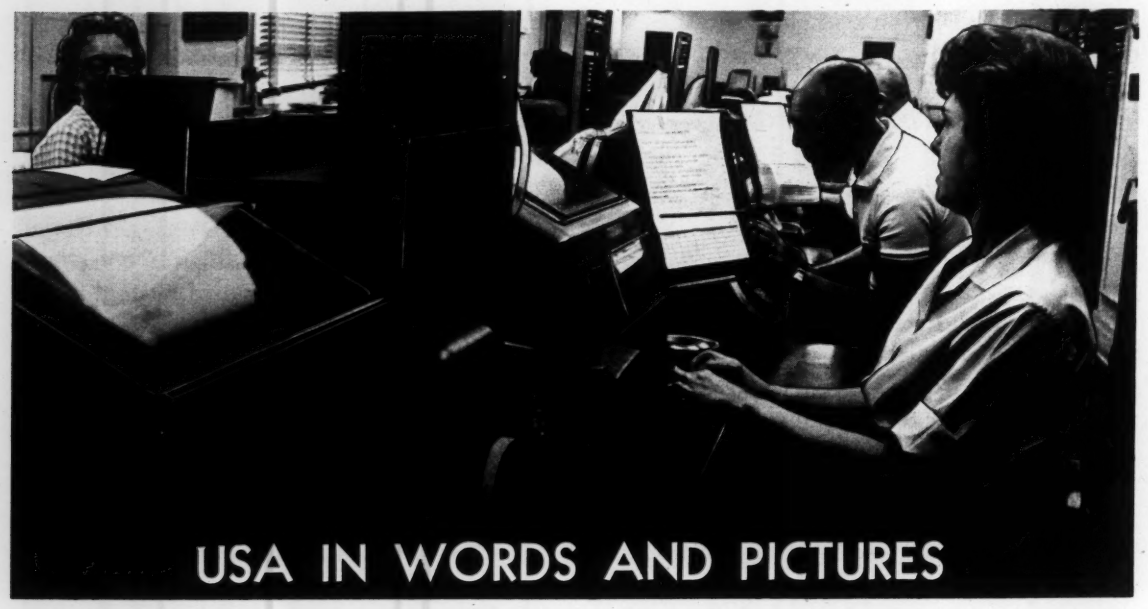
Individual overseas posts have inaugurated on-the-scene programs, tailored to the interests and needs of their audiences. In Nigeria, USIS Ibadan held open house for the principal trade unionists of the nation on March 29. The post library displayed a 45-panel exhibit on THE AMERICAN STEELWORKER, HOW AMERICANS EARN A LIVING, TRAINING AMERICANS TO MAKE A LIVING, TECHNICAL TRAINING IN AMERICA, and SMALL BUSINESS IN AMERICA. Leaders of the United Labor Congress and the Nigerian Workers' Council, with their affiliated groups, flocked to the exhibit. At the opening ceremonies, the Western Nigerian Minister of Labor spoke. So did the U.S. Labor Attaché and a representative of the International Federation of Petroleum Workers. The event received wide and favorable news coverage.

A special pamphlet was prepared by USIS London, keyed to the U.S. Department of Labor's 50th anniversary. This included an article on the United Automobile Workers of America, and another issued by the Brookings Institution, entitled WAGE POLICY AND LONG-TERM CONTRACTS. Other items were: a brief history of the Labor Department; a story on John Brophy, an outstanding trade unionist; and a sample contract between an American trade union and management.

The post received requests for 3,000 extra copies from educational institutions, employers' federations, trade unions, and personnel directors or corporations. The pamphlet also was used repeatedly as a basis for lectures by Embassy speakers.

Essen *Amerika Haus* in West Germany conducted a seminar in April on labor practices in the United States, in collaboration with the district organization of the German Trade Union Federation. The Labor Attaché of the American Embassy and professors of labor relations at the Universities of Munich and Frankfurt addressed the group.

Labor problems and advances are examined in many languages in USIS periodicals.



Cartoon Booklets Help Tell America's Story Abroad—USIA Daily Wireless File Reaches 111 Cities Overseas—Agency Publishes 66 Magazines in 28 Languages; Wide Readership

AMONG the many means of communication employed by the Agency, one of the most popular and effective has been the cartoon continuity in the form of booklets and strips. These illustrated series are designed to spell out basic political themes to young people and others who would not be attracted to a more sophisticated presentation.

That these publications hold reader interest has been demonstrated in many ways. In one instance, a Communist was haranguing a gathering of union members who paid him no heed, but continued to read their USIS cartoon books. This so infuriated the speaker that he became incoherent.

The use of booklets has been stressed particularly in Latin America where their purpose has been twofold: to document dramatically Castro's betrayal of the Cuban revolution, and to tell people about the Alliance for Progress and engender support for it.

In the first 6 months of this year, more than 7 million copies of such booklets were distributed in Latin America, thus bringing the total in the 2-year program close to 20 million. Nearly half of the orders were for titles previously published, which indicates a continuing popular demand for the first several editions of these booklets.

Three new titles were published to help meet the great need for direct, graphic, and easily understood appeals to Latin American workers and farmers. THE DESPOILERS, seventh in a series, depicts the way Communism breeds hunger and oppression in every country it blights. Two others deal with the message of self-help under the Alliance for Progress. THE TURNING POINT documents the role Latin American students can play in the program to benefit their respective countries. TOWARD A BETTER LIFE dramatizes successful efforts at community improvement in a hypothetical and typically primitive rural area; orders for more than 1,500,000 of this one broke all records.

USIS posts in Latin America distribute free copies of the cartoon continuities in various ways: through labor unions, through stores where shoppers pick them up, and through instructors who use them as text-

book material for use in reading instruction.

In countries outside Latin America, the booklets sometimes are placed in churches where they are taken by parishioners, and USIS mobile units distribute them at film showings and other events sponsored by the posts. Newspapers help the distribution. Some serialize the booklets on their own, while others use them as a special supplement. The Agency has also serialized some of the booklets, and these strips have been published in many provincial newspapers, several of which footnoted the final installment with an offer to provide the full book in color on request. The response has been good.

Finally, in some parts of the world, the booklets sell competitively with commercially published books. Some posts have reported that Agency booklets consistently outsell their commercial comic book counterparts.

In addition to booklet presentation, USIS posts distribute 5 weekly or semi-weekly continuity strips. Little Moe is the oldest of these. It is a weekly pantomime feature that is openly anti-Communist and depends on humor and satire to make its point. Started in 1953, it is currently being used by 500 papers in 58 countries.

Sports, USA reflects the American athletic scene. Also a weekly, it was initiated in 1956 and runs in more than 600 newspapers in 78 different nations.

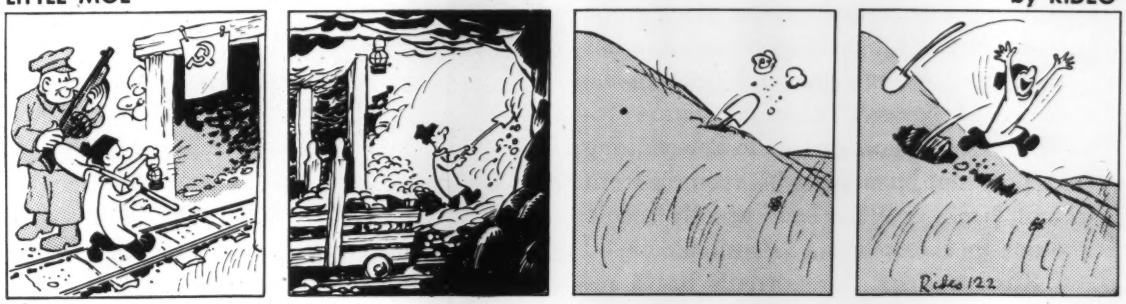
It's a Fact portrays scientific developments in the United States as well as general human interest subjects. Started as a weekly in 1960, it has the largest circulation of all USIA strips. Eight hundred papers—located in 63 countries—publish it regularly.

The remaining two strips are produced twice weekly. True Tales depicts examples of American ingenuity and achievement as well as biographical sketches. It was created in 1955 and is now used by some 750 papers in 75 countries.

Visit to America is a continuity in which the central figure, a mythical visitor from an unnamed country, travels throughout the United States. His experiences afford an excellent opportunity to depict America and its institutions through his eyes. This feature began in 1960 and is now used by 600 papers in 60 far flung countries.

On a worldwide basis, the Agency provides the basic written and illustrative materials for publications ranging from daily papers to quarterlies and textbooks. A total of

LITTLE MOE by RIDEO



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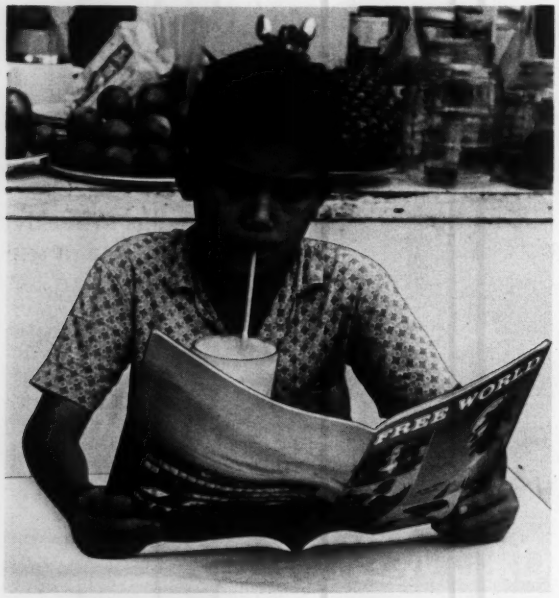


A young Bangkok citizen, reading *Free World*.

66 magazines, newspapers, and other periodicals, aggregating nearly 30 million copies annually, are also published by the Agency in 28 languages. All but 4 are produced by USIS posts overseas or by the Agency's regional printing centers operating in Manila, Beirut, and Mexico City.

The editorial work on 4 magazines is done in Washington: the Russian and Polish editions of AMERICA ILLUSTRATED which are the only free world magazines sold publicly behind the Iron Curtain; the Arabic AL HAYAT FI AMERICA; and PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM.

- AMERICA ILLUSTRATED is a monthly, LIFE-size publication with pictures and text on a variety of subjects that mirror life in the United States today. The Russian-language edition is now in its seventh year of publication; 60,000 copies are printed here and sold in Russia under an agreement whereby the Soviet Union distributes an equal number of its magazine, USSR, in the United States. When AMERICA ILLUSTRATED goes on sale in Russia, long queues of buyers quickly form in front of kiosks and the issue usually is sold out in a few hours. Available in 80 Russian cities, it reportedly has a resale value on the black market well above its original price.
- AMERICAN ILLUSTRATED in the Polish edition is now in its fifth year of publication. Editorial content is virtually the same as the Russian edition. It, too, is printed in the United States, then shipped to Poland where it is sold on newsstands. The press run is 30,000 copies a month, and by agreement, the Polish Government sends an equal number of POLAND, its magazine, to the United States.
- AL HAYAT FI AMERICA is similar to AMERICA ILLUSTRATED but, of course, is in Arabic and aimed at the Middle East. It is printed in Beirut 6 times a year, and the circulation is currently about 18,000.
- PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM. This is a bimonthly, also, but it is straight text with no illustrations, highly scholarly and authoritative. About 27,000 copies of each issue, 21,000 in English and 6,000 in Spanish, are sent to influential members of governments and professional leaders around the world.

A German translation of the Wireless File is delivered daily to newspaper offices in Bonn.

Examples of the themes discussed in Agency pamphlets, distributed abroad in millions of copies.

The mainstay of the Agency's press and publications service is the daily radioteletype service to 111 monitoring posts abroad. Known as the Wireless File, it is directed to USIS posts in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America, the Far East, the Middle East, and to Rio de Janeiro and Ottawa in individual transmissions. The file to Latin America is transmitted in Spanish; to Africa, it is half in French and half in English. For the rest of the world, it is in English. Rio de Janeiro receives its file in English and retransmits it in Portuguese to other posts in Brazil. The Eastern Europe file sends important texts to Moscow in Russian transliteration, which is a system whereby Roman characters are used phonetically rather than the Russian Cyrillic alphabet.

All files include a basic coverage of major developments in the news, such as important speech texts, appropriate White House and State Department releases and commentaries. Also, each transmission is written and edited to fit the particular interests of a country or area of the world, with many items produced expressly for an area or country. Sometimes the Agency fills specific requests from posts, or the editor in Washington knows of an interest and covers it.

Received by teleprinter at each post, the material is translated and adapted by the local USIS staff for distribution to government officials and to the press, television, and radio outlets. Much of the material is quickly used as news and for comment, and editors employ it for reference and background. It also serves as raw material for locally-prepared articles, published in the Agency's foreign language periodicals.

Each regional file leaves the communications center in Washington by landline. The Far East file is routed to a transmitter

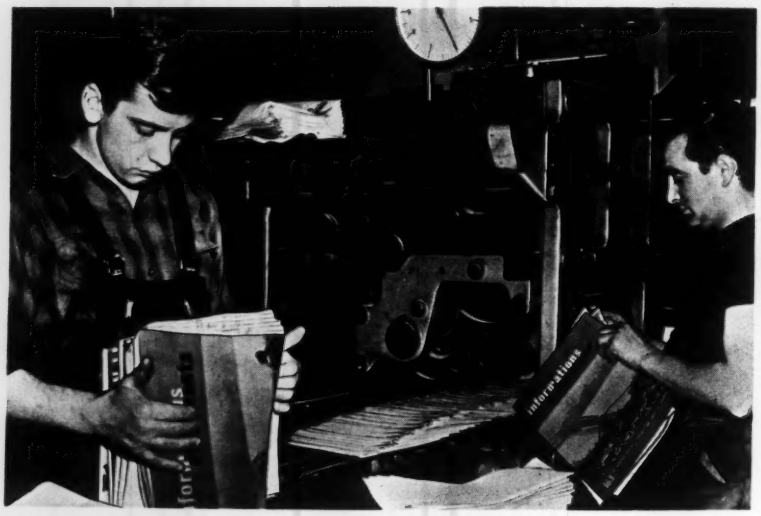
The *Wireless File* was started nearly 30 years ago when the Department of State sent a radio bulletin of 2,500 words 6 days a week by Morse code through the Navy to 16 diplomatic missions abroad. Since then the file has been refined and expanded. Editors in many countries have come to depend on the transmissions as a principal source of reliable background information and authentic documentation: material from the file is printed in thousands of newspapers and other periodicals.

The *Wireless File* does not compete with commercial news agencies and the several hundred foreign journalists based in the United States, but, rather, it complements those news-gathering sources.

PRINTING AROUND THE WORLD

In a Hong Kong print shop two USIS officers inspect proofs of a book in production. The pages tell the story of what is happening behind the Bamboo Curtain. Such books are given wide distribution in various foreign languages.

A USIS officer in Karachi checks page proofs of the ***American News and Views,*** a weekly that is distributed throughout East and West Pakistan in local languages.



Coming off high-speed presses of a modern Paris plant, the USIS magazine ***Information & Documents*** is prepared for shipment to some 120,000 people who read French and who are thus informed about the United States, its people and their national policies.

near San Francisco, radioed to the VOICE OF AMERICA station near Honolulu, and immediately retransmitted to receiving units in Asia and the South Pacific. Extra power is provided by the VOA station on Okinawa which picks up the Honolulu transmission and beams it to USIS posts throughout Southeast Asia and the Far East.

The files to Rio and the American Republics travel by landline to New York and are fed automatically to transmitters beamed to posts in Central and South America. The Ottawa file is delivered directly to the post over a landline shared with the Department of State. The European, Middle Eastern, and African files cross the Atlantic to Tangier where a mixed battery of VOA and commercial transmitters strengthen the radio signal and relay them to their destinations.

All of this is accomplished at lightning speed. The radioteletype system sends and receives at 70 words a minute, in contrast to 35 for Morse code, by virtue of mechanically-operated monitoring.

Eight general categories of information are transmitted by Wireless File:

- Texts—speeches by the President, the Secretary of State, and other senior officials; statements by White House, and State Department press officers; statements by spokesmen of other departments on issues that deal with the nation's foreign affairs.
- Transcripts of press conferences by the President, the Secretary of State, and other key officials discussing matters of regional or international interest.
- Commentaries—daily signed columns analyzing aspects of U.S. foreign policy, Communism, economic matters, Congressional affairs, and life in America in its various aspects.
- Briefings—information obtained from senior government officials. These are carried in regular commentaries or under the byline, "By a Diplomatic Correspondent." These are widely published abroad, frequently without attribution to USIA.
- Backgrounders—articles of the news-analysis type, which place a fresh or anticipated news event in perspective.
- Editorial roundups—quotations from U.S. and foreign newspaper and magazine editorials dealing with important topics in the news.
- News—reports on subjects important for foreign readers to know in accurate detail, but not for the sole reason that the items are newsworthy.
- Regional items—stories prepared for a single area, or one country, and sent only in the file received in that area.

A major setback to the Soviet propagandists occurred in February with the exodus of African students from Bulgaria. The students said their defection from the university at Sofia was compelled by intolerable racial discrimination and abuse.

USIA reported the incidents fully through press, radio, and film on a worldwide basis.

The *Voice* initiated daily coverage to Africa in English, French, Swahili, and Arabic as soon as the news was known. Worldwide English broadcasts and those in foreign languages gave prominence to the unfolding events and eyewitness accounts by the students of the mistreatment they had endured.

The Agency's Wireless File carried the story in full to 111 posts abroad and reported student interviews and editorial reactions from each country to the rest of the network. Photos and taped interviews with the students were made available worldwide to commercial media. A motion picture of Ghanaian students in Amsterdam was filmed and released to overseas newsreel distributors.

Youth organizations around the world issued protests against Communist treatment of the students and denunciatory cables were sent to Sofia from a number of countries.

USIA Programs Focus on Tomorrow's Leaders—Periodicals, Exhibits and Lectures Increasingly Oriented Toward Youth—Seminars, Libraries and English Instruction Extremely Popular

All over the world, youth holds a high priority in USIA's plans and programs. The reason: literate and educated youngsters, who are maturing so quickly in this era of rapid change, will soon influence thought and action in their societies, and especially in the developing countries.

USIS officers use every opportunity to meet with youth groups, to arrange programs and to show exhibits that will enable them to know and understand America better and to realize that their goals match those of youth in the United States.

Exhibits were displayed worldwide at high schools and universities. These were some of the subjects: Small Colleges in the USA, Foreign Students Studying in America, the many achievements in the Nation's outer space program, U.S. progress in exploring and developing the resources of the sea, the American theater, how Americans earn a living and receive training in the various trades and professions. In the U.S.S.R. students were the major audience at an exhibit called Technical Books: USA. Tape recordings turned some volumes into "talking" books, and the display included printed materials on arts and crafts, architecture and art for children in the United States.

Study units consist of a pamphlet and either tapes or records of the same material so that the student simultaneously gets an oral and a written exposition of the phrases used. The most popular of these used by Agency posts in the English-teaching program was one based on the space flight of the Friendship 7. The latest of such units being dispatched to field posts at the close of the reporting period was one dealing with the early life of Ambassador Ralph Bunche, based on the Agency-produced film, Toward Tomorrow.

Book collections and other stores of literature of interest to young people are being expanded in all Agency libraries and binational centers. Both low-priced books in English and works in translation are being increasingly oriented toward such groups.

Education, the foremost ambition of most young people abroad, was made the principal theme of the exhibits and lecture materials

sent to field posts during the reporting period.

A new quarterly publication of the Agency, called FORUM, devoted to the teaching of English, drew initial orders for 20,000 copies from field posts.

Under the Agency's film program, 6 grants were given to young filmmakers associated with university cinema departments to produce the YOUNG AMERICA SERIES, mirroring the life of young people in the United States. The grant for each of the six, 10-minute, black-and-white films is small, and so the imagination of the producer must resolve needs which a limited budget cannot otherwise meet.

One film depicts an elementary school teacher helping children to develop a respect for the land. Others show a Mexican-American carpenter completing his apprenticeship and becoming a journeyman, a young engineer applying his theoretical training on his first job, a musician-composer teaching and performing during his graduate training, a young sculptor and the significance of art in his life, and a student preparing to become an elementary school teacher.

Two new programs aimed at youthful audiences have been inaugurated by the VOICE OF AMERICA. YOUNG WORLD VIEWPOINT is broadcast daily in English and THE WORLD WE LIVE IN is aired some 50 times a month in English and 17 other languages. The long-established Willis Conover program of music and commentary, MUSIC—USA, continues to rank as one of the most popular VOICE programs with overseas youth.

In Ethiopia, 3 additional reading rooms are being established in schools following the success of such a center that was opened last year at Harar Teachers' Training College. Under this arrangement USIS provides the books and trains a librarian, while the Ethiopian Government supplies the reading rooms. Ethiopian scholarship students soon to leave on study grants to the United States now spend a weekend with an American family in Addis Ababa as part of a USIS orientation plan.

A group of youthful Ghanaians who visited the United States, and call themselves the Young Pioneers, have formed a Ghana-American Association. They meet regularly at the USIS center for discussions and other activities of mutual interest.

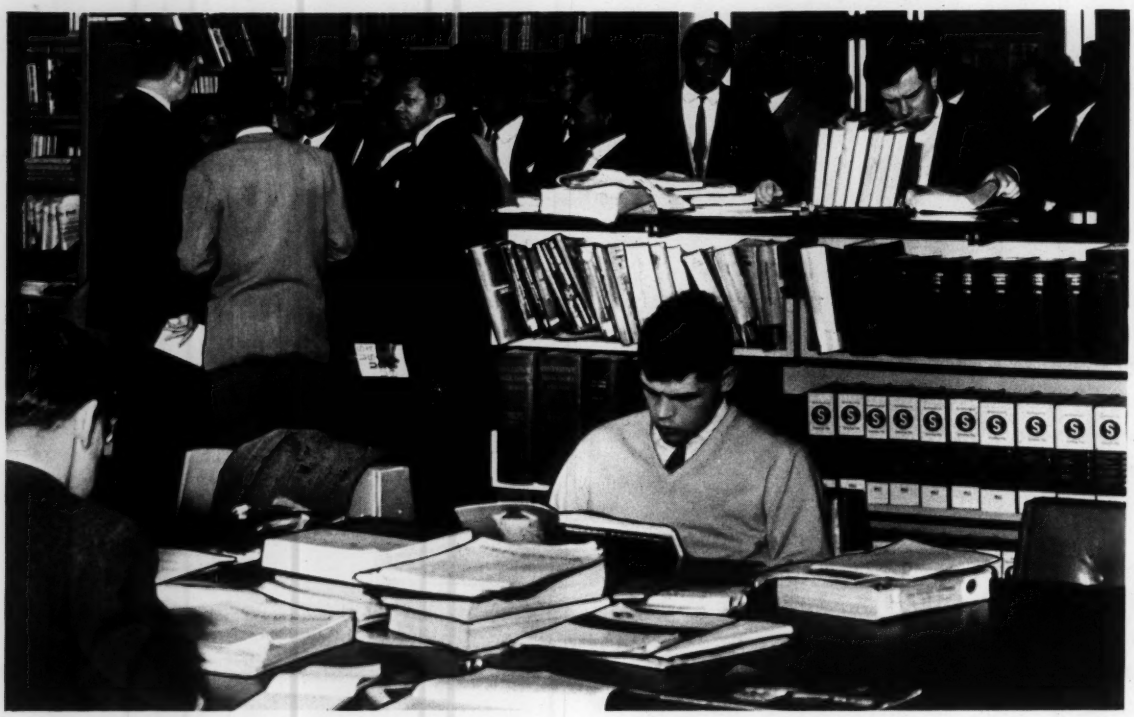
Virtually all of the students of the Oppenheimer College of Social Service in Rhodesia have become members of the USIS library. Each month, all schools throughout the Republic of the Congo receive a USIS wall newspaper that, among other things, covers events in that country and the assistance being provided by the United Nations.

AMERICAN OUTLOOK, a widely distributed USIS publication in Africa, added a 4-page insert prepared in Washington that describes the life of African students attending American universities. A Nigerian student enrolled at Howard University in Washington also narrates PERSONAL REPORT, a monthly TV program for his native country.

In Rabat, USIS coordinated a series of Embassy-wide programs designed to make contact with groups from which future leaders of Morocco probably will be drawn. Receptions and seminars were held for the organizations, together with university students enrolled in American literature courses and those in the mass communications field.

A panel of lecturers, fluent in either Arabic or French and versed in such subjects

USIS librarian explains the American index system to Ghanaian students at center in Accra.



Young Africans, at school in England, are acquainted with the USIS library in London.

as U.S. foreign policy, literature, education and related topics, was assembled from the American community. When the list of lecturers was made available to the youth groups, 2 dozen requests for speakers were received immediately. Each of the ensuing lectures was followed by discussion periods and film showings, which in turn led to the establishment of English-language classes.

Sixty-five Moroccan youth groups received USIS book collections in Arabic totaling 3,100 volumes. Hobby groups were organized; law students were invited to an informal session with an American international lawyer; and concerts by the U.S. Air Force Band were staged in the leading cities of Marrakech, Casablanca, and Fez. Popular Moroccan athletes, who are teachers of physical education, were selected to spend 3 months at an American university.

Youth Day is held every Thursday at USIS Ouagadougou in the new African nation of Upper Volta. Film shows are followed by lively discussion sessions. In Nairobi, the post distributed 60 sets of the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, a donation by the publishers, to schools and institutions throughout Kenya.

Some 30,000 Dahomeans, mostly students, were reached by USIS Cotonou with films, books, and periodicals during a 10-day mobile unit tour of the Northwest Prefecture of Dahomey.

In Latin American cities having universities, 6 Student Affairs Officers and 22 grantees have been assigned to USIS posts and binational centers. These officers work closely with the students and collect materials for the Agency's Regional Service Center in Mexico City. Stories written by students are channeled to the center to be used in Mexico for use in pamphlets, periodicals, and other publications distributed throughout a large part of Latin America.

Student publications, strongly leftist as a rule, use such material because it has been written by other students. Pamphlets produced at the Regional Center for Latin American students have included titles such as: I HAVE NOT DIED IN VAIN, written by a Cuban student before he was shot; STUDENTS AGAINST THE WALL, the story of West Berlin students aiding East Berliners; How

THE UNIVERSITY FELL, about the University of Havana; and UNIVERSITY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, a question and answer piece.

In Venezuela, a group of 41 young intellectuals attended a week-long seminar on democratic thought. The event drew heavy national press coverage. On the closing day the participants (including many of leftist leanings) listed their opinons. They praised the seminar because it enabled them to compare different points of view in a democratic atmosphere. The participants also condemned the Communist system as blocking freedom and social justice "so necessary to the proper development of modern man."

The first seminar in American Studies for students in Argentine universities was organized by USIS in Buenos Aires from April 28 to May 3. Thirty-three students, representing 9 universities and both the Naval and Air Force Academies, took part as the official representatives of their schools. The 5 themes discussed were EDUCATION IN THE U.S., U.S. GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONS, CULTURE IN THE U.S., THE U.S. SOCIAL STRUCTURE, and PAN-AMERICANISM.

A few days before the seminar, USIS Buenos Aires had opened a new section in its library to house its magazine and newspaper collection, a music library, and a microfilm reader with a microfilm collection of THE NEW YORK TIMES dating from 1961. Heavy interest was registered immediately.

More than a thousand students from Mexico City's 2 leading universities arrived at school shortly after dawn on May 14 to see special direct telecasts of the countdown of the projected Gordon Cooper space flight. USIS in Mexico had placed television sets at the National University and the Polytechnic University and—despite the traditionally leftist and anti-North American views of many students in that country—they turned out in record numbers.

On the other side of the world, in Japan, seminars on American Studies were arranged for intellectual leaders who work with youth as well as for students themselves. Professors and students from 53 universities throughout

Young Nepalese college students were attracted to an "American Week" seminar held in May.

the country attended the session. The Agency's TV program, WASHINGTON REPORT, released biweekly in that country, featured discussions with 3 Japanese exchange students at American universities on their reactions to campus life and U.S. education as well as political life in this country.

Elsewhere in the Orient, the Agency continues its accent on youth. In Thailand, about 60 percent of those using the 6 USIS information centers are young people, and in addition to the Educational Affairs Officer, a number of USIS officers are concentrating on programs for youth. Mobile information teams, composed primarily of Thai Government officials in which USIS plays a role, reach large numbers of youngsters in remote areas with USIS films and written materials. Other activities in Thailand are aimed at the junior members of the nation, such as providing several hundred copies of a survey of the U.S. Government, called GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, which has been translated into Thai. The publications were given to the country's 2 major universities where they are used in a required course.

USIS Hong Kong also had focused on

youth; nearly all of its budget for book translations was devoted to that age group. Top priority is allocated to middle school and university students in film showings—75 percent of all programs are concentrated in this area. Library and cultural center activities have been revamped; about 80 percent of all patrons are of middle school and college age. The Cultural Affairs Officer has spoken frequently to audiences in local schools in both English and Chinese.

The Vietnamese language version of FREE WORLD, edited in Saigon and printed in Manila, enjoys an established popularity. Because of its proved success with youth, distribution was recently increased from 100,000 to 150,000. Senior English classes of public secondary schools, and some private schools, get the English-language magazine, YOUNG CITIZEN. American university textbooks in economics, public administration, sociology, and American literature are being translated by the post: there were no university texts in Vietnamese until this effort started. In addition, a more generalized translation program will increasingly make youth a major audience.

In neighboring Cambodia, the post's youth periodical, KALYNAMIT, has been changed from a quarterly to a bimonthly with a circulation of 22,000 through the cultural centers, the USIS library, and an individual list of selected youth leaders.

USIS Paris publishes INFORMATIONS & DOCUMENTS, which covers a variety of timely subjects, especially about the United States. The publication is now being edited with greater emphasis on youth. It is distributed in Cambodia, and in other French-speaking areas in Southeast Asia, primarily to students who have returned from France after having attended schools and universities there.

In Nepal, a week-long educational and cultural program was arranged during May

Young Masai and Kisii tribesmen in Kenya are shown a film by a USIS field unit. For many of them it was a first chance to see a motion picture. Agency units regularly tour the country.

for 100 student leaders of all the colleges and the University of Kathmandu. Each day a different aspect of American life was featured; themes included education, space science, U.S. foreign and student life. Film showings and lectures related to these subjects were followed by discussion periods. Packets of USIS publications were furnished to all participants.

South Asia mirrored a similar picture. USIS posts in India presented cultural programs in 10 major cities during the reporting period to reach the students of 8 universities and 25 colleges with a variety of exhibits, films, and lectures.

A 2-week program at the University of Calcutta, for example, attracted nearly 20,000 students in February. Seminar leaders included 36 Indians and 19 Americans. Five exhibits, including one of Mariner II, were displayed. Some 700 subscriptions to Agency publications, including the prizewinning magazine SPAN and the AMERICAN REPORTER newspaper, were ordered.

The press in Calcutta devoted dozens of columns of print and photos to the program, including 8 front-paged articles and 5 laudatory editorials.

An AMERICAN CULTURAL WEEK, presented by USIS Madras and Andhra University in February, was attended by 22,750 Indian students and faculty members. Lectures and discussion sessions were supplemented by film showings and exhibits.

In Pakistan, despite overhanging final examinations, some 400 Punjab University students, along with students from all colleges in Lahore, joined with a visiting guitar soloist in an evening devoted to American folksongs. This aspect of American life was virtually unknown to the students and they joined in with vigor and warmth. An exhibit of American folk music, including books, records, posters, and pamphlets, was displayed along with a book exhibit in the library. All participants received a songbook and the Agency pamphlet, AMERICAN FOLKLORE.

Throughout Europe, USIS posts continued to initiate many discussion-meetings and seminars for youth groups. Local U.S. businessmen met with students of the Bremen Foreign Trade School at the *Amerika Haus*, for example, to discuss the economic policies of the United States. The *Amerika Haus* in Hamburg offered a 40-hour series of lecture-discussions on Communism and current developments in East Europe to a delegation of North German youths who had been invited to visit Moscow and Leningrad. AMERICAN QUESTION HOUR, a series of question-and-answer presentations by USIS officers, was arranged in many secondary schools throughout Germany.

Two radio series aimed at youth in East Berlin and the East Zone of Germany were aired by the Agency's widely heard Berlin

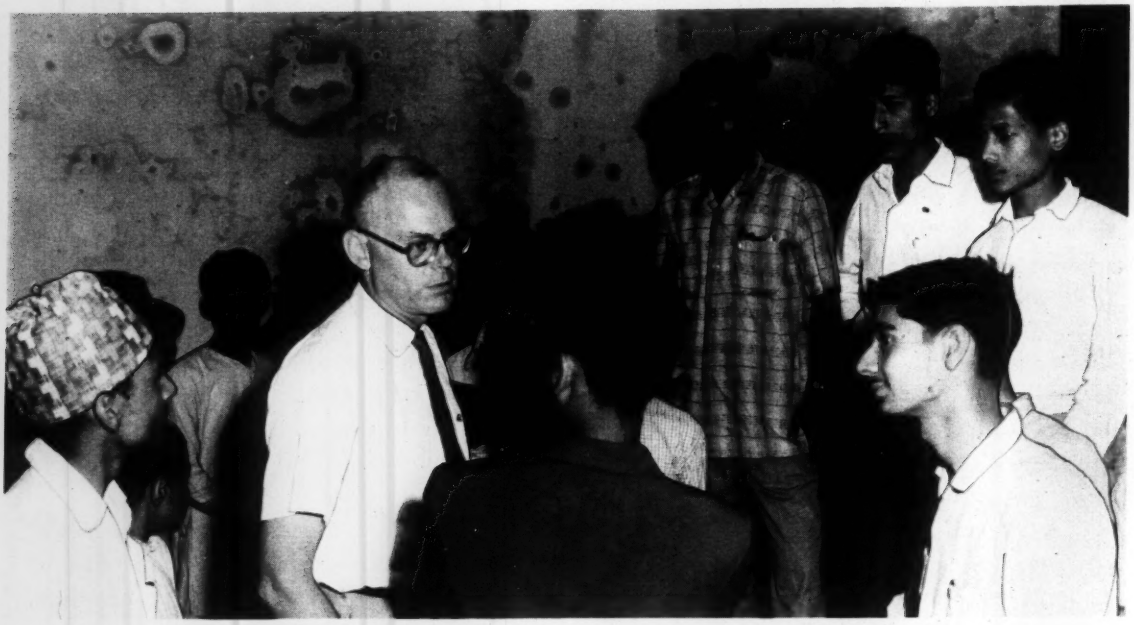
Folklore and allegory have been enlisted to help break through cultural barriers and to communicate political ideas to overseas communities with limited sophistication and experience.

A ***Voice of America*** series, initiated in May, makes meaningful to such communities the significance of international problems and events by employing parallel examples familiar to the audience. One recent program explained why all nations must share in financing the United Nations by the use of this story:

A tribe, preparing for a feast, asks each member to bring a calabash of wine. One shrewd character, however, decides to bring water which, he figures, will not be noticed when mixed with everyone else's wine.

As the feast begins, it becomes clear that each member has had the same bright idea. Each has brought a calabash of water, thinking it will make no difference when mixed with everyone else's wine.

And so, the commentator observes, "one cannot come to drink wine when one has brought only water."



Face-to-face contact: a USIS officer in Nepal meeting with students of a Kathmandu college.

radio station, RIAS. The subjects included YOUTH and THE WALL, reactions of German and foreign youth, and an explanation of the similarity in aims of Nazi and Communist youth organizations.

In Iceland, the national affiliate of the Atlantic Political Youth Association was invited to visit the NATO base for a discussion period. In Italy, the role of youth was stressed in a seminar on Europe and the Atlantic Community, organized by USIS at the University of Florence. NATO-country youth also gathered at Palermo to discuss PROBLEMS OF A UNITED EUROPE, at a USIS-organized YOUTH WEEK.

Despite one of the worst winters in northern Europe, an exhibit on U.S. space achievements, including a lecture-demonstration, was shown at 20 high schools and junior colleges in 15 cities throughout Denmark. Danish instructors cooperated in carrying out the lecture-demonstrations.

USIS Madrid developed a fortnightly radio program broadcast in 5 cities and narrated by an American university student who interviewed Spanish student guests. Several newly formed student groups of Asians and Africans in England were helped by USIS to put together programs on youth development themes.

Many methods attract youth to USIS Information Centers. For example, hundreds of young Neapolitans attend a day-long open house every Wednesday at the library to see films, explore the book shelves, and visit the information section. A varied afternoon program ranges from lectures, music sessions,

On every continent, Agency officers are attempting also to reach students and young people who have never come to USIS before unless they had rocks in their hands. Agency officers are not trying to counter the Communist techniques of riotous demonstration with organized mob pressure. They are seeking no student mobs chanting "USA, USA." Rather, they are trying to reach the hitherto unreachables with help and inspiration. USIS officers are trying to convince young people that the United States stands with them in their efforts to modernize their societies, and that democracy and freedom can be effective instruments in helping solve their problems and better their lives.

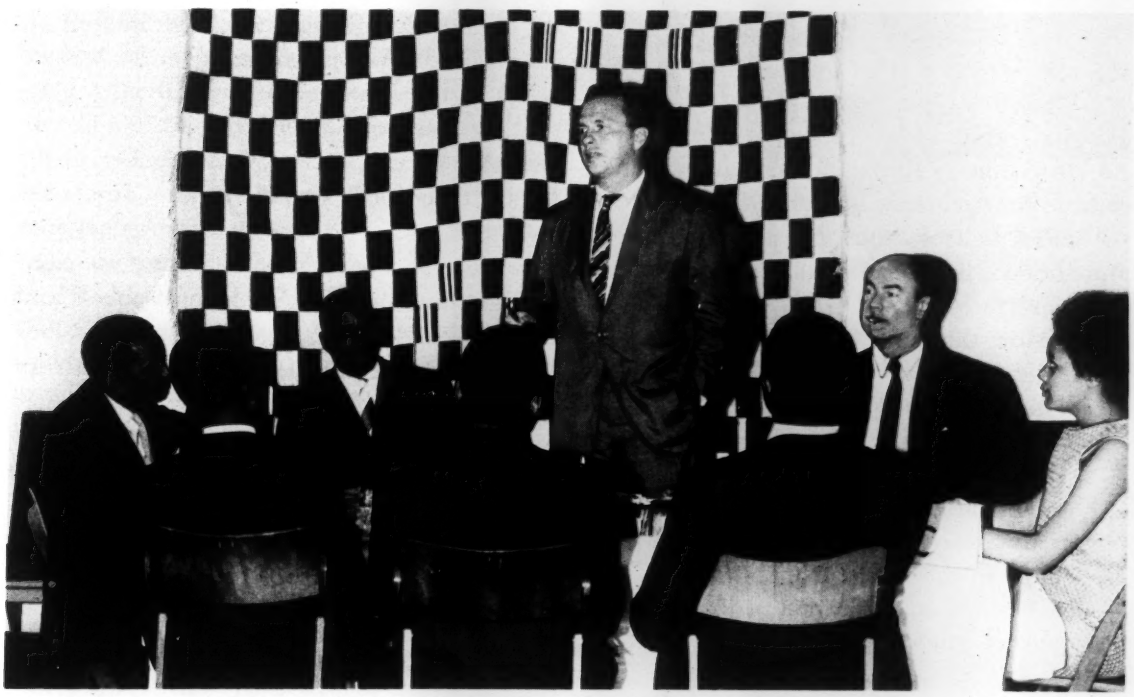
poetry readings, films, or a play featuring Agency officers and local amateur actors.

USIS in Oslo, in cooperation with several Norwegian organizations, sponsored a trip of 18 youth leaders to Paris, Ramstein, and Berlin where they heard lectures dealing with the Atlantic Alliance and the European Economic Community.

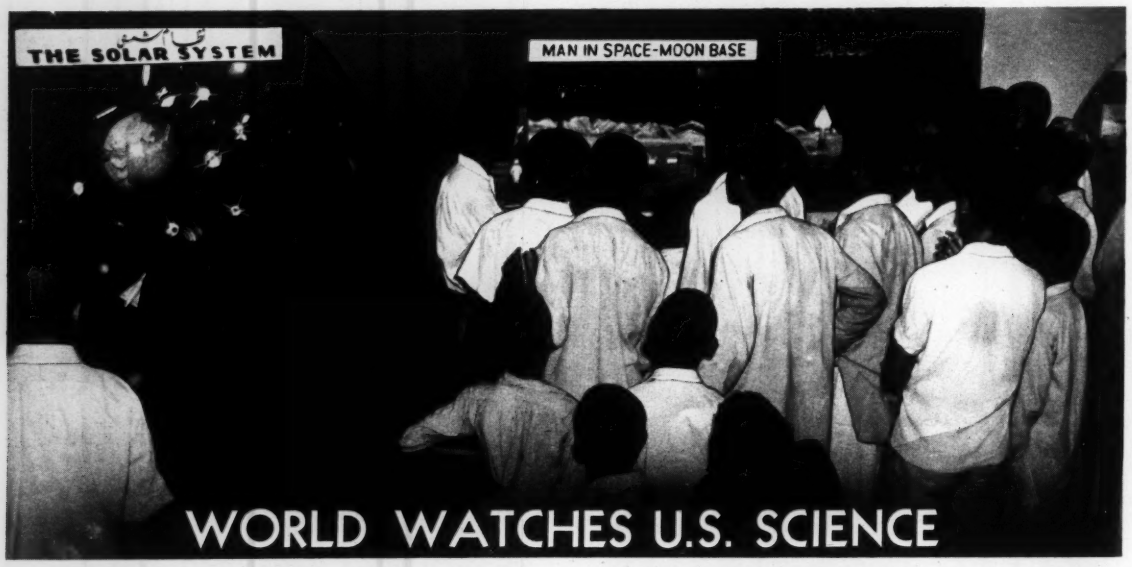
In Oporto, Portugal, Ruth Slenczynska, the noted American pianist, played for student groups, and some 700 students attended 8 sessions on the history of American jazz in Lisbon. The largest audience ever to attend a recital at the Lisbon Conservatory—largely students—turned out to hear the Negro soprano, Martha Flowers, interpret Gershwin's music and a number of spirituals.

Thirty-three students from 12 African countries were among the guests at the dinner debate held at the USIS youth center in Paris on May 28. Diplomats and journalists from Africa attended, as did Charles E. Bohlen, U.S. Ambassador to France; William Attwood, who was at that time the U.S. Ambassador to Guinea; and Mr. Mammadou Diakhité, the Guinean Ambassador to France.

Lebanese students participated in a USIS seminar on Library Science sponsored at Beirut in June.



Ambassador Attwood discusses problems of mutual interest with African students visiting Paris.



WORLD WATCHES U.S. SCIENCE

USIA Meets World-wide Interest in American Science—Our Exhibits on Space Probes Especially Popular in all Areas—Radio, TV Programs, Books on Space Reach Large Audiences

AMERICAN scientific achievements have attracted the interest of people throughout the world and generated a demand for information about everything from outer space to down-to-earth discoveries and inventions.

The Agency is turning this challenge into an opportunity: the story of American scientific feats goes out from Agency headquarters, and USIS officers abroad devise materials and methods for their specialized audiences.

USIA believes that the prowess of the United States in science should be emphasized for several reasons:

- More than ever before, people all over the world are intrigued with advances in science.
- U.S. scientists rate among the most distinguished and their achievements are shared with the world.
- American scientific resources surpass any in the world.

In Greece, many people are dedicated to acquiring knowledge and hence are fascinated with the latest developments in laboratories and in space. The Greek national radio network carries a weekly USIA program, called CONQUEST IN SPACE, which is devoted exclusively to U.S. space achievements. The full text of the broadcast is later printed in EMBROS, an Athens daily paper.

Another indication of local interest in science is the volume of requests for science books at the USIS library in Athens. During an average month some 40,000 Greeks visit the library, and of that number about 10,000 take out scientific works. Textbooks published under USIS aegis, and Agency motion pictures, constitute a mainstay of scientific teaching in Greek secondary schools and universities. American scientists and Fulbright professors also lecture regularly before student groups and government officials.

In Sweden, USIS Stockholm stresses the close ties between the Swedish and U.S. science communities. The results of joint projects such as the installation of American seismic instruments in Sweden are regularly published in leading periodicals.

Officers at the post say that the development of close contact with science writers, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television is their most effective tool in telling the story

of American science. The rapport between USIS and science writers is maintained by—

- Providing background material and photographs of American scientific achievements
- Helping to plan reporting trips to the United States
- Arranging special film showings on science subjects
- Distributing USIA–NASA Science Writers Service
- Inviting writers to meet American scientists

In addition to working closely with Swedish journalists, the post sponsored NASA's exhibit, SPACE IN SERVICE OF MANKIND. USIS also showed its own exhibit, U.S. PROGRESS IN SPACE SCIENCE, in 4 cities with great public acceptance.

USIS Cairo is placing increasing emphasis on science as one of the best means of reaching key audiences, especially since the United Arab Republic looks on science and technology as essential to its development as a modern state. Interest in American scientific progress extends to top level U.A.R. scientists: the chairman of the newly formed U.A.R. space research committee came to the Agency's Cairo post recently for help of all kinds. He got it.

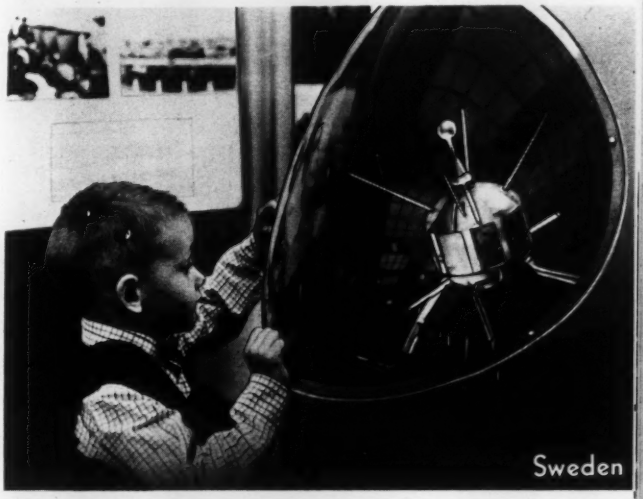
A science news letter, produced by USIS officers, emphasizes developments such as saline water conversion and other research especially relevant to the Arab world. It enjoys wide acceptance. Pieces from it are often used verbatim, with a USIS credit line, in the U.A.R. Information Department's international distribution newspaper, which reprints articles from the world's press. The Agency's regional service center in Beirut reproduces the science news letter for other USIS posts.

Science films with Arabic sound tracks are in heavy demand by high schools, universities, and other interested groups. The Cairo post is planning a special science film forum along the lines of the successful programs of the past.

The central theme of the post's Public Law 480 textbook program, which has the cooperation of the U.A.R. Ministry of Education, is science and technology. About 75 books are translated each year, and many of them deal with aspects of science and their effects on mankind.

Books on science are a major attraction for students and officials who patronize USIS libraries in Cairo, Alexandria, and Port Said. USIS Alexandria is experimenting this summer with special courses in scientific English which is essential for many Egyptians.

The Agency produced an exhibit called WORLD SCIENCE AND THE USA, which was opened in Cairo by the Egyptian Minister of Scientific Research. It drew capacity crowds of students and officials. The Minister of Agriculture and all his senior staff, most of


Sweden

whom are graduates of American universities, came to see a locally assembled SCIENCE AND U.S. AGRICULTURE exhibit geared to presentation of a special issue of AL SADAQA, the post's weekly Arabic newspaper.

In Korea, USIS Seoul keeps the public informed about American leadership in science. Exhibits are always on display at the information center in Seoul, at 3 branch centers and at more than 40 reading rooms around the country. The two leading post publications, called WEEKLY REVIEW and FREE WORLD, have sections regularly devoted to science.

The Agency-produced space satellite models with lecture kit have been widely utilized in Korea by educational, government,

cultural, and military institutions. Lectures were given at each showing. Science professors at universities and high schools attended the first sessions and an American Air Force officer, formerly with space centers in the United States and now stationed in Korea, answered students' questions.

The post has also displayed colorful space exhibits, some of which have drawn such crowds that traffic was interrupted in front of the USIS library on the main city hall square.

On the other side of the world, the Nigerian Foreign Minister pledged his nation's support for the West's space program. Some of the more notable results:

- Another tracking station at Kano, open to the public
- The USNS *Kingsport* anchored for the second time in the harbor at Lagos as a floating ground station for Syncom II, newest of the experimental communications satellites. The ship is open to the public and has been thoroughly covered by the Nigerian newspapers and radio stations.
- Commemorative stamps on the Kano station and the *Kingsport* have been printed by the Nigerian Government.
- The Agency's NEW HORIZONS IN SCIENCE and SCIENCE REPORTS series are now in demand by radio and television networks and stations.

A USIS space lecturer traveled 10,000 miles in Nigeria, gave 149 lectures, including 16 film shows and 4 TV appearances, to a combined audience of 29,000, excluding TV. Related publications were distributed at his

In Bombay, the USIS exhibit called ***World Science and the USA*** was greatly appreciated by scientists and academicians. It was jointly sponsored by the University of Bombay and USIS and inaugurated on May 11 by Dr. M. G. K. Menon, Dean of the Physics Faculty at the Tata Institute.

Scientists and others praised the exhibit, which drew more than 12,000 visitors during its 12-day showing, and was covered well by the press. Although colleges and universities were closed for vacations, about three-fourths of the viewers were scientists, science faculty members, and science students. The rest were people interested in science, and children brought by parents.

Indian sailors shown visiting USIS exhibit held in Bombay on progress in the world of science.

lectures in the outlying regions of the country.

In all this activity, the Agency constantly supplies materials to field offices and carries VOICE OF AMERICA programs that tell of U.S. scientific prowess.

The VOICE is now producing 3 regular weekly programs dealing with science: NEW HORIZONS, tailored for a sophisticated audience; POPULAR SCIENCE, written in simplified form; and MEDICAL FEATURES, which are items interesting to the layman. In addition, there have been special series of scientific features, usually consisting of 13 separate half-hour broadcasts.

SCIENCE REPORT, an Agency television program, is produced in 4 languages for 52 countries with a viewing audience of 26 million people a month. It consists of two 15-minute programs each month. The program ranks as one of the most successful TV series ever distributed overseas: because of its enthusiastic reception, more than 90 percent of the posts have asked that it be continued.

Another series, PLANET EARTH, acquired from the National Academy of Sciences, has been distributed in 4 languages in 34 countries. Demand for it continues. The Agency also produced or acquired 20 additional programs and features on space research and other scientific subjects.

USIA has also helped foreign networks to produce science programs such as assisting the British Broadcasting Corporation to make 4 of them in this country.

The Agency's account of the Mariner II Venus probe captivated public attention in every corner of the world:

- USIA's first TV export to Rumania was made in January; that nation's television network aired the program as a part of a regularly scheduled countrywide telecast.
- More than 4 million Swedes saw the show at peak evening time.
- In Morocco, the telecast was hailed as "the highlight of the year."

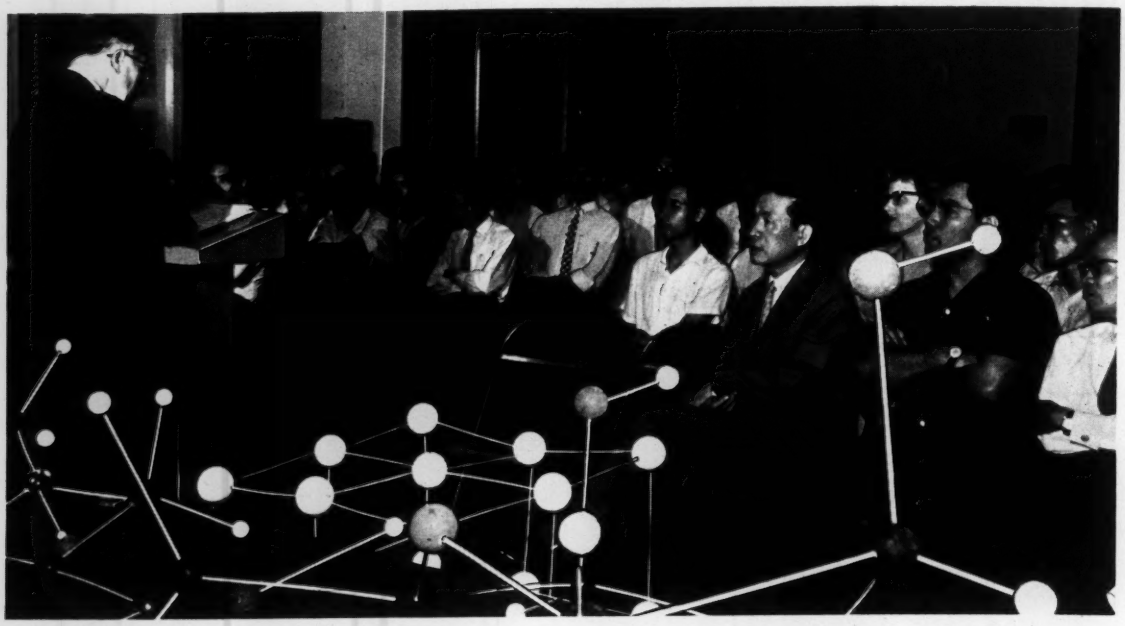
The Agency's motion picture service produced and acquired a number of films to keep up with the heavy overseas demand. KRYSTALLOS, a 1-reel color film, explains the use of quartz crystals by communications research systems and the years of research that went into the successful manufacture of high-grade crystals for industrial use. HARVEST OF AN ATOMIC AGE, 2 reels in color, demonstrates the results of U.S. experiments with atomically irradiated seeds to develop plants and foods that are more resistant to disease and extreme weather conditions.

A science seminar and exhibit in faraway Nepal drew hundreds of adults and youth.

A biographical sketch of John Glenn, the astronaut, in 3 reels of color, has been produced in 24 languages and distributed in 97 countries. Two other acquisitions were ATOMS FOR SPACE, 3 reels in color, depicting the development and use of compact nuclear power for space by the AEC, and OUR NEAREST STAR, 1 reel in color, explaining the power system's use in transit of the 4–A navigational satellite.

Agency-produced films included THE GLENN CAPSULE IN CHILE, which is a 1-reel documentary in Spanish. Another, in Portuguese, is called RESEARCHERS OF TOMORROW. It describes the efforts of the U.S. Research Institute, the Sao Paulo Department of Agriculture, and the food-for-peace program to improve the productivity and nutritive value of certain foods.

Booklets and articles on many phases



A visiting American specialist explains uses of atomic energy at the Saigon Information Center.

of scientific research and accomplishments were prepared by the Agency's press and publications service. The subjects: INTERNATIONAL QUIET SUN YEAR, future Gemini and Apollo space explorations, underwater archeological explorations, child health, mental retardation, the fight against tropical diseases, cancer research, and the orbiting of copper needles in space in a new communications experiment.

This flow of material, while voluminous, never equaled demand, and USIS officers abroad exercised ingenuity to supplement it with exhibits, seminars, and lectures.

At 154 binational centers and 175 information centers overseas, collections of scientific materials were made available to foreign readers. Libraries include books and periodicals ranging from science encyclopedias to basic how-to-do-it manuals. Textbooks are available in nearly all fields of science. Special collections were placed on long-term loan with host-country libraries, universities, medical and engineering schools, and professional groups.

USIS libraries include sets of a science bookshelf of selected paperbacks, consisting of 30 standard titles, covering mathematics, space exploration, physics, chemistry, engineering, and other areas of scientific study. These also are lent to schools and circulated among educators and students while other sets are presented to universities and libraries. The Agency supplements the book collection with subscriptions to more than 300 U.S. scientific publications.

Reading rooms also provide a place for talks and seminars arranged by USIS officers. Among these were slide lectures, dealing with manned and unmanned flight, which were sent to all posts in February. ADVENTURES IN GEOGRAPHY—75 YEARS OF EXPLORATION is a slide lecture that overseas audiences like very much. It was prepared in cooperation with

Solar Energy and ***U.S. Experiments in Space*** were star attractions at American Week in Vallodolid, Spain. Both exhibits were constructed by the local USIS post and were supplemented with Agency films, a record concert, and collections of cultural and historical materials. The exhibit on American development of power drawn from the sun later toured a number of countries throughout the Near East.

the National Geographic Society. Another slide lecture, made possible through the cooperation of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., featured the launching of Telstar II on May 7.

Seven sets of a space lecture demonstration kit circulated in the past 6 months. Each was complete with slides and small models of Apollo, Mercury, Explorer I, UK–I, Tiros, and Mariner, along with narrations in translation. An exhibit featuring space vehicle models of the Explorer, Vanguard, Tiros, Pioneer, Mercury, X–15, and Telstar I is also touring overseas.

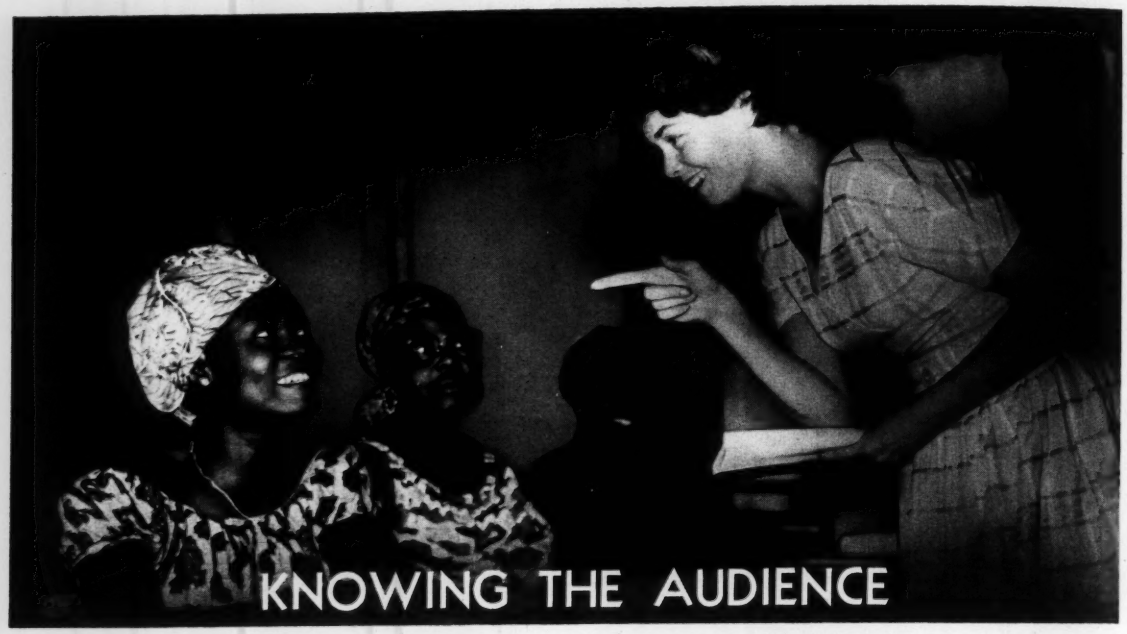
One thousand copies of a photographic exhibit, U.S. PROGRESS IN SPACE, were dispatched to field posts in May with texts in English, Spanish, and French. In Copenhagen a group of high school and college students, working in conjunction with the USIS post, produced a comprehensive report and analysis of U.S. space research as the result of the exhibit there.

Under the Cultural Exchange Agreement with the Soviet Union, the TECHNICAL BOOKS USA exhibit opened in Leningrad in April and went on to Kiev in May and June where it proved to be a special attraction for Soviet scientists and students. Earlier, in Moscow, it had attracted 25,000 visitors.

As the result of a similar reciprocal agreement, the exhibit, MEDICINE USA, had 2 showings in Yugoslavia this spring at major trade fairs held in Zagreb and Belgrade.

Science Youth Day on the Island of Okinawa focused on the Voice of America relay facilities at Okum and Onna Point. At left some high school students from the Ryukyus examine various tools used in the VOA maintenance shops.

Medicine USA toured several East European cities to show professionals and others the latest equipment and techniques used in the United States. Seen here in Belgrade, are two American doctors explaining devices employed in dental practice.



Foreign Public Opinion Research Helps USIA Plan Output of Materials—Basic Studies Probe Audience Attitudes—Policy on the Public Release of Survey Results is Liberalized

THE Agency constantly surveys public opinion abroad in an effort to remove the guesswork from communicating with people overseas. In February 1963 USIA liberalized its policy of releasing the results of these studies to Congress and the public.

This research on public attitudes toward various subjects, along with listening and reading habits, comes to the Agency in a constant flow, and thus enables it to adapt materials to achieve maximum impact.

The research efforts range from places with high literacy and modern communications media to those where literacy is low, newspapers are virtually unknown, and where the people have never seen a motion picture or television program.

Whatever the level of communications and comprehension, USIA must know what people think and feel about the issues that concern the United States and the free world. Knowing the reaction abroad to U.S. policies is always important as a guideline in formulating the Agency's operations.

Within this framework, Agency research sets out to accomplish its goals in a number of ways. It is designed to:

- Identify the long-term values and aspirations of the world's peoples.
- Determine the current attitudes of the USIA's audience.
- Study special groups it is attempting to influence.
- Evaluate channels and methods of communication.
- Weigh the effectiveness of its varied programs.

Since the Agency competes everywhere with the Communists, USIA carefully researches their propaganda. One result is an annual book-length study which examines in detail the diversity and intensity of worldwide Communist efforts.

Surveys and analyses of Communist activities, however, constitute only part of the research and reference support to Agency officers who operate programs in 106 countries. Some 650 studies of attitudes, current opinion, and communications outlets have been prepared during the past 5 years.

Others have assessed world opinion of U.S. Government actions and policy statements.

Fact books about communications in 76 countries have been written. These basic reference works spell out detailed information on population, education, literacy, religion, languages, communications networks and access to them. In many instances, such as those involving the newly independent countries of Africa, they provide the only compiled reference works on national communications.

> The veil of secrecy concealing Soviet space launchings was withdrawn in April at the time of the Lunik IV space shot at the moon.
>
> In contrast to all previous Soviet space efforts, the launch of Lunik IV was preceded by an advance and massive fanfare of Soviet propaganda to set the stage for another major space achievement. This reached its peak on April 4 when Soviet broadcasters voiced 98 commentaries on the subject within a period of 24 hours.
>
> Late that day, the Soviets began omitting the usual data on temperature and pressure inside the capsule. The next day, a scheduled Moscow Radio talk, ***Hitting the Moon,*** was canceled and replaced by a musical program. Then came the news that Lunik IV had failed in its mission and missed the moon by a considerable distance . . .

The factbooks and similar studies are used by all U.S. Government agencies concerned with public opinion abroad, but they were written primarily to provide direct support for Agency programs.

People in any country act on what they believe to be facts on a particular subject. Research shows that the accuracy of facts does not necessarily influence popular belief in them. Therefore, to direct programs to change or reinforce attitudes toward the United States and its policies, USIA must know what people think, and why they hold

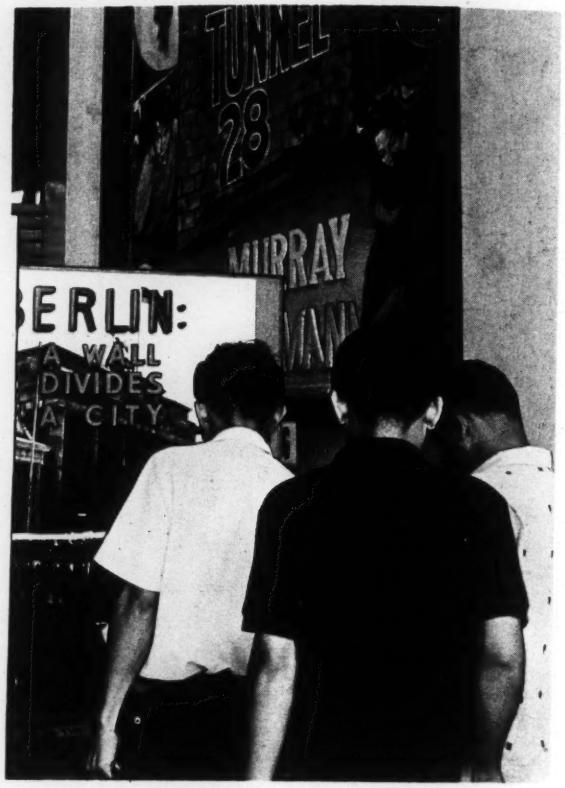
their beliefs on various issues of the day.

One study in the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, and Italy, for example, surveyed attitudes toward 17 aspects of the American way of life. Questions ranged from business practices, use of leisure time, education, the arts and science, to American literature, women and youth.

The answers pointed up the misconceptions most commonly held in Western Europe about the United States, and Europeans' interest in different aspects of U.S. life. Many of the findings confirmed the intuition of experienced officers. Other results cast helpful light on the question of why people abroad believed what they did, and from what sources they obtained their information.

In the light of these findings, USIA assigned priority attention to the most important subjects and directed its output to correct distorted and harmful impressions. Subsequent surveys were useful in evaluating the success of certain Agency programs aimed at influencing the news of well-defined groups known to have held specific opinions.

Periodic surveys have long been made to



Millions of people around the world have seen Agency exhibits depicting the "Wall of Shame" the Communists constructed in Berlin.

Bookmobile in Burma: the reading materials it carries are carefully chosen for reader interest.

evaluate trends in Western European attitudes toward a variety of issues and problems. Dramatic shifts in opinion often result from events that capture public imagination. Popular views on space exploration, for example, vary in the public mind and the relative progress of the Soviet Union vis-à-vis the United States hinges, in part, on which of the two has recently achieved a dramatic advance.

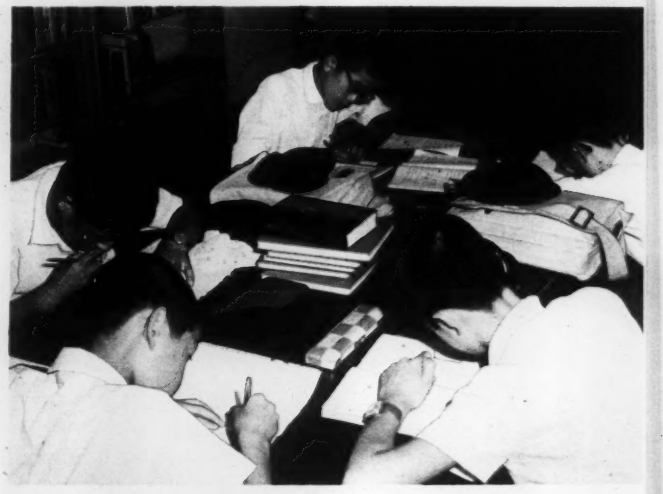
Bob Considine, a leading journalist, recently wrote:

"The caliber of our film documentaries has picked up considerably. Murrow and his associates are turning out productions which in many cases would win critical acclaim from the most hard-bitten U.S. television critics. USIA has turned The Wall in Berlin into a prop, in a sense, to the complete discomfiture of the Communists. Afro-Asians, neutrals, and others are invited to send delegations to West Berlin to observe this 20th-century obscenity. Our cameras catch them at The Wall discussing it in their own tongues, not ours. Their reactions, not ours, are of importance—as we send those films to their countries to be shown."

In 1960, for instance, most Britons believed that the U.S.S.R. led the United States in all of five classes of space development, despite a long series of American space conquests. What were the facts?

The Russians did lead in ability to launch the biggest and heaviest satellites. However, the United States had orbited a greater number of satellites. In addition, those launchings had produced far more scientific information than the Soviet shots.

Similarly, British respondents thought the Soviets were ahead of the United States when measured by dependability of rockets and effectiveness of missiles, yet, at the time, information publicly available was insufficient to determine the issue.



Tokyo high school students at work in USIS library.

These misconceptions underlined the fact that the American space story was not getting across in England and that the popular British view of Soviet leadership was based largely on inadequate knowledge. To remedy the situation, USIA greatly increased its output, through all Agency media, of persuasive, factual information about American space achievements. Surveys subsequently showed more understanding of the facts.

European awareness of U.S. strength in space soared when TELSTAR, the American Telephone & Telegraph's communications satellite, relayed television programs between the United States and Europe. That feat produced an extraordinary impact on public opinion throughout Europe and elsewhere. It showed conclusively that the United States does more than just match other space accomplishments; in certain fields it demonstrably excels and leads the Soviet Union.

Agency films shown in Korea during the past year were seen by audiences totaling 85,861,182, more than triple the actual population of the Republic. USIS in Seoul reported that 69,421,252 people saw 1 or more of the post's weekly newsreel, ***Library News.*** The remaining audience saw at least 1 of the 150 other Agency films exhibited in the 368 theaters in that country.

Research takes the guesswork out of communications. It shows ways to identify US interests with those of the local audience. Here a new Alliance for Progress school opening is filmed.

Other studies in 7 Latin American countries between December 1960 and February 1961 indicated that opinion was predominantly against Fidel Castro at the outset and that the opposition increased steadily during the period. The major source of disapproval stemmed from Castro's executions, his dictatorial extremes, and his ties to international Communism. This critical attitude extended beyond Castro to include almost all his domestic and international policies. However, his economic policies and program of "land reform" were viewed favorably, although the Cuban revolution and its aftermath were not generally regarded as a model for social change in Latin America.

More recent studies in Latin America have sought to measure public awareness of the Alliance for Progress, a major political commitment of the United States, and the degree of grassroots expectations and support for the program.

In addition to such long-range studies, USIA compiles flash reports on foreign public reaction to a developing crisis. A major example occurred during the October 1962 Cuban crisis when overseas posts reported the tenor of foreign editorial comment and broadcasts. These assessments were supplied directly to the executive committee of the National Security Council and to the appropriate Federal agencies. Similar rapid reports were supplied on overseas reaction to Atlantic Alliance problems and the Sino-Indian conflict. During the latter crisis, analyses of Chinese propaganda dealing with the issue were relayed to USIS New Delhi.

Another key area of research is the identification of elements of a national or regional population to which USIA's informational efforts should be directed.

In a Southeast Asian village, for example,

USIS Caracas inaugurated an Educational Counseling Service to cope with the stream of young Venezuelans eager to attend United States universities. Among Latin Americans, the number of Venezuelans attending American universities is second only to the number of Mexicans. Last year more than 1,000 Venezuelans entered high schools, universities, and vocational schools in the United States.

virtually all information comes from the headman, the schoolteacher, the Buddhist priest, and the traveling vendor. In the capital city of the country, other opinion formers are likely to include government officials, university faculties and students, and certain categories of skilled workers. If Agency officers and materials can reach these opinion molders and carriers, it can be expected that the message will be widely disseminated.

Nine USIS Information Centers in Japan distributed 50,000 books to schools, universities, and municipal libraries during the reporting period.

The largest distribution was in Kobe where 27,000 books were presented to universities, junior colleges, and high schools for classroom and library use and for setting up American Studies groups. Smaller donations were made to various institutions in Kanazawa, in Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Niigata, Kyoto, Sapporo, Nagoya, and Osaka.

One research study of such a group was the report entitled COMMUNICATIONS HABITS OF THE CHINESE MINORITY IN BANGKOK AND SOUTHERN THAILAND. This survey of the Chinese in Thailand, a quasi-elite minority and a key group in the Thai economy, had practical value for USIS in Thailand. That usefulness was extended when the findings were integrated with comparable studies of other target groups in Thailand. The evaluation was then combined with other demographic findings to provide an even broader study published recently as the THAILAND COMMUNICATIONS FACT BOOK.

The book also included information on the newspaper-reading and radio-listening habits of government officials, Buddhist monks, schoolteachers, university students, and the overseas Chinese. One finding, for example, showed that films effectively reach the Chinese: nine-tenths of the Chinese in southern Thailand have seen documentary films, mostly about the United States; over half of them prefer American films and they go to a commercial theater at least weekly.

Most of the surveys are intended primarily for government use, but only those which include government interpretations or sensitive data obtained from diplomatic and intelligence sources are classified.

The Agency announced in February a new policy on releasing classified surveys. It provides that studies classified as "Confidential" will be given on request to the chairman and ranking minority member of appropriate committees of Congress, but they will not be made public. Such studies will automatically be declassified and released 2 years after completion, except in rare cases where national security may be jeopardized by so doing. Surveys originally classified as "Official Use Only" will be available to appropriate committee members on request, but will not be put in the public domain for at least a year.

USIA wives volunteer for many duties at home and abroad. Here a group sorts books from Post Office dead-letter office for shipment to posts and libraries established in 106 countries.

APPENDICES

U.S. Advisory Commission On Information

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M. S. NOVIK, public service radio consultant, New York City.

JOHN L. SEIGENTHALER, editor, The Nashville Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn.

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DONLEY F. FEDDERSEN, National Educational Television and Radio Center, New York City.

RAYMOND F. GUY, broadcast consulting engineer, Haworth, N.J.

RALPH N. HARMON, vice president for engineering, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., Inc., New York City.

JACK W. HARRIS, vice president and general manager, station KPRC, Houston, Tex.

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JOHN F. WHITE, president, National Educational Television and Radio Center, New York City.

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FREEMAN LEWIS, executive vice president, Pocket Books, Inc., New York City.

FLORA B. LUDINGTON, librarian, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

STORER B. LUNT, chairman of the board, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York City.

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PORTER A. MCCRAY, director of circulating exhibitions, Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

CHARLES E. ODEGAARD, president, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

JAMES J. RORIMER, director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

JOHN WALKER, director, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

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JULIUS RUDEL, general director, New York City Opera, New York City.

HAROLD SPIVACKE, chief, Music Division, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

JOHN S. WILSON, music critic, Princeton, N.J.

Voice of America Science Advisory Group

Capt. FRANK BAHRY, Bureau of Ships, Department of the Navy.

Dr. HELMUT L. BRUECKMANN, radio antennae expert, Department of the Army.

CULLEN M. CRAIN, Electronics Department, The Rand Corp.

ROBERT L. FEIK, Electro Mechanics, Austin, Tex.

RAYMOND F. GUY, 264 Franklin St., Haworth, N.J.

RALPH N. HARMON. (See above.)

LEONARD JAFFE, Chief of Communications Satellites Programs, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

W. C. JAKES, Jr., Bell Telephone Laboratories, Inc.

RICHARD C. KIRBY, Boulder Laboratories, National Bureau of Standards.

FRANK L. MARX. (See above.)

IRVIN L. MCNALLY, Raytheon Co.

ERNEST K. SMITH, Boulder Laboratories, National Bureau of Standards.

O. G. VILLARD, Jr., Radioscience Laboratory, Stanford University.

VOICE OF AMERICA WEEKLY LANGUAGE BROADCASTS

(June 30, 1963)

	Total Hours-Minutes
Worldwide: [1]	
English	183: 45
Music U.S.A	73: 30
Total worldwide English	257: 15
East Europe:	
Albanian	10: 30
Armenian	7: 00
Bulgarian	12: 15
Czech-Slovak	10: 30
Estonian	10: 30
Georgian	7: 00
Hungarian	17: 30
Latvian	10: 30
Lithuanian	10: 30
Polish	14: 00
Rumanian	8: 45
Russian	59: 30
To Far Eastern USSR	10: 30
Serbo-Croat	10: 30
Slovene	3: 30
Ukrainian	7: 00
To Far Eastern USSR	3: 30
Total vernacular to Eastern Europe	199: 30
Total vernacular to Far Eastern USSR	14: 00
Regionalized English to Europe [2]	3: 30
English audible in area	[1] 98: 00
Arab World—Near East:	
Arabic	42: 00
Turkish	7: 00
Total vernacular to Arab World—Near East	49: 00
English to Near and Middle East	3: 30
English audible in area	[1] 89: 15
South Asia:	
Bengali (East)	3: 30
Bengali (West)	3: 30
Hindi	3: 30
Tamil	3: 30
Urdu	7: 00
Total vernacular to South Asia	21: 00
Regionalized English to South Asia	10: 30
English audible in area	45: 30

	Total Hours-Minutes
Africa:	
Arabic	7: 00
French	10: 30
Hindi	3: 30
Swahili	7: 00
Total vernacular to Africa	28: 00
Regionalized English to Africa	7: 00
English audible in area	[1] 80: 30
Far East:	
Burmese	17: 30
Cambodian	7: 00
Indonesian	14: 00
Korean	[3] 14: 00
Lao	7: 00
Mandarin	[3] 52: 30
Thai	7: 00
Vietnamese	[3] 14: 00
Total vernacular to Far East	133: 00
Regionalized English to Far East	[3] 10: 30
English audible in area	[1 3] 73: 30
Latin America:	
Spanish	[4] 63: 00
Portuguese (Brazil)	24: 30
Total vernacular to Latin America	[5] 87: 30
Regionalized English to Latin America	8: 45
English audible in area	[1] 22: 45
Grand total, Voice of America Direct Broadcasts	789: 15

[1] Of the 257:15 hours-per-week English programing, VOA employs specially regionalized shows intended for specific area listeners and additionally beams general content programing to several geographic areas simultaneously.

[2] English "To Europe" is intended for listeners on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

[3] Broadcasts in these languages are intended for Communist Asia as well as Free Asian listeners.

[4] Of the 63:00 hours-per-week Spanish language programing, 14: 00 hpw are intended specifically for Cuban listeners.

[5] 7:00 hpw Russian language programing is also beamed to Cuba.

VOICE OF AMERICA WEEKLY HOURS OF SPECIAL TRANSMISSION

(June 30, 1963)

Regular programs which are primarily intended for local rebroadcast but which are audible to shortwave listeners in the area.

	Total Hours-Minutes
Europe:	
German: To: RIAS, West Berlin, West Germany, and Austria	13: 30
French	5: 15
Italian	: 25
(Broadcast services are provided direct by point to point cable to stations in these countries:	
Belgium-Flemish and French	: 08
Denmark	: 05
Finland	: 05
Netherlands—4 separate station outlets)	: 25
Near East: Greek	3: 00
Africa: Multi-language transmission (in English, French, Hausa, Swahili, and other African vernaculars as might be available)	14: 00
Far East:	
Multi-language transmissions (in Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Malayan, Mandarin, Thai, Vietnamese and English)	14: 00
Japanese	8: 45
Total weekly special transmissions	58: 55

VOICE OF AMERICA PACKAGED PROGRAMS

In addition to foregoing, VOA regularly prepares and ships to USIS posts abroad for placement on local radio stations the following:

To Europe:

Roughly 7:30 hours per week in French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Russian (in line with the US/USSR Cultural Agreement).

To Arab World, Near East, and South Asia:

Roughly 23 hpw in Arabic, Greek, Turkish, Persian, East and West Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Urdu, English, and occasionally in Afghan (Farsi) and Hebrew.

To Africa:

Roughly 10 hpw in English, French, Amharic, Swahili, and occasionally in Arabic, Hausa, Yoruba, Lingala, and other African dialects as opportunity affords.

To Far East:

Roughly 85 hpw in Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Malayan, Mandarin, Thai, Vietnamese, French and English.

To Latin America:

Roughly 800 hpw (18 hpw to each USIS post in Latin America) in Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English. Other languages distributed on request are Japanese, Armenian, and Hindi.

PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS SERVICE

Hours of Wireless File, Weekly Transmissions

(June 30, 1963)

Area and language	*Number of countries*	*Number of posts*	*Total hours*
Near East and South Asia: English	13	17	22:00
Africa:			
English	30	32	17:00
French	18*	18*	15:00
Europe: English	16	16	17:00
East Europe: English	6	6	10:00
Latin America:			
Spanish	18	20	19:00
English	5	5	13:00
Far East:			
English	15	15	20:00
French	3*	3*	2:00
Grand total	103	111	135:00

*These countries and posts also receive English transmissions.

Salaries and Expenses Appropriation
(Fiscal Year 1963)

Appropriation, Public Law 87–843, 87th Congress	[1] $120, 445, 218
Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1963, Public Law 88–25, 88th Congress	2, 645, 000
Reimbursements from other accounts	5, 105, 411
Total	128, 195, 629

Appropriation

Fiscal year:	
1954	84, 217, 000
1955	77, 299, 000
1956	87, 336, 630
1957	113, 000, 000
1958	96, 517, 000
1959	101, 673, 800
1960	101, 557, 300
1961	105, 330, 300
1962	[2] 111, 464, 940
1963	[1] 123, 090, 218

[1] Excludes $54,782 appropriation transferred to Public Buildings Service, General Services Admin.
[2] Excludes $35,060 appropriation transferred to Public Buildings Service, General Services Admin.

Authorizations, Obligations, and Expenditures by Organizational Element
Fiscal Year 1963

[Obligations and expenditures as of June 30, 1963]
Salaries and Expenses Appropriation

	Authorized	Obligated	Expended [1]
Overseas Missions	$50, 193, 018	$50, 161, 067	$41, 269, 813
Press and Publications Service	10, 861, 501	10, 846, 744	9, 482, 160
Motion Picture Service	7, 079, 916	7, 079, 655	5, 012, 209
Information Center Service	6, 402, 201	6, 398, 298	4, 706, 383
Broadcasting Service	23, 192, 631	23, 190, 475	20, 056, 625
Television Service	3, 853, 808	3, 800, 334	2, 727, 786
Research and Reference Service	1, 549, 802	1, 547, 615	1, 314, 282
Cooperative Programs With Private Organizations	466, 633	466, 342	421, 730
Program Direction	2, 007, 616	1, 999, 299	1, 849, 489
Administration and Staff Support	7, 515, 936	7, 511, 316	6, 586, 390
Administrative Support	14, 470, 928	14, 470, 928	12, 522, 210
Agency-wide Personnel Detailed to Other Agencies	601, 639	601, 096	557, 906
Total	128, 195, 629	128, 073, 169	106, 506, 983

[1] Expenditures reported by individual allottees as of June 30, 1963.

Salaries and Expenses (Special Foreign Currency Appropriation)

[Obligations and expenditures through June 30, 1963

	Authorizations	Obligations	Expenditures
Restricted currency countries:			
Far East	$921, 182	$814, 494	$698, 976
Near East and South Asia	2, 005, 986	1, 823, 022	959, 303
Latin America	965, 623	933, 335	701, 941
West Europe	919, 776	919, 735	770, 293
Excess currency countries:			
Far East	2, 789, 438	2, 383, 300	2, 134, 491
Near East and South Asia	18, 700, 906	16, 925, 648	14, 037, 786
Special European programs	1, 488, 035	1, 112, 438	1, 059, 110
Soviet and East Europe	728, 423	540, 515	60, 992
Broadcasting Service	139, 961	139, 961	120, 488
Total [1]	28, 659, 330	25, 592, 448	20, 543, 380

[1] Excludes allocated funds expended prior to appropriations.

Acquisition and Construction of Radio Facilities (Continuing Appropriation)

[Obligations and expenditures through June 30, 1963]

	Total authorizations	Cumulative obligations	Cumulative expenditures
Total	[1] $112, 076, 358	$98, 587, 363	$86, 429, 226

[1] Includes $751,566 in counterpart funds and $396,136 reimbursements. Excludes $6,906,717 and $3,200,000 transferred to "Salaries and Expenses, Department of State, 1954" and "Salaries and Expenses, U.S. Information Agency, 1955," respectively.

Other Programs Administered by U.S. Information Agency

[Obligations and expenditures through June 30, 1963]

	Total authorizations	Cumulative obligations	Cumulative expenditures
Contract guarantees under informational media guarantee program	$82, 050, 773	$81, 300, 294	$74, 810, 059
Trade fair and related activities of the "Special International Exhibitions Program" as authorized by the "Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961" (Public Law 87–256): [1]			
Special International Program	20, 061, 471	16, 934, 947	15, 704, 864
Special International Program (Foreign Currency)	1, 648, 264	1, 398, 225	1, 261, 481

[1] Cultural presentations under this authority are carried in Department of State authorizations and appropriations beginning with fiscal year 1963. Authorizations prior to fiscal year 1963 and obligations and expenditures against those amounts are included in the amounts reported above.

LOCATION OF USIS INSTALLATIONS ABROAD*

AFGHANISTAN—Kabul

ALGERIA—Algiers, Constantine, Oran

ARGENTINA—Buenos Aires, Cordoba Rosario, *Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Dean Funes, General Alvear, Mendoza, Rosario, Salta, San Francisco, San Juan, Santiago del Estero, Tucuman, Villa Dolores, Villa Maria,* (Avellaneda)

AUSTRALIA—Canberra, Melbourne, Sydney, (Melbourne)

AUSTRIA—Vienna, Salzburg, (Linz)

BELGIUM—Brussels

BOLIVIA—La Paz, Cochabamba, *La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz* (Oruro), (Potosi), (Sucre), (Tarija)

BRAZIL—Rio de Janeiro, Belem, Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, Curitiba, Fortaleza, Porto Alegre, Recife, Salvador, Sao Paulo, *Belem, Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, Curitiba, Florianapolis, Fortaleza, Juiz de Fora, Londrina, Natal, Porto Alegre, Recife Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Salvador University, Sao Luiz, Sao Paulo, Santos, Soracaba, Vitoria, Aracaju, Araraquara, Barbacena, Botucatu, Caxias do Sul, Itapetininga, Joao Pessoa, Manaus, Marilia, Pelotas, Piracicaba, Resende, Presidente Prudente, Ponta Grossa, Ribeirao Preto, Santa Maria, Sao Jose do Rio Preto, Uberaba, Uberlandia, Viscosa*

BRITISH GUIANA—Georgetown

BURMA-Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, *Rangoon*

BURUNDI—Usumbura

CAMBODIA—Phnom Penh, (Battambang), (Chbar Ampeou), (Kampot), (Komgpong Cham), (Komgpong Chhnang), (Komgpong Luong), (Komgpong Phnom), (Komgpong Speu), (Komgpong Thom), Prey Veng), (Pursat), (Siem Reap), (Svay Rieng), (Takeo)

CAMEROON—Yaounde, Douala

CANADA—Ottawa, Toronto

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC—Bengui

CEYLON—Colombo, (Kandy)

CHAD—Fort Lamy

CHILE—Santiago, *Antofagasta, Chillan, Chuquicamata, Concepcion, Maria Elena, Osorno, Pedro de Valdivia, Punta Arenas, Santiago, Talca, Temuco, Valparaiso*

COLOMBIA—Bogota, Cali, Barranquilla, *Bogota, Bucaramanga, Cali, Cartagena, Manizales, Medellin, Popayan,* (Barranquilla), (Medellin)

CONGO, Republic of the—Leopoldville, Bukavu, Stanleyville, Elizabethville, Coquilhatville.

CONGO—Republic of—Brazzaville

COSTA RICA—San Jose, *Limon, Puntaranas, San Jose* (Golfito)

CYPRUS—Nicosia

DAHOMEY—Cotonou

DENMARK—Copenhagen

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—Santo Domingo, Santiago de los Caballeros, *Santiago, Santa Domingo,* (Santo Domingo)

ECUADOR—Quito, Guayaquil, *Ambato, Bahia de Caraquez, Cuenca, Guayaquil, Manta, Otavlo, Portoviejo, Quito,* (Riobamba)

EL SALVADOR—San Salvador, *Ahuachapan, San Miguel, San Salvador*

ETHIOPIA—Addis Ababa, Asmara, (Harar)

FINLAND—Helsinki

FRANCE—Paris, Bordeaux, Marseille, Strasbourg, Tours, *Rennes,* (Lyon)

FRENCH WEST INDIES—Fort-de-France, (Point-a Pitre), Fort-de-France)

GERMANY—Bonn, Berlin, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, Stuttgart, Cologne, Essen, Kaiserslautern, Bremen, Hannover, Kiel, *Darmstadt, Frieburg, Heidelberg, Kassel, Koblenz, Marburg, Nurnberg, Regensburg, Tuebingen,* (Dusseldorf), (Saarbruecken)

GHANA—Accra

GREAT BRITAIN—London

GREECE—Athens, Thessaloniki, *Athens,* (Kavalla), (Patras), (Piraeus)

GUATEMALA—Guatemala City, *Guatemala City,* (Quezaltenango)

GUINEA—Conakry

HAITI—Port-au-Prince, *Port-au-Prince,* (Cap Haitien)

HONDURAS—Tegucigalpa, *San Pedro Sula, Tegurigalpa*

HONG KONG—Hong Knog

ICELAND—Reykjavik

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*Key to types of installation:

Kabul—mission post, branch post or subpost.

Buenos Aires—bi-national center operated with host country.

(Avellaneda)—reading room or distribution outlet.

INDIA—New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Trivandrum, *Bombay, Calcutta,* (Guntur), (Patna)

INDONESIA—Djakarta, Jogjakarta, Medan, Surabaya (Djakarta), (Makassar)

IRAN—Tehran, Isfahan, Khorramshahr, Meshed, Tabriz, *Tehran, Isfahan, Meshed*

IRAQ—Baghdad

ISRAEL—Tel Aviv (Jerusalem)

ITALY—Rome, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Trieste, Turin, Catania, *Genoa, Naples,* (Bari)

IVORY COAST—Abidjan

JAMAICA—Kingston, (Kingston)

JAPAN—Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka, Nogoya, Sapporo, Yokohama, Niigata, Sendai, Hiroshima, Kobe, Kyoto, Kanazawa, (Akita), (Amami), (Hakodate), (Kokura), (Kumamoto), (Matsuyama), (Nagano), (Nagasaki), (Okayama), (Shizuoka), (Takamatsu)

JORDAN—Amman, (Jerusalem)

KENYA—Nairobi

KOREA—Seoul, Kwangju, Pusan, Taegu

LAOS—Vientiane, Luang Prabang, Pakse, Savannakhet, *Vientiane,* (Luang Prabang), (Pakse), (Savannakhet)

LEBANON—Beirut, (Nasra)

LIBERIA—Monrovia

LIBYA—Benghazi, Tripoli, Baida, (Sebha)

MALAGASY REPUBLIC—Tananarive

MALAYA—Kuala Lumpur, Penang

MALI—Bamako

MEXICO—Mexico City, Guadalajara, Mazatlan, Monterrey, *Guadalajara, Merida, Mexico City, Monterrey, Morelia, San Luis Potosi, Veracruz,* (Mazatlan), (Puebla), (Tampico)

MOROCCO—Rabat, Casablanca, Fez, Marrakech, Tangier

NEPAL—Katmandu

NETHERLANDS—The Hague, (Amsterdam)

NEW ZEALAND—Wellington, (Wellington)

NICARAGUA—Manague, *Leon, Managua*

NIGERIA—Lagos, Enugu, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano

NIGER—Niamey

NORWAY—Oslo, (Tromso)

PAKISTAN—Karachi, Dacca, Lahore, Peshawar, *Karachi,* (Barisal), (Chittagong), (Hyderabad), (Mymensingh), (Quetta), (Rajshahi), (Rangpur), (Rawalpindi), (Sylhet)

PANAMA—Panama City, David, *Colon, Panama City*

PARAGUAY—Asuncion, *Asuncion*

PERU—Lima, Arequipa, *Arequipa, Callao, Chiclayo, Cuzco, Huancayo, Lima, Miraflores, Piura, Puna, Tacna, Trujillo,* (Cuzco), (Puno)

PHILIPPINES—Manila, Cebu

PORTUGAL—Lisbon, (Oporto)

RHODESIA & NYASALAND, Federation of—Salisbury, Blantyre, Lusaka

SAUDI ARABIA—Jidda

SENEGAL—Dakar

SIERRA LEONE—Freetown

SINGAPORE—Singapore

SOMALI REPUBLIC—Mogadiscio

SOUTH AFRICA, Republic of—Pretoria, Capetown, Johannesburg

SPAIN—Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, *Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid,* (Bilbao)

SUDAN—Khartoum

SURINAM—Paramaribo

SWEDEN—Stockholm, (Goteborg)

SWITZERLAND—Bern, Geneva

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC—Damascus

TAIWAN—Taipei, Kaohsiung, Taichung, (Chai-Yi), (Pingtung), (Tainan)

TANGANYIKA—Dar-es-Salaam

THAILAND—Bangkok, Chiengmai, Korat, Songkhla, Ubol, Udorn, *Bangkok*

TOGO—Lome

TRINIDAD—Port-of-Spain (Port-of-Spain)

TUNISIA—Tunis

TURKEY—Ankara, Adana, Istanbul, Izmir, *Ankara, Adana, Izmir, Bursa, Istanbul*

UGANDA—Kampala

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC—Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said

UPPER VOLTA—Ouagadougou

URUGUAY—Montevideo, (Salto)

VENEZUELA—Caracas, Puerto La Cruz, Maracaibo, *Caracas, Puerto La Cruz*

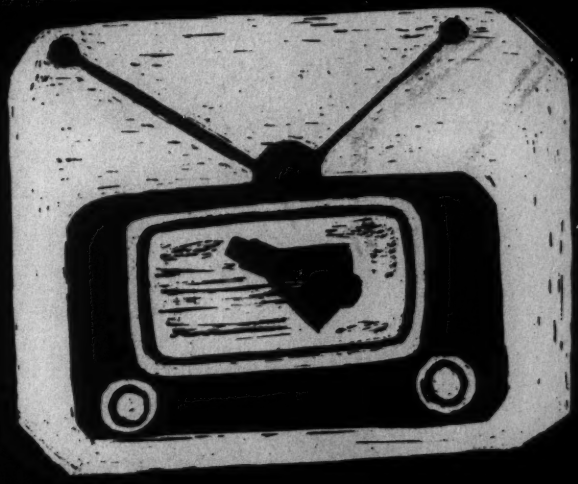
VIETNAM—Saigon, Can Tho, Dalat, Hue, Dalat, *Saigon, Hue,* (Can Tho)

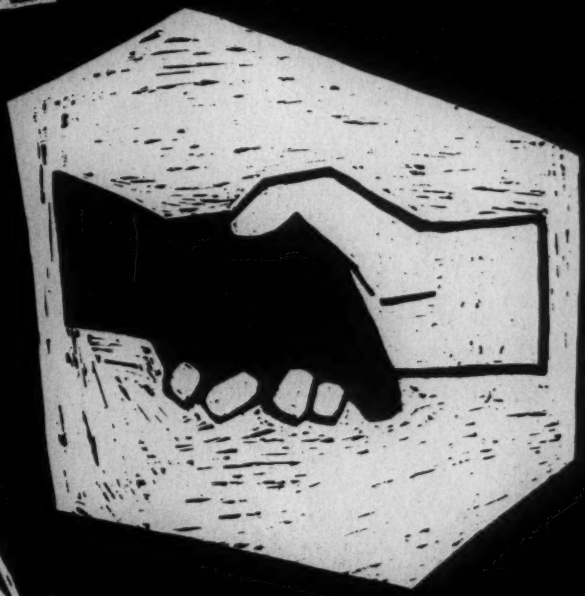
YEMEN—Taiz

YUGOSLAVIA—Belgrade, Zagreb, (Novi Sad)

ZANZIBAR—Zanzibar

NOTE: Listing does not include RADIO RELAY STATIONS (Colombo, Rhodes, Monrovia, Munich, Okinawa, Philippines, Tangier, Thessaloniki); PRESS SERVICE CENTERS (Beirut, Manila, Mexico City); or RADIO PROGRAM CENTERS (Bangkok, Cairo, Munich, Rhodes, Monrovia); or posts within United States (Miami and Foreign Correspondents Center, New York).





UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

20TH REVIEW OF OPERATIONS

January 1 – June 30, 1963

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
Washington, D.C.

The United States Information Agency is now completing a decade of operations as an independent Agency. In that time it has matured and become an effective instrument to gain overseas understanding and support for our national policies. Its men and women, assigned to 239 posts in 106 countries around the world, are skilled communicators and serve as spokesmen for America.

They employ many techniques of communication to explain the people and policies of the United States to overseas audiences in languages, climates and cultures far different from our own. During the two and a half years as director of USIA, I have found its people to possess professional skills and a degree of dedication unsurpassed either in the Government or the private sector.

We cannot know what the future holds but we can be certain that the ideological confrontation with Communism will continue. USIA is in the front-line of that contest, thus ensuring that our way and our point of view are understood abroad. In this implacable competition I am hopeful that we shall have the backing of the Congress and the people.

The past six months have been marked by many USIA projects and activities that have achieved measurable effect. The Astronaut Cooper shot was fully covered by all media and as a result the flight attained greater dramatic impact than any previous space event. When President Kennedy met with the Central American Presidents, USIA ensured that the meaning of this event received broad and continuing attention.

Overseas officers are working closely with critically important youth and labor groups and are acquainting the world with U.S. scientific achievements. Backing up these activities, and reaching out to audiences behind the Communist curtains, is the electronic power of the Voice of America, which has been doubled. An overseas research program helps guide Agency operations and tailor the output of our media to the needs and interests of a worldwide audience.

A detailed account of this work during the past six months follows.

EDWARD R. MURROW, *Director*

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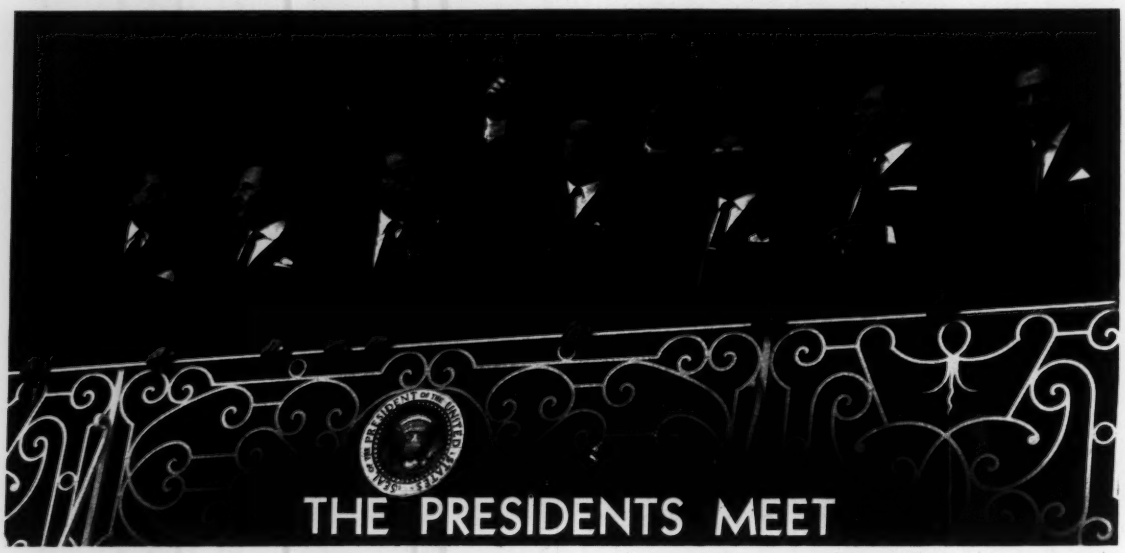


President Kennedy and Six Latin American Presidents Confer In Costa Rica—The Purpose is To Raise Living Standards in Central America—USIA Reporting Supports Conference Aims

CROWDS unprecedented in the history of Central America converged in San Jose, Costa Rica, last March to pay tumultuous tribute to 5 of their Presidents, to the President of Panama, and to John F. Kennedy, President of the United States.

The conference was called to help raise the economic standards of the peoples of the Isthmian countries under the Alliance for Progress. President Kennedy described the meeting as a "search for a better way of life for our peoples."

This meeting of the Presidents, which USIA covered thoroughly, was climaxed by the historic Declaration of Central America, in which the chief executives agreed that economic integration of Central America offers the best hope for improving the well-being of the peoples of that region. Concurrently the 7 Presidents declared that their programs of social and economic betterment depend on reinforcing measures to meet Soviet subversive aggression through Cuba or any other place in the Americas.

Advance preparation by all media of USIA laid the groundwork for smooth and coordinated coverage of the meeting, with a steady outflow of press, radio, motion picture, and television material to all parts of the world. This effort was aimed at assuring the broadest possible popular impact of the conference, at conveying to all strata of Latin American society the importance of the meeting and the hopes for a better future that it sought to realize.

An Agency press coverage team filed some 30 stories from San Jose, including full texts of all important declarations, for servicing in English and other languages via radio-teletype to more than 100 of the Agency's overseas offices, called USIS posts (U.S. Information *Service*). Correspondents covering the meeting were provided with background materials and a press kit prepared in advance. More than 6,000 photographic prints were made in special facilities at the post and dispatched directly to USIS outlets for placement in a great variety and number of overseas publications.

News coverage throughout Central

America and Mexico was thorough, with all leading daily papers giving the story heavy front-page treatment.

The VOICE OF AMERICA team at San Jose produced daily, 20-minute radio programs on the conference in both English and Spanish as well as half-hour summaries each morning and evening. It also transmitted a background study in Spanish on the Central American Common Market with quotes from various dignitaries attending the sessions.

This programing dominated VOA broadcasts to Latin America during the conference, and was used in abbreviated form in reporting to other parts of the world. In addition, VOICE reporters at the meeting prepared many recorded programs which were air-expressed to Agency posts throughout Latin America for placement on local radio stations. Commentaries supplemented the newscasts, and a final half-hour assessment of the meeting was aired twice on March 22 and repeated the following morning.

Twenty thousand feet of motion picture film, that included 3 preconference shows and 10-minute daily summaries of news developments at the sessions, were filmed for showing by TV stations and networks in many countries. A half-hour color documentary, UNITED IN PROGRESS, was produced. It consists of colorful and moving sequences in each of the 5 Central American countries and Panama.

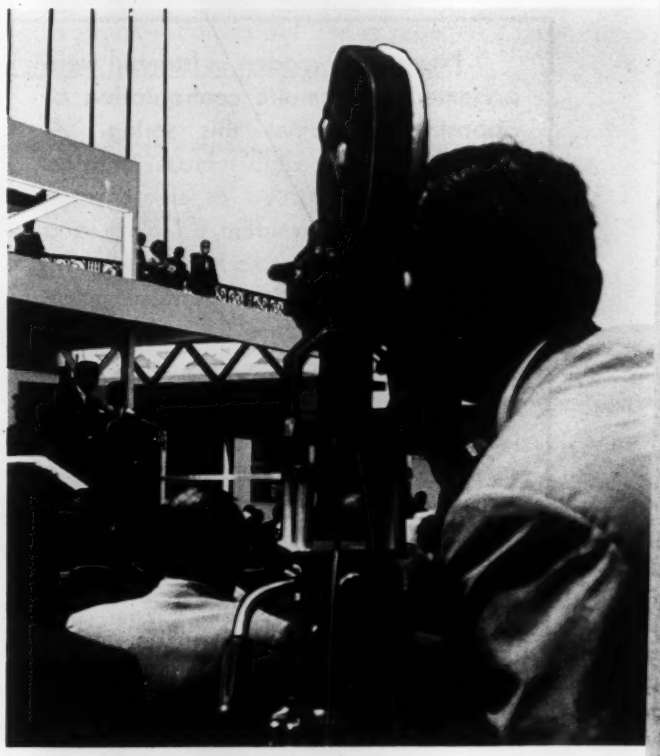
The film concentrates on people, their efforts toward industrialization, progress through self-help, and their close unity with the people of North America. It explores in detail significant aspects of the Central American Common Market and dramatizes the spirit of the Alliance for Progress. This film, one of a series of Agency productions dealing with heads of state, interprets a phase of U.S. foreign policy. It was distributed widely to theaters, libraries, labor unions, schools, and USIS mobile units throughout a major part of Latin America.

A shorter black-and-white film on the conference itself was also produced by USIS Mexico City and sent to all Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America within a week of the closing session.

These results required a great deal of advance preparations:

- Supplies were laid in.
- Round-the-clock working schedules for secretaries, interpreter-escorts, messengers, clerks, and technicians were arranged.
- The USIS staff in San Jose (3 Americans and 9 Costa Ricans) was augmented by personnel from other posts.
- Hotel space and transportation were reserved for the diplomats and communications personnel participating in the meeting.
- Two press centers and a photo laboratory were set up.
- A shuttle plane service was established between San Jose and Panama to speed USIS films and photographs to their destinations.

In addition, cables were strung; platforms for photographers were constructed at 3



USIS cameraman in San Jose records the speech by President Kennedy for film, **United in Progress.**

sites; communications facilities were installed; and quarters for the work crews were reserved.

The USIS officers at the media centers helped American press, radio, and television correspondents in conference accreditation and supplied them with background material. Crises were met hourly during the 3 days of the meeting. Bottlenecks in transportation were overcome; enthusiastic mobs pressing against the ropes toppled the photographers' platform, and necessitated rushing carpenters to the scene for hasty repair work; guards were mounted to protect the valuable film and television equipment. At the USIS offices, a staff steadily filed press stories; dispatched motion pictures and television films; sorted, captioned, and sent out photographs.

Messages from USIS posts showed that the advance preparations paid off. One from Quito, Ecuador, for example, said, "we received filmed television and taped radio coverage daily during the conference, usually within 24 hours . . . This is the best coverage we have ever received on any major event.

Newspaper readers in Istanbul were presented a dramatic confrontation of opposing ideologies this spring. A locally prepared USIS release, entitled *The Choice,* consisted of side-by-side photographs of President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev and captioned with a quotation from public addresses made by both heads of state.

The quote from the President's State of the Union message read:

"We seek not the world-wide victory of one nation or system, but a world-wide victory of man."

The Khrushchev quote was from a speech made the same day in East Germany in which he said:

"The future belongs to Communism. For others—get out of the way. Death is waiting for you."

The coverage was wide: 12 Istanbul newspapers carried *The Choice.*

Some examples of Agency pamphlets distributed in Latin America after the Conference.

We were able to place on local media every bit of the material received."

Through USIA, the world saw and heard the resounding welcome accorded President Kennedy—accompanied by members of the Senate and the House of Representatives—in the Central American capital on March 18. A crowd of 250,000 lined the 3-mile parade route from the airport, waving U.S. and Central American flags and even swarming onto the press buses for a closer look.

From San Jose's National Theater, President Kennedy said: "We will build a wall around Cuba—not a wall of mortar and brick or barbed wire but a wall of dedicated men determined to protect their own freedom and sovereignty . . ." Throughout Latin America, people heard the President declare: "We are confident of our ultimate success in protecting our freedom, in raising living standards of our citizens, of beginning a new era of hope in American history . . ."

Mr. Kennedy was the first American President to speak on a Latin American university campus when he addressed 10,000 students and guests at the University of Costa Rica. His remarks, which included the observation that Cuba is an example of Communism's failure, were spread throughout the world by USIA.

USIA media carried to all points of the globe the specific pledges made by the Presidents in their Declaration of Costa Rica to unify fiscal and social policies, cooperate on export programs, and to institute reforms in agriculture, taxation, education, public administration, and social welfare.

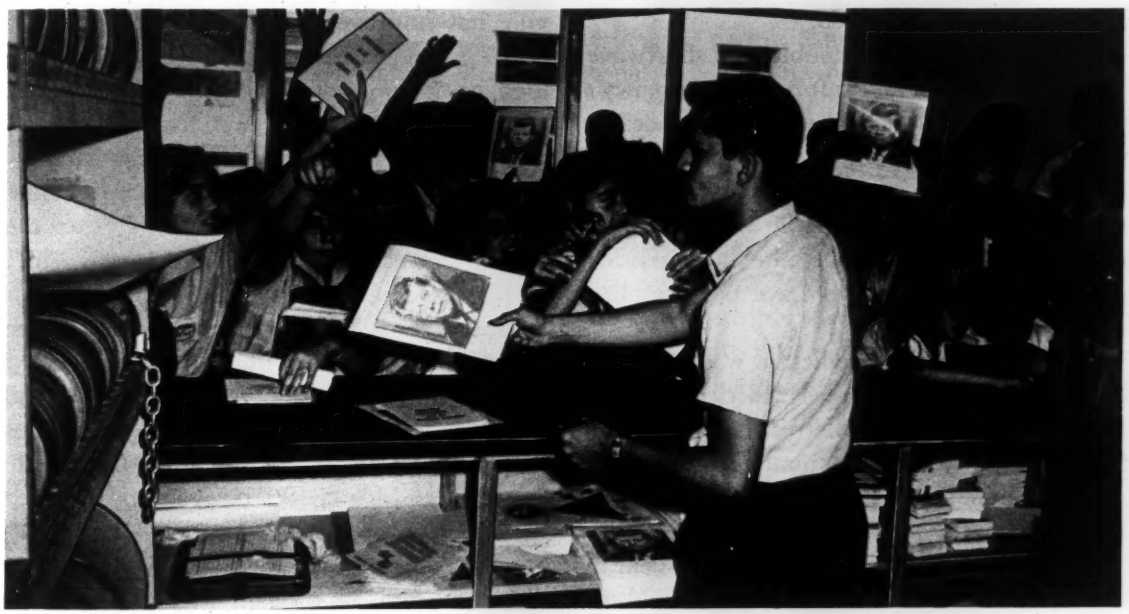
In their Declaration, the Presidents also reaffirmed their support of the principles of the Charter of Punta del Este—the document which set forth the goals of the Alliance for Progress, the 10-year cooperative program aimed at speeding economic and social development in the Western Hemisphere.

A number of meetings and seminars were subsequently organized in various cities of Central America to follow through with the recommendations made at the Conference.

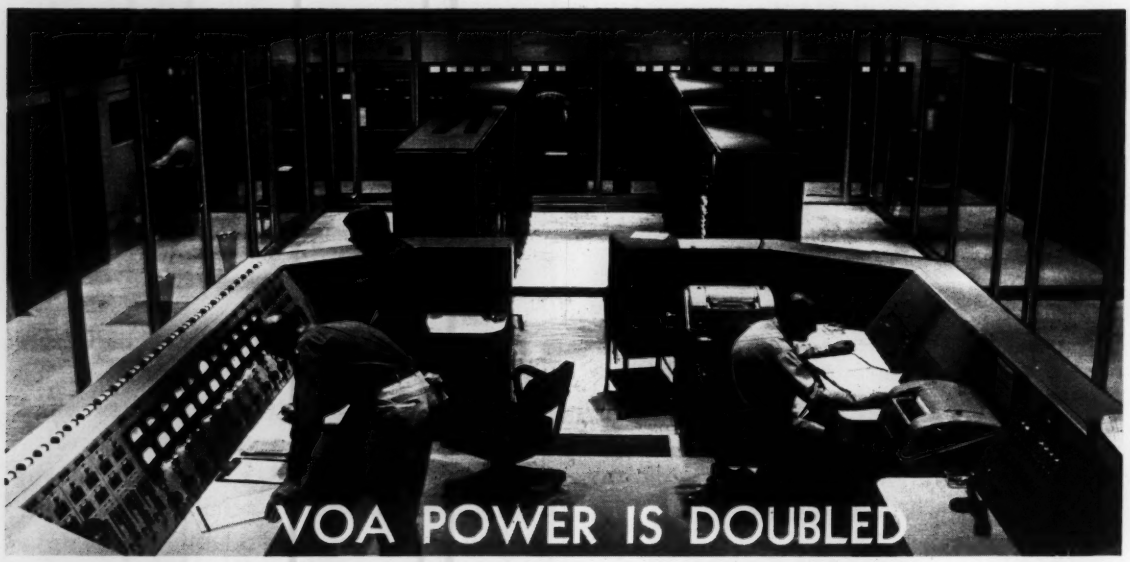
The President's June 11 speech to the Nation on civil rights was reported worldwide by all media. Far East and Latin America broadcasts of the *Voice*, on the air at the time, carried the message live. Broadcasts to other areas repeated extensive excerpts as they came on the air.

The full text was transmitted by radioteletype to 111 posts the same evening for distribution to all the news media, important government officials and others. The 3 USIA regional printing plants at Manila, Beirut, and Mexico City reproduced it as a leaflet in various languages. A color film was made and excerpts were dispatched by air for newsreel and TV showings throughout the free world.

The Agency has a continuing responsibility of supporting the Government's foreign policy objectives. Handling of the President's June 11 speech is a good example of the way in which it carries out this mission.



The USIS office in San Jose satisfies a brisk demand for photos, films and printed materials during the Meeting of the Presidents in March which captured enthusiastic popular attention.



North Carolina Transmitter Multiplies Voice of America to Power of 96 Strongest U.S. Radio Stations—Overseas Posts Report Fine Reception—A Quarter Billion Radio Sets Abroad

"MORE peoples in many new lands will now hear . . . the voice of this country, the VOICE OF AMERICA," President Kennedy said at the dedication of the world's most powerful long-range radio transmitter in Greenville, N.C., on February 8, 1963.

The new complex doubles the shortwave power of the U.S. Information Agency's global radio network and so will enhance the volume and clarity of broadcasts to Latin America, Europe, and Africa. Its output of 4,800,000 watts equals the 96 strongest U.S. commercial radio stations; the last decade's great electronic advances have been applied in its construction.

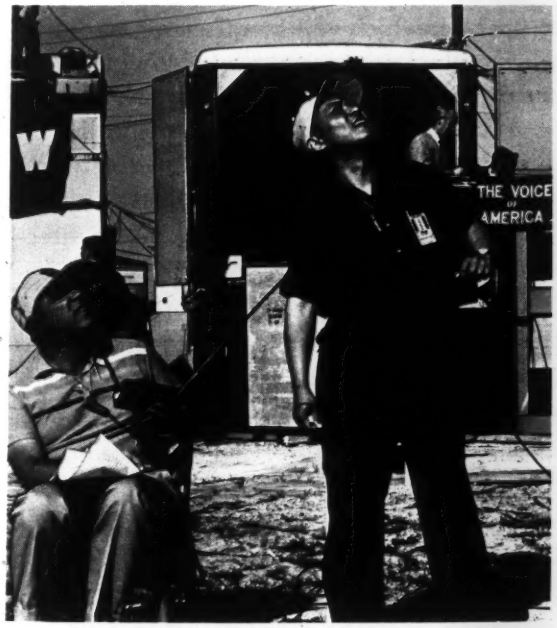
The President's prediction was soon fulfilled. Messages from areas in Africa, Europe, and Latin America, where VOA reception had been spotty, were unanimous in reporting that the new signal from Greenville was of excellent quality. Sample cables:

- Rabat, Morocco: "Coming in clear as a bell, almost booming in . . . at least holds its own with Moscow, the British, Monte Carlo and other powerful transmitters heard locally." Belgrade, Yugoslavia: "Signal clearly above normal levels."
- Amsterdam, the Netherlands: "I heard you for the first time . . . with excellent reception." Hamburg, Germany: "Greenville has improved our reception 1,000 percent." Mushin, Nigeria: "Please accept my high commendation for the very unbeatable and perhaps unequaled broadcasts . . ."
- Moscow University: "Here in Moscow the program is clearly heard." An Indonesian student in Moscow reported: "I hear the VOICE OF AMERICA every day in my room." Montevideo, Uruguay: "Sometimes it seems as if the transmitter station were across the street . . . signal excellent."
- Rio de Janeiro: "All bands loud and clear . . . anticipate rapidly expanding audience." USIS in Rio reported Greenville strength as high as 90 decibels, the highest measurement ever recorded on VOA broadcasts to Latin America. Leopoldville, the Congo: "Able to tune in without difficulty. It was particularly gratifying to hear the big signal . . . often the top station on the band."

Technical radio monitors in Belgrade and Vienna said the Greenville signals are the only ones from the United States that could be relied on in the early morning and afternoon.

Since the inception of the new complex, VOA relay stations in both Europe and Africa have been choosing Greenville signals for relay when they have been available. The Monrovia relays in Liberia and on the Island of Rhodes are now using Greenville 75 percent of the time.

At the end of May the Associated Press reported from Havana that "despite constant 'jamming' on mediumwave lengths, the VOICE OF AMERICA broadcasts reach thousands of listeners here who own shortwave receivers." The dispatch further stated that "apparently overwhelmed by their power and number, Cuban authorities seemed to have given up 'jamming' the VOA shortwave broadcasts in Spanish." The report said that jamming seemed effective only in the Havana area and that Castro himself recently hinted "that good reception of U.S. radio stations in Mantanzas Province had something to do with unrest in that area."



Spanish- and Mandarin-speaking VOA announcers describe "live" a Cape Canaveral rocket launching to wide audiences abroad.

The Soviet Union stopped jamming ***Voice of America*** broadcasts in Russian and U.S.S.R. minority and Baltic languages on June 19, 1963. VOA shortwave signals now can be clearly heard by audiences throughout a large part of the Soviet Union.

The Russians have tried to jam VOA programs since 1948 except in late 1959 and early 1960, and the 1963 cessation, which continued at the end of the reporting period.

To minimize interference with Radio Moscow's domestic broadcasts, VOA cut the nighttime power of its Munich longwave megawatt transmitter. The mediumwave transmitter there continues to operate at full power of 300 kilowatts, providing good reception.

Completion of the Greenville Complex is not the only step taken to strengthen the signal of the VOICE OF AMERICA.

Relay stations at Dixon and Delano in California and at Bethany, Ohio, are being modernized. RIAS, the Agency's station in Free Berlin, has been equipped with new antennas to permit a fivefold increase in nighttime power for broadcasts to East Germany.

The power of 6 transmitters, leased by the Voice from the British Broadcasting Corp. at Woofferton in England, is being increased 5 times to 250,000 watts each.

Work is progressing on a major relay station outside Monrovia in Liberia. It will be powered by six 250,000-watt and two 50,000-watt transmitters. Pending its completion, the area south of the Sahara is being serviced by three 50,000-watt shortwave transmitters, all air transportable, installed in Monrovia early in the year.

One other USIA transportable transmitter, also 50,000 watts in strength, has been broadcasting in Spanish to Cuba by medium wave from Marathon Key, about 25 miles off the coast of Florida.

More effective land-based transmitters

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are replacing those aboard the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Courier,* now anchored in the Mediterranean harbor of Rhodes.

In addition to its shortwave transmitters, the VOICE operates 7 medium and longwave transmitters. Three of these are megawatt units, located at Munich, in the Philippines and on Okinawa, and are among the most powerful in the world.

Agreements have been signed with the Governments of both Greece and the Philippines which, contingent upon Congressional appropriations, will strengthen VOICE broadcasts throughout the Balkans and the eastern half of the Asian continent.

Project Gamma in Thessaloniki, Greece, calls for the installation and operation of ten 250,000-watt shortwave and one 150,000-watt mediumwave transmitters. Project Bamboo in the Philippines will consist of ten 250,000-watt shortwave transmitters. This installation will be distinct from the present complex in the Philippines where the VOICE currently is operating a 1,000,000-watt medium-wave, two 100,000-watt shortwave, two 35,000-watt shortwave, as well as a complex of communications transmitters.

USIS studios located at a number of places in the Far East record new programs for local use.

The operation of the Greenville plant requires about 100 employees, working around the clock to transmit programs abroad at peak listening times in various areas. A receiver site and 2 transmitter locations occupy 6,192.9 acres near Greenville on North Carolina's coastal plain.

This location has these advantages:

- Favorable electronic and engineering conditions
- Remoteness from other communications service reduces the possibility of interference
- Great amounts of electric power available locally
- Terrain suitable for the type of construction employed.

The complex will cost $2,450,000 a year to operate, which will be offset somewhat by retiring obsolete transmitters at Wayne, N.J., and Brentwood and Schenectady, N.Y.

Greenville is the strongest single link in the VOICE OF AMERICA'S shortwave network. The complex includes six 500,000-watt transmitters and several smaller units, and 95 directional antennas.

The new receiving station, separated from the transmitting stations to prevent interference, is a reinforced-concrete-and-glass structure built along contemporary lines. Its most conspicuous features are the transmitting antennas and the imposing microwave tower which receives programs prepared in the Washington studios of the VOICE.

Inside the building, the master control presents a fantastic array of lights, switches, and dials. The receiver room contains long banks of receivers in 8-foot cabinets, and the

In June, various organs of the Soviet Communist Party voiced growing and vituperative concern at the effectiveness of USIA. ***Trud,*** the official labor organ, described the Agency as "a perfect example of an instrument for poisoning the minds of the people with deceitful propaganda." The principal journal of the Central Committee, ***Kommunist,*** charged that USIA "uses the entire arsenal of the means of mass influence over the minds of men." ***Komsomolskaya Pravda,*** the daily mentor of Soviet Communist youth, called Agency officers in Africa "specialists in the psychological seasoning and the ideological corruption of the population." That was not all.

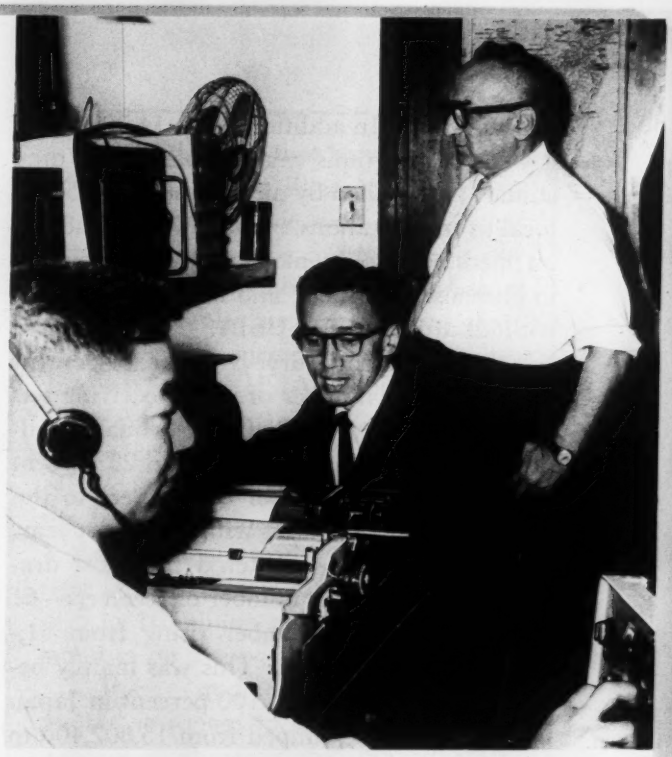
On June 9, ***Radio Moscow*** lamented that USIA "provokes sleepless nights in Socialist countries."

In the Soviet Plenum in late June, Party First Secretary Leonid Ilichov told his audience that "Western imperialists have seen the folly of relying on military or economic superiority to subdue the Socialist world and have instead turned to psychological and ideological warfare."

Komsomolskaya Pravda, in an earlier article, contended that USIA efforts were doomed to failure because "it seeks to discredit in the eyes of the people the great ideas of Communism and to beautify by ideological cosmetics the disgusting face of Capitalism."

teletype room has a battery of intricate equipment and communications receivers. Since the building is somewhat isolated, it is also outfitted with a kitchen, food storage space, a dining hall, and working offices.

The 2 transmitter sites are of complementary modern functional architecture. Dominating the scene are huge orange-and-white "curtain antennas" which soar some 400 feet above the ground. One of these twin



VOA technical monitors, assigned to key listening points around the world, regularly evaluate the quality of ***Voice of America*** shortwave programs. They employ instruments that approximate the reception of an ordinary radio set in the area to determine the strength and clarity of the Agency broadcasts. Shown above is the team on the Island of Formosa monitoring a signal.

plants went on the air in December of 1962, the other began operations early in 1963.

Each building has three 500,000-watt, three 250,000-watt, and three 50,000-watt transmitters, which flank the master control console on a central dais. A massive radio switchgear structure, armored in aluminum, is a striking addition to the transmitter building itself. This unit stands 3 stories high and covers an area about one-third the size of a football field. It houses 55 switching modules, which connect and switch the 9 transmitters to the proper antennas to aim the particular program at its target area of the world. Offices, machine shops, and facilities for milling, antenna rigging, and testing and repairing of electronic equipment complete these installations.

At the close of the reporting period the VOICE was broadcasting a total of 789 hours weekly in 36 languages directly from Washington studios via strategically located relay

transmitters. In addition, some 14,000 hours a week of programs were prepared in VOICE studios and mailed by air to more than 5,000 local overseas stations. These were broadcast on mediumwave in more than 60 languages to immense audiences, and in many instances without attribution to USIA.

Recent Agency surveys show a 15-percent increase in the number of radio receiving sets overseas to a new high of over a quarter billion, and an increase of more than 25 percent in the aggregate number of listeners to the VOICE OF AMERICA—this within the past year.

The Far East registered the most dramatic increase in the number of receivers—61 percent—with the number rising from 31,115,600 to 50,218,000. This was mainly because of a rise of almost 100 percent in Japan where sets in use jumped from 15,802,400 to 31,169,000.

In non-Arab Africa an increase of over 36 percent was noted as the total of sets rose from 3,230,300 to 4,390,000. Latin America gained more than 16 percent—from 26,273,800 to 30,617,000.

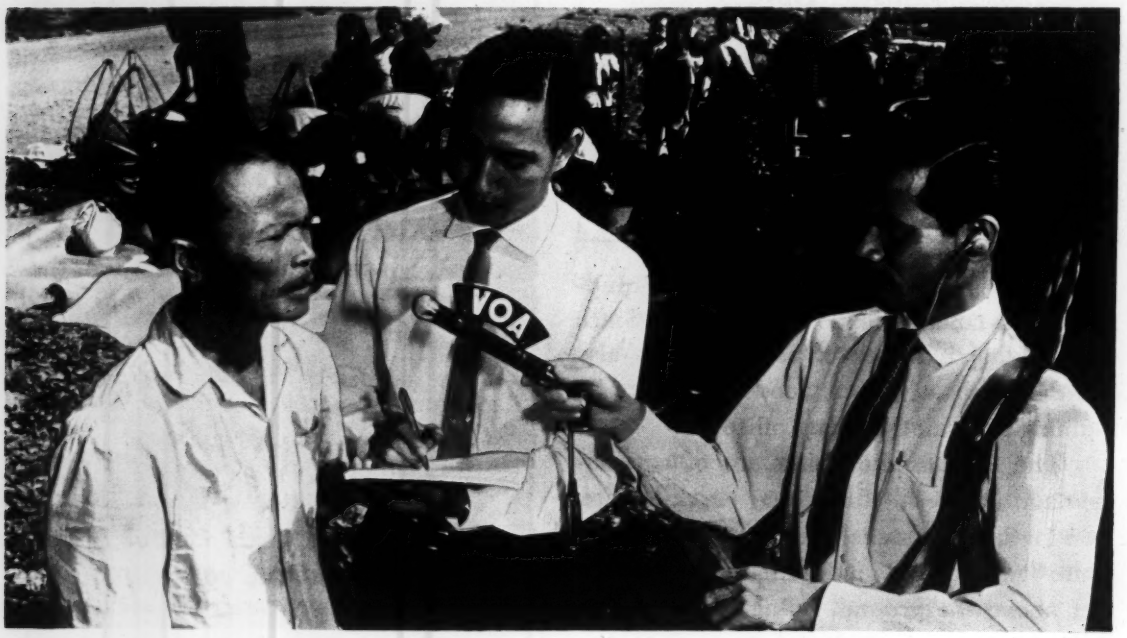
The VOICE periodically solicits listener response to broadcasts to determine the size and composition of its audiences. Reactions by mail to regular programs are requested, together with data such as name, address, age, education and occupation, all of which is useful in program planning.

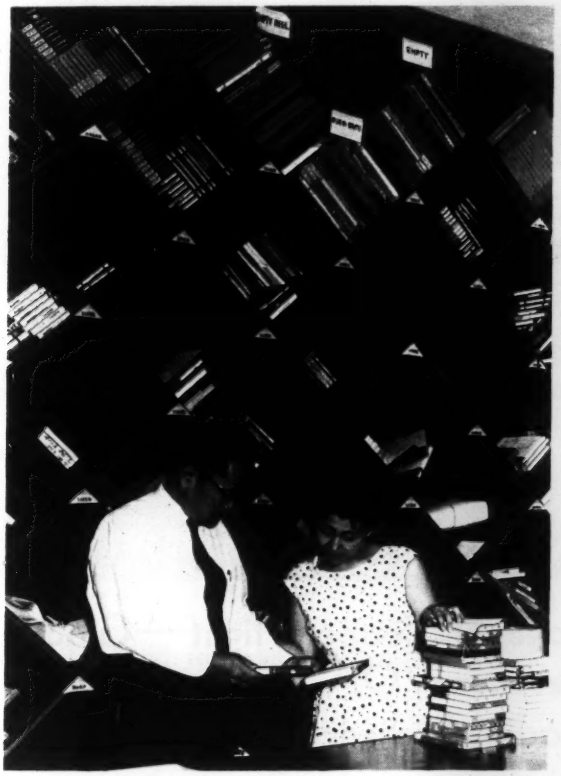
Following a recent request for such information, 35,000 listeners in Latin America replied, including 1,500 from isolated Cuba. Similar broadcasts in Portuguese brought 11,000 replies from Brazil and announcements in Arabic resulted in over 5,000 from widely scattered points.

These responses have provided a clearer picture of the typical VOICE listener and his program preferences. He tends to be in the 18–30 age group; he is a student, either at a formal educational institution or in a home study course; he listens to many foreign political broadcasts.

In addition, these audience reactions serve other purposes: they provide contacts for Agency officers abroad; they yield valuable information on signal clarity in areas where USIA has no monitoring station; they indicate the times of day when most people listen to radio; they show which types of programs are most widely appreciated.

Voice of America field unit interviews Vietnamese villagers on resettlement program which is aimed to protect them and their families against the depredations of Communist guerrillas.

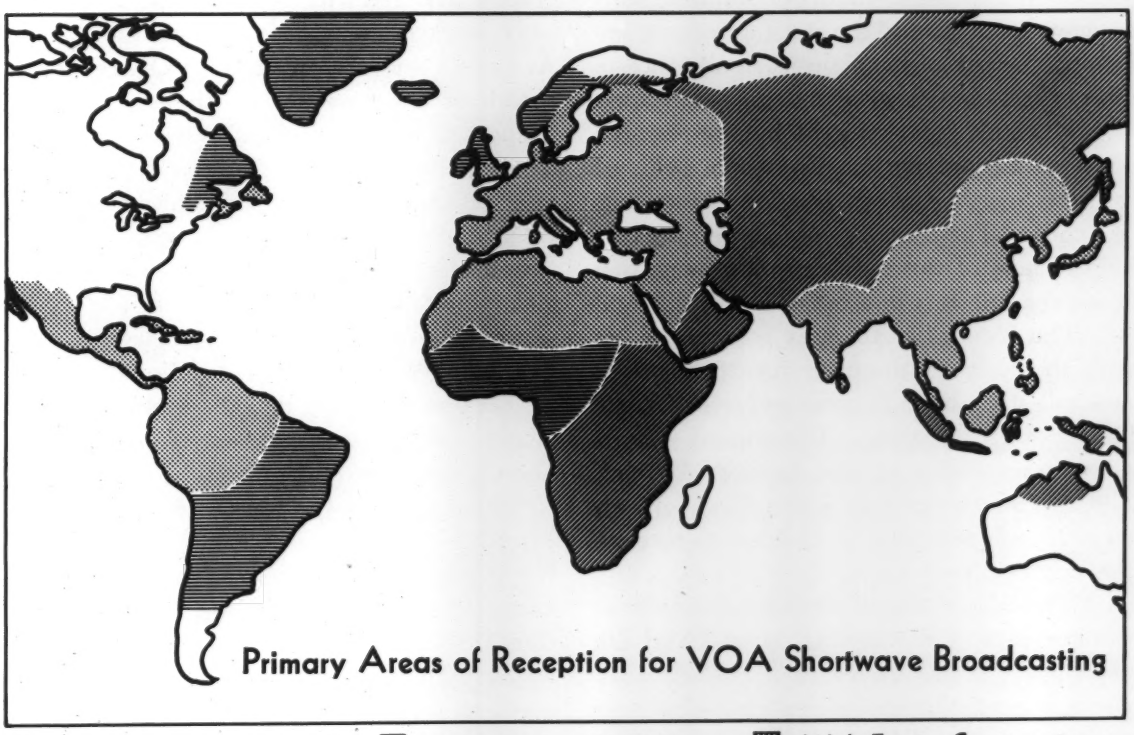




Each week hundreds of hours of taped programs are distributed to Japanese stations.

It is estimated that between 17 and 26 million people listen to the ***Voice*** on an average day and about twice that many during the average week. In times of international stress or when a big story breaks, such as a space shot, the audience increases dramatically. The worldwide USIA English broadcasts are heard by an estimated 5 million people daily, with the remainder of the total listenership spread among the broadcasts in 35 other languages. In the Communist world, the number who tune in the ***Voice*** is roughly calculated at 5 to 10 million daily and twice that many in an average week.

These audience estimates are quoted in ranges to avoid the spurious impression of precision. Nevertheless, they are based on data from several reliable indices, such as unsolicited mail. In the first half of 1963 VOA received more than 50,000 letters from listeners in all areas of the world.



On January 1, 1963 — With Greenville Relay — With Future Construction

IMPACT OF AN ASTRONAUT

USIA Prepares Detailed Coverage of Cooper Flight—Global Placement of All Materials is Result—VOA on Air 36 Hours Non-Stop—Record Overseas Radio Audience Listens, Thrilled

World attention was riveted on the 2-day orbital space feat of Astronaut Gordon Cooper in May. USIA communications media worked around the clock to recount the dramatic event and explain its significance to one of the largest overseas audiences in history.

Why this great effort? Survey research overseas showed that many people believed that the Soviets were ahead of the Americans in space. The Agency was determined to help dispose of this misconception by getting across the full story of a major feat.

The Voice of America was on the air with the story continuously for 36 hours—a new milestone in its lifetime and a first in the history of broadcasting. The normal 4-hour-a-day transmission of the Agency's Wireless File, a news service that is described fully on page 25, was extended to 18 hours to recount the running story.

Two Voice teams provided the bulk of this coverage, 1 at Cape Canaveral and the other in the Washington studios. Their work was augmented by special reports on overseas reaction from VOA reporters stationed around the world, other correspondents, interviews with Congressional leaders, and background material voiced by 3 NASA officials who worked in shifts around the clock. At Cape Canaveral, teams of VOA reporters broadcast live coverage in English, Russian, French, German, Spanish, and Malay.

For its continuous 36-hour English-language coverage, the Voice employed the largest radio network ever assembled, with 55 transmitters at strategic points around the globe and a total power output of 5,673,000 watts, equal to the aggregate power of 113 of the largest U.S. standard radio stations.

It was estimated that the event drew the largest overseas radio audience in all history. Direct feeds were made by Voice of America to the national networks of Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iran, Israel, the Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, and many African countries. In addition, individual stations throughout the free world were supplied by air with a total of 3,235 reels of tape recordings from both English and foreign language VOA programs, a production output

which kept 55 high-speed tape recorders fully occupied during the peak period—turning out some 730 miles of taped programs.

Compared with the previous orbit, twice as many stations abroad picked up and rebroadcast VOA's running account of the Cooper flight. In Latin America alone, 230 stations in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, El Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela rebroadcast on mediumwave the Spanish and Portuguese newscasts.

Regular VOA programs in 35 foreign languages were supplanted by the space story. An average of 80 percent of all air time during this period dwelt with the Cooper shoot. Each program as it went on the air at prime listening time summarized what had happened to date and then reported the events actually taking place. Listeners to programs in Laos and Thailand, for example, were able to hear live broadcasts in their own languages of both Cooper's launch and recovery.

A half-hour TV program about Astronaut Cooper had been preshipped to posts abroad. Copies of a world map in color, on which the paths of the planned 22 orbits were traced, updated a 7-panel full color exhibit called U.S. ASTRONAUT ORBITS EARTH, which had been sent in advance of the shoot.

In Leopoldville crowds waited outside the USIS library for bulletins issued every hour on the progress of Astronaut Gordon Cooper.

The Agency's TV service also provided coverage to networks and stations around the world and sequences were included in PANORAMA PANAMERICANO, the weekly news and feature show presented at peak viewing times in 48 Latin American cities.

A 10-minute film, PROFILE: GORDON COOPER was quickly released to 500 theaters abroad. Additionally, a 6-minute edited version was sent to newsreel theaters in 36 countries, and included in the Agency's monthly news magazine, TODAY, shown in some 2,400 African theaters.

The Agency's printing plants in Manila, Beirut, and Mexico City, along with many individual posts, produced leaflets and pamphlets dealing with the flight, the Mercury program, the preparations for the event, and the training of the astronaut. Thousands of color pictures of Cooper were mailed to posts where they were used as covers for a pamphlet telling the story of the flight and distributed within 24 hours after Cooper completed his historic and brilliant feat.

The advance preparations and actual coverage by the Agency's press service were equally intensive. As early as February, advance material was shipped to all posts overseas to be translated and adapted locally for placement in a variety of publications on the date of the launching.

The Agency dispatched photographs to 148 posts in advance, and color transparencies to 26. Approximately 3,000 newspapers without engraving facilities were given plastic plates of a Cooper portrait to hold for use at the time of the flight. Newspapers equipped for color printing were supplied sets of proofs from which color plates could be made by the ordinary engraving method, thus eliminating the expensive color separation process. The Agency's continuity strip, IT'S A FACT, was used to tell the story of the astronaut's training and projected flight plans. This strip is published by some 800 overseas newspapers in a great many countries.

A dozen full-length articles about the astronauts and their preparations for the fourth orbital flight were distributed. Thir-

teen additional articles, drawn from the authoritative writings and speeches of U.S. scientists and officials, and spanning the whole range of space projects, were sent overseas for use in broadening the impact and understanding of the flight.

The Agency transmitted 77 flight reports, totaling more than 24,000 words, by radio-teletype on the Wednesday and Thursday that Cooper was in orbit.

An exhibit on U.S. space exploration, emphasizing the benefits of international cooperation, toured Japan in the spring under the sponsorship of *Mainichi*, a leading newspaper, which also gave wide publicity to the 7,500-square-foot presentation. Models, panels, animated devices and USIS films highlighted the exhibit. Features of the show became the subject of talks at vocational and adult schools, and on educational TV network programs seen throughout the nation.

Posts abroad reported enthusiastically about use made of the full and speedy coverage. Ankara signalled: "Thanks for the exceptionally fast Cooper coverage which enabled USIS to dominate front pages of all Turkish papers." USIS Bonn cabled: "Our German output based on this file was heavily used by DPA (German Press Agency) and thereby distributed by teletype nation-wide."

The post at Sao Paulo reported: "Placed 2,644 column inches of 84 items plus 65 photos, most on front pages or first inside. Several full pages of USIS material." USIS Rome said: "Speedy, complete coverage Cooper flight . . . wrap-ups, chronology particularly useful. Most gratifying press utilization of text and pix material."

Far East posts reported equally heavy play on the story. Canberra said: "Australian interest high in Cooper flight. Media giving story very extensive coverage." Manila wrote that each of 4 papers front-paged a different color picture of Cooper, supplied by USIS, before the launch. Tokyo related that the story "commanded the front pages of all editions and spilled over onto the inside pages of some." Wellington stated that its placement of material on press, radio, and TV resulted in an alltime-high favorable audience reaction, and that "lights burned brightly in most New Zealand homes until the wee hours of morning" as thousands listened to VOA and NZBC all-night transmissions that described in detail the spectacular feat.

From Phnom Penh came the report that Radio Cambodia's interest in the flight exceeded expectations and even more material was requested. Seoul said that the flight coincided with a Korean national holiday and that thousands of viewers saw the USIS exhibit in the City Hall plaza where local army teams were putting on a military drill. It added that crowds continued to pack sidewalks and streets in front of the USIS library late at night watching an exhibit of Faith 7. Large-scale photographic enlargements featuring orbits over Korea and Japan and photos of Astronaut John Glenn telephoning Cooper also captivated the crowds.

USIS Hong Kong reported "saturation coverage," with material placed in 22 local papers, 3 radio stations, and 19 TV stations. The post also arranged a downtown exhibit, coverage by the leading magazine, stories and pictures in 36 Chinese papers outside Hong Kong, along with a half-hour film on TV and at the USIS auditorium. "Most dramatic here," it concluded, "was the live relay of VOA broadcast over Radio Hong Kong and commercial radio while Cooper was still in orbit—replacing scheduled broadcasts."

Bangkok reported "great interest and excited suspense evinced by Thai press, radio TV, and public" regarding the flight. The USIS press section was besieged by telephone calls from local papers for the latest news. During the flight it reported that "7 Thai radio stations broke all precedent by broadcasting USIS bulletins every half hour in disregard of their regularly scheduled shows." The Chinese radio editor spent 2 nights, it added, "broadcasting highlights of the flight

Crowds converged on the USIS space communication post in La Paz during the suspenseful flight.

over the only Chinese-language radio outlet that exists in Thailand."

In Latin America, Agency radio, TV, exhibits, and press materials were widely used. As the astronaut's re-entry time approached, crowds gathered in front of a USIS downtown office in Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic, to view a special exhibit, follow teletyped dispatches displayed in the windows, and hear a special VOICE Spanish broadcast over loudspeakers in the street. An excited laborer made an emotional speech saying that this was clear evidence of the difference between the U.S. and Russian way of doing things. "Here we are in Santo Domingo, in front of the cultural and information section of the U.S. Embassy, listening to every step of this flight and hearing about difficulties with automatic controls," he said. "We know this is really true. How do we know the Russians really sent somebody up there?" The crowd enthusiastically applauded.

Saturation coverage by all media was reported by posts throughout Bolivia and resulted in what was described by USIS La Paz as "a positive identification of Bolivian public opinion with a major Western effort." The post reported "the Cooper flight thus became the pride and delight of Bolivians. Burning kerosene pots, stretched for a mile along the slopes of a mountain adjacent to La Paz, and visible to everyone in the city, spelled out the words, *"Cooper en Orbita. Salud."*

Equally intensive interest in the flight and the use of USIS-supplied materials by all media was the pattern throughout the Near East and South Asia.

Jordan's King Hussein telephoned USIS Amman to ask that his congratulations be relayed to President Kennedy. The King said that he had stayed glued to his radio during the last hours of the flight and that he had not gone to bed until the re-entry at 1:25 a.m., local time, and he called the U.S. achievement "wonderful, simply wonderful."

All USIS posts in India reported that news coverage far exceeded that of previous orbital flights. Hundreds of phone calls with questions and congratulations clogged switchboards. The Government of India's central telephone exchange in New Delhi told USIS that its own special service section was unable

to handle the calls, so the post rushed over a full file of releases and other informational materials to the exchange. Record interest was evinced throughout India at USIS exhibits and window displays. Editorials and columns were replete with phrases such as "copybook flight," "pinpoint landing," "man's triumph," and "magnificent flight."

The USIS teletype operator in Colombo, Ceylon, received a call from a maternity hospital soon after the launch. The caller wanted confirmation that the flight was underway and said he was "just blessed with a son and was going to name him Cooper."

In Africa, interest was also widespread. USIS Salisbury reported extremely high curiosity on the part of the general public and all media. The Federal Broadcasting network of Rhodesia remained on the air for 2 days to carry the full VOICE relay and the Cooper message to Africa. All papers ran headlines and photos. THE DAILY NEWS stationed one of its own editors in the USIS newsroom to expedite relay of Wireless File materials. Crowds attended a special film showing and an exhibit at a specially constructed Space Information Center.

More than 12,000 people congregated at a special ceremony in Nairobi to await the astronaut's message to Africa. When direct transmission via the Zanzibar tracking station failed owing to atmospheric conditions, a VOICE recording of the message was broadcast to the highly enthusiastic gathering.

In Leopoldville, crowds surrounded the USIS Center and an office building where the post mounted picture displays, broadcast recordings of the launching, and posted periodic bulletins of progress during the orbits. Five thousand Congolese also gathered in the suburbs to see films of the astronaut and to hear French- and Lingala-language broadcasts of the flight. In Bamako the government radio broadcast the text of the Cooper message to African leaders and the Mali newspaper, L'ESSOR, carried an unprecedented 3-column picture story with photographs and text supplied by USIS. THE VOICE OF ETHIOPIA, an English-language daily in Addis Ababa, congratulated the astronaut editorially for his achievement and front-paged his message to the African leaders, as did the English-language ETHIOPIAN HERALD and the largest Amharic daily, ADDIS ZEMEN.

From Monrovia, a message was received that VOA was being heard loud and clear in Liberia. Abidjan on the Ivory Coast, Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika, Pretoria in South Africa, and Fort Lamy in Chad all reported heavy usage by local papers and radio

Chinese visitors thronged a USIS outdoor exhibit, shown in Taipei at the time of the event.

Germany

stations of USIS materials and laudatory editorials on the space achievement of Cooper.

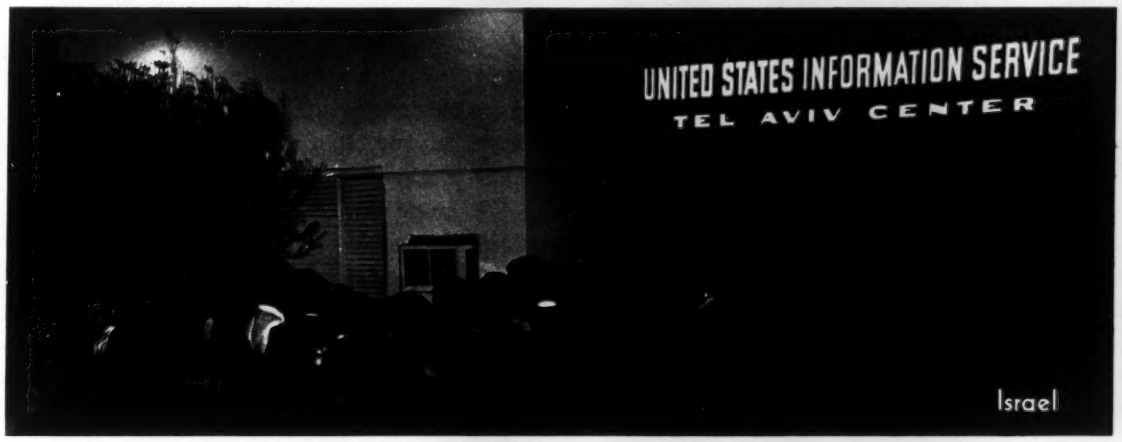
USIS Athens reported tremendous interest in Greece and said that photo displays at 5 information centers stopped sidewalk traffic there; a similar exhibit at the USIS library in Thessaloniki created a traffic jam. In Cyprus, the Greek-, Turkish-, and English-language papers gave headline play to the story. Similar coverage was reported from Cairo, Kabul, Teheran, Taiz, and Tel Aviv.

"He Is Up Above" was the headline in a popular West Berlin daily. For more than 2¼ million people there, and the rest of Western Europe, no further identification was needed for Astronaut Cooper. From Rome to London, Oslo to Paris, all media hailed the flight. As the SPANDAUER VOLKSBLATT in Berlin editorialized:

"The free world has a front row seat whenever an American astronaut is lifted into orbit. Instant and open communication will tell the world the results of an American space venture, be it successful or not, the moment the results are known."

USIS London distributes a special science packet monthly to selected newsmen, authors, researchers, and libraries. It consists of material from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other American scientific organizations, and it includes detailed findings of experiments and achievements.

The post also produces ***Science Horizons,*** a monthly magazine with a circulation of 7,500. Single copies are eagerly sought after by writers, editors, libraries, science teachers, students and other interested people.



Israel

LABOR INFORMATION STRESSED

Latin American Labor Welcomes USIS Advisers—The Agency Emphasizes Development of Free Unions as a Bulwark of Democracy—USIA Programs Tailored To Fill Special Needs

NINE USIS labor information specialists are assigned to Latin American countries where they have established a rapport with labor unions and workers that continues to expand and solidify. An important part of their mission is to help realize the goals of the Alliance for Progress. In the short time these officers have been on their assignments, a number of Latin American labor organizations have applauded their efforts.

The new officers contrast the freedom and strength of U.S. labor with the frustrations and impressment of workers under Communism, and they highlight the opportunities for improving living standards that can result from the Alliance for Progress. These men are now working in 9 countries, namely Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The officers sent to Latin America were chosen on the basis of special qualifications for the job. Five came from the U.S. trade union movement, 2 were labor reporters, and 2 had long experience in the Agency. All were trained in languages. They also received instruction in specific problems they would confront at their new posts; the Agency's labor adviser supervised this part of their training with the cooperation of specialists in the Departments of State and Labor.

Labor conditions in Latin America are extremely diverse. In some heavily industrialized areas, unions and collective bargaining prevail. In others, the labor force consists principally of peasants and rural workers, with low literacy, low living standards, and meager experience with organizations.

USIS labor advisers, with the collaboration of State Department Labor Attachés, establish contacts with the labor leaders in their areas. They also work with host Government officials and employees. Some of their other responsibilities are to—

- Supply labor magazines with materials
- Publish newspapers of their own
- Distribute Agency pamphlets
- Show films at labor gatherings
- Place American labor news on local radio and TV stations

They not only clearly document the achievements of American labor, but they also expose the hollow claims of what the Com-

munists say they have done for workers around the world. They are well supplied with materials to document their case.

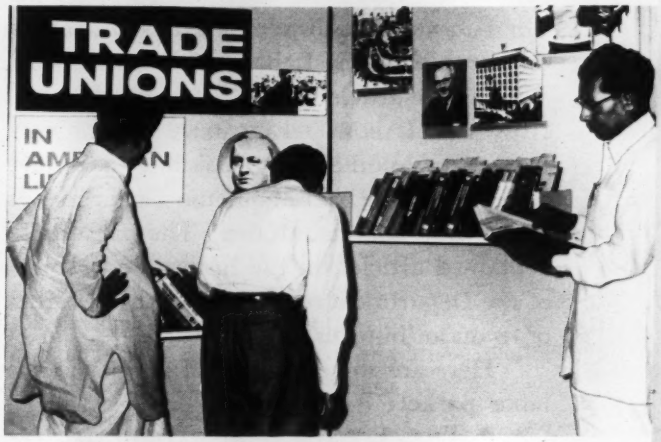
The labor advisers' efforts have borne fruit. In Caracas, the USIS Information Officer, who for a time doubled as the U.S. Embassy's Labor Attaché, was presented with an award by the National Association of Employees, one of Venezuela's leading labor organizations, in recognition of his "constant collaboration and spirit of labor in the trade union struggle of our organization."

In Buenos Aires, top officials of the Confederacion General del Trabajo, Argentina's most influential labor organization, which comprises some 100 affiliates, formally offered USIS and the American Embassy "our fullest cooperation in your work in our republic," and hailed "a new epoch of friendly relations" between them. The Confederacion added: "we sincerely hope that the interchange of information and opinions will not be limited only to correspondence, but that personal conversations can be the cause of improving the relations between all countries, and particularly with the nation you represent."

When La Paz celebrated Labor Day on May 1, USIS produced a number of stories for the newspapers and tapes for the local radio stations. El Diario, one of the leading newspapers, carried stories about American labor and the trade union movement. These pieces were reprinted in 40,000 copies and distributed to labor unions, schools, universities, the police, and government offices throughout Bolivia. Two USIA articles were front-paged by Ultima Hora; El Diario carried editorials on 2 successive days; and the radio programs Cronica Liberal and Cronica Dominical, broadcast USIS stories over 42 stations throughout the country.

Where USIA does not have its own labor specialists, public affairs officers and information officers work closely with the U.S. diplomatic mission's Labor Attachés.

In addition to personal contacts, the Agency employs all of its media to project the story of American labor. A staff member of the press service is responsible for keeping in touch with labor news sources and for sending news to overseas posts. A typical story: the study of cooperative training programs, including the apprenticeship and retraining of workers who have lost their jobs because of automation. Another, called From Coal Face to Kilowatts, was an account of the



An exhibit on American unions in Calcutta.

changes in the way labor is used in an automated West Virginia mine.

In the Far East, the labor movement varies from the highly organized, economically and politically important groups in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, to union activities that have barely started in the developing countries. A number of stages of organized labor development are sandwiched between these extremes.

USIS programs in the Far East reflect these conditions by being designed, in both direction and content, to meet specific local labor situations. Allowing for this variety, selective use is made of Agency media output, including written materials, exhibits, and radio and television films, to acquaint local labor with the free trade union movement in the United States. Political, economic, and social developments in the United States of interest to labor are also brought to the attention of local labor audiences to assist them in developing their organizations.

Exchanges of American and foreign labor leaders and specialists have been used to increase personal contacts and to improve local knowledge of the United States and its labor

movement. Such exchanges have also been valuable sources of information used by the Agency in preparing materials for Far East distribution. This information is also employed by field posts in originating their own labor programs and materials.

A monthly labor packet of press and periodical materials is distributed worldwide. The February issue was devoted exclusively to the Department of Labor's 50th anniversary. The feature article was by Secretary Wirtz on How the Labor Department Serves the People. Another by Assistant Secretary George Weaver told about the Department's role in international affairs. The packet also contained articles on the history and growth of the Department of Labor and the activities of its major bureaus.

Here are some samples of articles in the labor packet:

- The Economic Situation of Negroes in the U.S., published by the Department of Labor
- Equal Opportunities Union Made, a pamphlet by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which describes the union's activities
- Training for Jobs, a report of occupational education under the U.S. Area Redevelopment Act
- An analysis of a typical United Auto Workers' contract.

Texts of all important official statements in the labor field were also regularly distributed abroad in translation: President Kennedy's address at the 50th anniversary dinner of the Labor Department on March 4; Secretary Wirtz' speech on the proposed Federal tax reduction and reforms; the AFL–CIO resolution from its annual executive council meeting on the need for strong Atlantic partners. The Wireless File followed closely the settlement of the New York dockworkers' strike and the New York newspaper strike. It would, of course, cover any major development in labor relations, especially with any international overtones, and particularly if American unions were involved.

Labor Notes is a weekly column prepared by the Agency for all European posts. Some subjects covered:

- The Department of Labor's training and development programs
- Labor union activities
- The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped
- The effect of automation on employment and industry
- Profit-sharing plans
- Supreme Court decisions affecting labor

Nouvelles Sociales, a monthly magazine produced by USIS Paris, regularly covers the labor field. Recent issues contained articles on the 50th anniversary of the Department of Labor, a steelworkers agreement, accidents in industry, and one entitled American Unions Encourage Members to Practice the Fine Arts. It is distributed in France and in African countries where French is the language.

Labor News From the U.S., published by USIS London, has a large circulation in the United Kingdom and is also widely distributed by posts in English-speaking Africa.

The Voice of America regularly tells the story of American labor to a wide audience and it often carries material particularly designed for the Soviet area. A frequent feature is called Labor Analyses in which events such as the New York newspaper strike and the dockworkers' strike were covered. A Labor News Roundup program discussed the latest events in the labor world. The Voice also reported on the economic program adopted by the AFL–CIO Executive Council at its Miami meeting in February.

To Latin America, the Voice inaugurated a regular weekly quarter-hour report, including a series of interviews with Latin American trade unionists attending courses sponsored by the AFL–CIO in Washington. This program was prepared with the assistance of the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

The series included an interview with a Brazilian trade union official who described the Inter-American Labor Leader Training

Course in Washington and cited the U.S. desire to strengthen democratic institutions in the labor field. Wide radio coverage was also given the Labor Ministers' Conference in Bogota, Colombia, from May 5 to 11, a meeting at which Secretary Wirtz headed the American delegation.

The Agency-produced television program, THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, is a 30-minute documentary of social and economic progress in the United States during the past 30 years which includes material on the growth and rights of the unions. Eighty prints have been sent to 38 USIS posts.

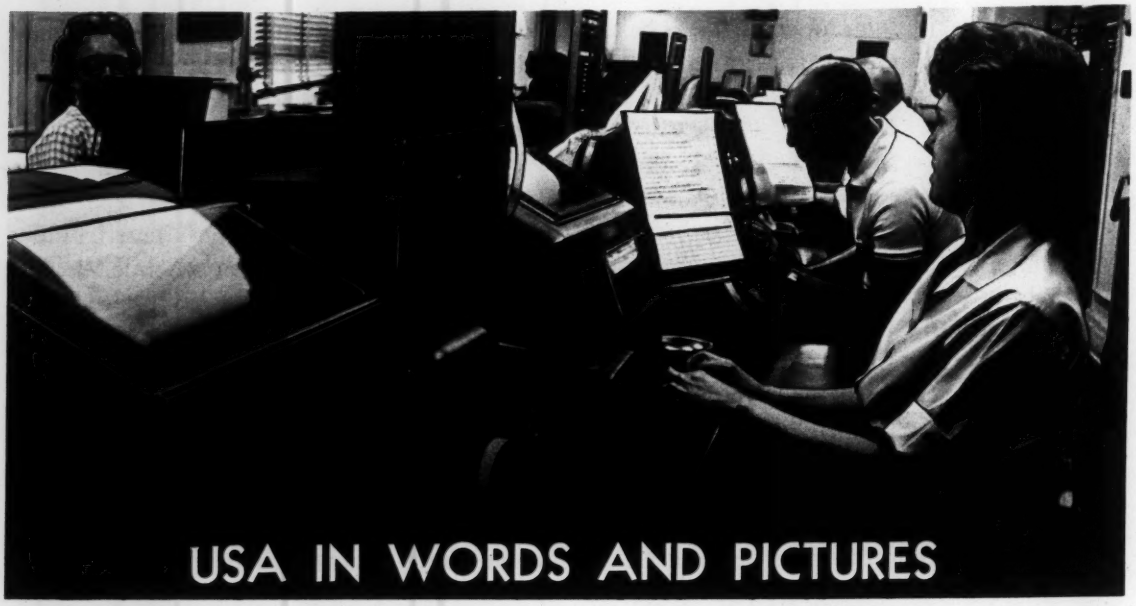
Individual overseas posts have inaugurated on-the-scene programs, tailored to the interests and needs of their audiences. In Nigeria, USIS Ibadan held open house for the principal trade unionists of the nation on March 29. The post library displayed a 45-panel exhibit on THE AMERICAN STEELWORKER, HOW AMERICANS EARN A LIVING, TRAINING AMERICANS TO MAKE A LIVING, TECHNICAL TRAINING IN AMERICA, and SMALL BUSINESS IN AMERICA. Leaders of the United Labor Congress and the Nigerian Workers' Council, with their affiliated groups, flocked to the exhibit. At the opening ceremonies, the Western Nigerian Minister of Labor spoke. So did the U.S. Labor Attaché and a representative of the International Federation of Petroleum Workers. The event received wide and favorable news coverage.

A special pamphlet was prepared by USIS London, keyed to the U.S. Department of Labor's 50th anniversary. This included an article on the United Automobile Workers of America, and another issued by the Brookings Institution, entitled WAGE POLICY AND LONG-TERM CONTRACTS. Other items were: a brief history of the Labor Department; a story on John Brophy, an outstanding trade unionist; and a sample contract between an American trade union and management.

The post received requests for 3,000 extra copies from educational institutions, employers' federations, trade unions, and personnel directors or corporations. The pamphlet also was used repeatedly as a basis for lectures by Embassy speakers.

Essen *Amerika Haus* in West Germany conducted a seminar in April on labor practices in the United States, in collaboration with the district organization of the German Trade Union Federation. The Labor Attaché of the American Embassy and professors of labor relations at the Universities of Munich and Frankfurt addressed the group.

Labor problems and advances are examined in many languages in USIS periodicals.



Cartoon Booklets Help Tell America's Story Abroad—USIA Daily Wireless File Reaches 111 Cities Overseas—Agency Publishes 66 Magazines in 28 Languages; Wide Readership

AMONG the many means of communication employed by the Agency, one of the most popular and effective has been the cartoon continuity in the form of booklets and strips. These illustrated series are designed to spell out basic political themes to young people and others who would not be attracted to a more sophisticated presentation.

That these publications hold reader interest has been demonstrated in many ways. In one instance, a Communist was haranguing a gathering of union members who paid him no heed, but continued to read their USIS cartoon books. This so infuriated the speaker that he became incoherent.

The use of booklets has been stressed particularly in Latin America where their purpose has been twofold: to document dramatically Castro's betrayal of the Cuban revolution, and to tell people about the Alliance for Progress and engender support for it.

In the first 6 months of this year, more than 7 million copies of such booklets were distributed in Latin America, thus bringing the total in the 2-year program close to 20 million. Nearly half of the orders were for titles previously published, which indicates a continuing popular demand for the first several editions of these booklets.

Three new titles were published to help meet the great need for direct, graphic, and easily understood appeals to Latin American workers and farmers. THE DESPOILERS, seventh in a series, depicts the way Communism breeds hunger and oppression in every country it blights. Two others deal with the message of self-help under the Alliance for Progress. THE TURNING POINT documents the role Latin American students can play in the program to benefit their respective countries. TOWARD A BETTER LIFE dramatizes successful efforts at community improvement in a hypothetical and typically primitive rural area; orders for more than 1,500,000 of this one broke all records.

USIS posts in Latin America distribute free copies of the cartoon continuities in various ways: through labor unions, through stores where shoppers pick them up, and through instructors who use them as text-

book material for use in reading instruction.

In countries outside Latin America, the booklets sometimes are placed in churches where they are taken by parishioners, and USIS mobile units distribute them at film showings and other events sponsored by the posts. Newspapers help the distribution. Some serialize the booklets on their own, while others use them as a special supplement. The Agency has also serialized some of the booklets, and these strips have been published in many provincial newspapers, several of which footnoted the final installment with an offer to provide the full book in color on request. The response has been good.

Finally, in some parts of the world, the booklets sell competitively with commercially published books. Some posts have reported that Agency booklets consistently outsell their commercial comic book counterparts.

SPORTS, USA reflects the American athletic scene. Also a weekly, it was initiated in 1956 and runs in more than 600 newspapers in 78 different nations.

IT'S A FACT portrays scientific developments in the United States as well as general human interest subjects. Started as a weekly in 1960, it has the largest circulation of all USIA strips. Eight hundred papers—located in 63 countries—publish it regularly.

The remaining two strips are produced twice weekly. TRUE TALES depicts examples of American ingenuity and achievement as well as biographical sketches. It was created in 1955 and is now used by some 750 papers in 75 countries.

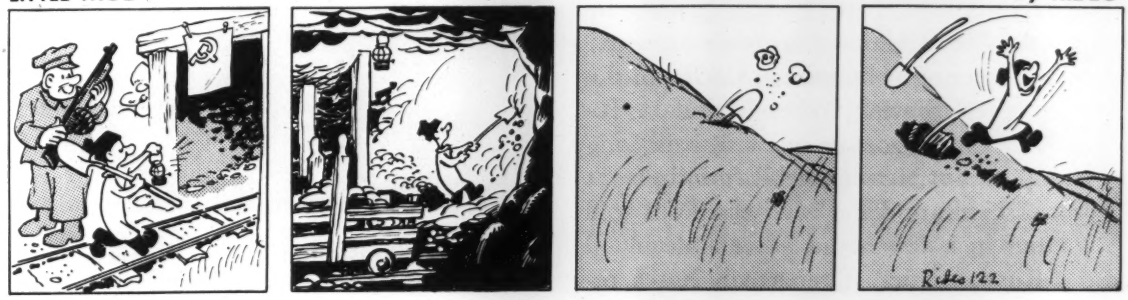
VISIT TO AMERICA is a continuity in which the central figure, a mythical visitor from an unnamed country, travels throughout the United States. His experiences afford

In addition to booklet presentation, USIS posts distribute 5 weekly or semi-weekly continuity strips. LITTLE MOE is the oldest of these. It is a weekly pantomime feature that is openly anti-Communist and depends on humor and satire to make its point. Started in 1953, it is currently being used by 500 papers in 58 countries.

an excellent opportunity to depict America and its institutions through his eyes. This feature began in 1960 and is now used by 600 papers in 60 far flung countries.

On a worldwide basis, the Agency provides the basic written and illustrative materials for publications ranging from daily papers to quarterlies and textbooks. A total of

LITTLE MOE by RIDEO



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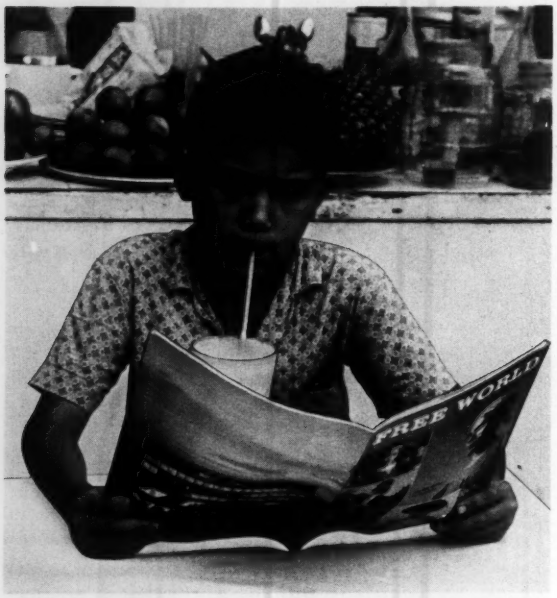


A young Bangkok citizen, reading *Free World.*

66 magazines, newspapers, and other periodicals, aggregating nearly 30 million copies annually, are also published by the Agency in 28 languages. All but 4 are produced by USIS posts overseas or by the Agency's regional printing centers operating in Manila, Beirut, and Mexico City.

The editorial work on 4 magazines is done in Washington: the Russian and Polish editions of AMERICA ILLUSTRATED which are the only free world magazines sold publicly behind the Iron Curtain; the Arabic AL HAYAT FI AMERICA; and PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM.

- AMERICA ILLUSTRATED is a monthly, LIFE-size publication with pictures and text on a variety of subjects that mirror life in the United States today. The Russian-language edition is now in its seventh year of publication; 60,000 copies are printed here and sold in Russia under an agreement whereby the Soviet Union distributes an equal number of its magazine, USSR, in the United States. When AMERICA ILLUSTRATED goes on sale in Russia, long queues of buyers quickly form in front of kiosks and the issue usually is sold out in a few hours. Available in 80 Russian cities, it reportedly has a resale value on the black market well above its original price.
- AMERICAN ILLUSTRATED in the Polish edition is now in its fifth year of publication. Editorial content is virtually the same as the Russian edition. It, too, is printed in the United States, then shipped to Poland where it is sold on newsstands. The press run is 30,000 copies a month, and by agreement, the Polish Government sends an equal number of POLAND, its magazine, to the United States.
- AL HAYAT FI AMERICA is similar to AMERICA ILLUSTRATED but, of course, is in Arabic and aimed at the Middle East. It is printed in Beirut 6 times a year, and the circulation is currently about 18,000.
- PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM. This is a bimonthly, also, but it is straight text with no illustrations, highly scholarly and authoritative. About 27,000 copies of each issue, 21,000 in English and 6,000 in Spanish, are sent to influential members of governments and professional leaders around the world.

A German translation of the Wireless File is delivered daily to newspaper offices in Bonn.

Examples of the themes discussed in Agency pamphlets, distributed abroad in millions of copies.

The mainstay of the Agency's press and publications service is the daily radioteletype service to 111 monitoring posts abroad. Known as the Wireless File, it is directed to USIS posts in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America, the Far East, the Middle East, and to Rio de Janeiro and Ottawa in individual transmissions. The file to Latin America is transmitted in Spanish; to Africa, it is half in French and half in English. For the rest of the world, it is in English. Rio de Janeiro receives its file in English and retransmits it in Portuguese to other posts in Brazil. The Eastern Europe file sends important texts to Moscow in Russian transliteration, which is a system whereby Roman characters are used phonetically rather than the Russian Cyrillic alphabet.

All files include a basic coverage of major developments in the news, such as important speech texts, appropriate White House and State Department releases and commentaries. Also, each transmission is written and edited to fit the particular interests of a country or area of the world, with many items produced expressly for an area or country. Sometimes the Agency fills specific requests from posts, or the editor in Washington knows of an interest and covers it.

Received by teleprinter at each post, the material is translated and adapted by the local USIS staff for distribution to government officials and to the press, television, and radio outlets. Much of the material is quickly used as news and for comment, and editors employ it for reference and background. It also serves as raw material for locally-prepared articles, published in the Agency's foreign language periodicals.

Each regional file leaves the communications center in Washington by landline. The Far East file is routed to a transmitter

The *Wireless File* was started nearly 30 years ago when the Department of State sent a radio bulletin of 2,500 words 6 days a week by Morse code through the Navy to 16 diplomatic missions abroad. Since then the file has been refined and expanded. Editors in many countries have come to depend on the transmissions as a principal source of reliable background information and authentic documentation: material from the file is printed in thousands of newspapers and other periodicals.

The *Wireless File* does not compete with commercial news agencies and the several hundred foreign journalists based in the United States, but, rather, it complements those news-gathering sources.

PRINTING AROUND THE WORLD

In a Hong Kong print shop two USIS officers inspect proofs of a book in production. The pages tell the story of what is happening behind the Bamboo Curtain. Such books are given wide distribution in various foreign languages.

A USIS officer in Karachi checks page proofs of the ***American News and Views,*** a weekly that is distributed throughout East and West Pakistan in local languages.

Coming off high-speed presses of a modern Paris plant, the USIS magazine ***Information & Documents*** is prepared for shipment to some 120,000 people who read French and who are thus informed about the United States, its people and their national policies.

near San Francisco, radioed to the VOICE OF AMERICA station near Honolulu, and immediately retransmitted to receiving units in Asia and the South Pacific. Extra power is provided by the VOA station on Okinawa which picks up the Honolulu transmission and beams it to USIS posts throughout Southeast Asia and the Far East.

The files to Rio and the American Republics travel by landline to New York and are fed automatically to transmitters beamed to posts in Central and South America. The Ottawa file is delivered directly to the post over a landline shared with the Department of State. The European, Middle Eastern, and African files cross the Atlantic to Tangier where a mixed battery of VOA and commercial transmitters strengthen the radio signal and relay them to their destinations.

All of this is accomplished at lightning speed. The radioteletype system sends and receives at 70 words a minute, in contrast to 35 for Morse code, by virtue of mechanically-operated monitoring.

Eight general categories of information are transmitted by Wireless File:

- Texts—speeches by the President, the Secretary of State, and other senior officials; statements by White House, and State Department press officers; statements by spokesmen of other departments on issues that deal with the nation's foreign affairs.
- Transcripts of press conferences by the President, the Secretary of State, and other key officials discussing matters of regional or international interest.
- Commentaries—daily signed columns analyzing aspects of U.S. foreign policy, Communism, economic matters, Congressional affairs, and life in America in its various aspects.
- Briefings—information obtained from senior government officials. These are carried in regular commentaries or under the byline, "By a Diplomatic Correspondent." These are widely published abroad, frequently without attribution to USIA.
- Backgrounders—articles of the news-analysis type, which place a fresh or anticipated news event in perspective.
- Editorial roundups—quotations from U.S. and foreign newspaper and magazine editorials dealing with important topics in the news.
- News—reports on subjects important for foreign readers to know in accurate detail, but not for the sole reason that the items are newsworthy.
- Regional items—stories prepared for a single area, or one country, and sent only in the file received in that area.

A major setback to the Soviet propagandists occurred in February with the exodus of African students from Bulgaria. The students said their defection from the university at Sofia was compelled by intolerable racial discrimination and abuse.

USIA reported the incidents fully through press, radio, and film on a worldwide basis.

The *Voice* initiated daily coverage to Africa in English, French, Swahili, and Arabic as soon as the news was known. Worldwide English broadcasts and those in foreign languages gave prominence to the unfolding events and eyewitness accounts by the students of the mistreatment they had endured.

The Agency's Wireless File carried the story in full to 111 posts abroad and reported student interviews and editorial reactions from each country to the rest of the network. Photos and taped interviews with the students were made available worldwide to commercial media. A motion picture of Ghanaian students in Amsterdam was filmed and released to overseas newsreel distributors.

Youth organizations around the world issued protests against Communist treatment of the students and denunciatory cables were sent to Sofia from a number of countries.

USIA Programs Focus on Tomorrow's Leaders—Periodicals, Exhibits and Lectures Increasingly Oriented Toward Youth—Seminars, Libraries and English Instruction Extremely Popular

All over the world, youth holds a high priority in USIA's plans and programs. The reason: literate and educated youngsters, who are maturing so quickly in this era of rapid change, will soon influence thought and action in their societies, and especially in the developing countries.

USIS officers use every opportunity to meet with youth groups, to arrange programs and to show exhibits that will enable them to know and understand America better and to realize that their goals match those of youth in the United States.

Exhibits were displayed worldwide at high schools and universities. These were some of the subjects: Small Colleges in the USA, Foreign Students Studying in America, the many achievements in the Nation's outer space program, U.S. progress in exploring and developing the resources of the sea, the American theater, how Americans earn a living and receive training in the various trades and professions. In the U.S.S.R. students were the major audience at an exhibit called Technical Books: USA. Tape recordings turned some volumes into "talking" books, and the display included printed materials on arts and crafts, architecture and art for children in the United States.

Study units consist of a pamphlet and either tapes or records of the same material so that the student simultaneously gets an oral and a written exposition of the phrases used. The most popular of these used by Agency posts in the English-teaching program was one based on the space flight of the Friendship 7. The latest of such units being dispatched to field posts at the close of the reporting period was one dealing with the early life of Ambassador Ralph Bunche, based on the Agency-produced film, Toward Tomorrow.

Book collections and other stores of literature of interest to young people are being expanded in all Agency libraries and binational centers. Both low-priced books in English and works in translation are being increasingly oriented toward such groups.

Education, the foremost ambition of most young people abroad, was made the principal theme of the exhibits and lecture materials

sent to field posts during the reporting period.

A new quarterly publication of the Agency, called FORUM, devoted to the teaching of English, drew initial orders for 20,000 copies from field posts.

Under the Agency's film program, 6 grants were given to young filmmakers associated with university cinema departments to produce the YOUNG AMERICA SERIES, mirroring the life of young people in the United States. The grant for each of the six, 10-minute, black-and-white films is small, and so the imagination of the producer must resolve needs which a limited budget cannot otherwise meet.

One film depicts an elementary school teacher helping children to develop a respect for the land. Others show a Mexican-American carpenter completing his apprenticeship and becoming a journeyman, a young engineer applying his theoretical training on his first job, a musician-composer teaching and performing during his graduate training, a young sculptor and the significance of art in his life, and a student preparing to become an elementary school teacher.

Two new programs aimed at youthful audiences have been inaugurated by the VOICE OF AMERICA. YOUNG WORLD VIEWPOINT is broadcast daily in English and THE WORLD WE LIVE IN is aired some 50 times a month in English and 17 other languages. The long-established Willis Conover program of music and commentary, MUSIC—USA, continues to rank as one of the most popular VOICE programs with overseas youth.

In Ethiopia, 3 additional reading rooms are being established in schools following the success of such a center that was opened last year at Harar Teachers' Training College. Under this arrangement USIS provides the books and trains a librarian, while the Ethiopian Government supplies the reading rooms. Ethiopian scholarship students soon to leave on study grants to the United States now spend a weekend with an American family in Addis Ababa as part of a USIS orientation plan.

A group of youthful Ghanaians who visited the United States, and call themselves the Young Pioneers, have formed a Ghana-American Association. They meet regularly at the USIS center for discussions and other activities of mutual interest.

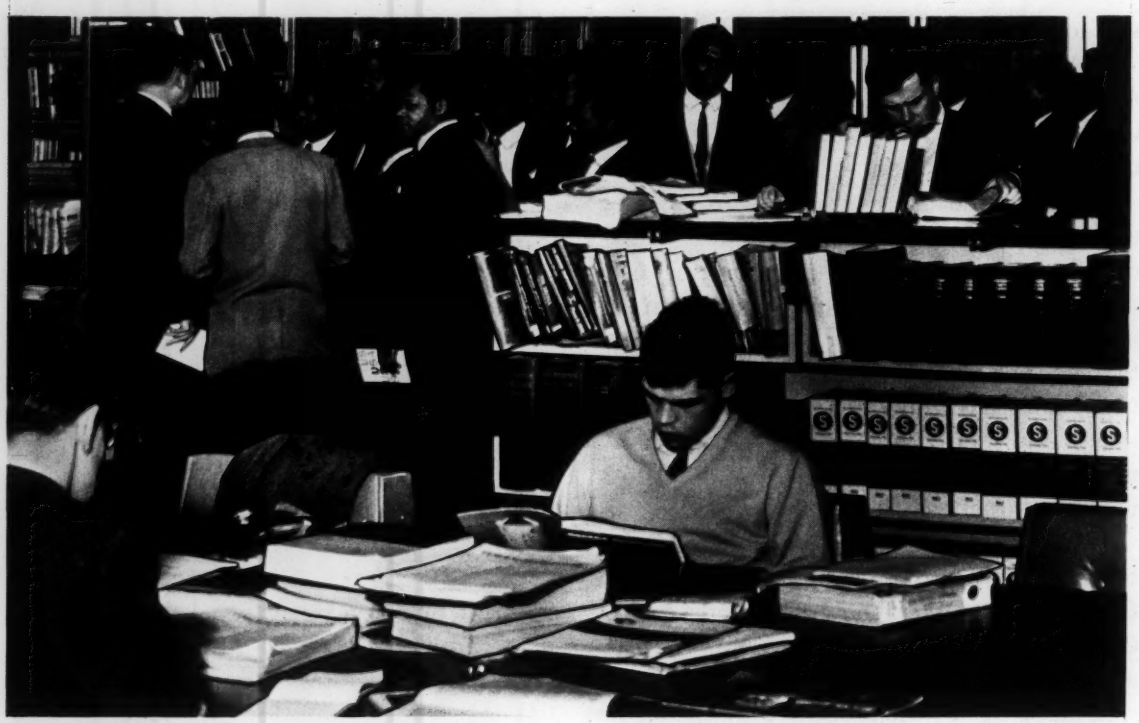
Virtually all of the students of the Oppenheimer College of Social Service in Rhodesia have become members of the USIS library. Each month, all schools throughout the Republic of the Congo receive a USIS wall newspaper that, among other things, covers events in that country and the assistance being provided by the United Nations.

AMERICAN OUTLOOK, a widely distributed USIS publication in Africa, added a 4-page insert prepared in Washington that describes the life of African students attending American universities. A Nigerian student enrolled at Howard University in Washington also narrates PERSONAL REPORT, a monthly TV program for his native country.

In Rabat, USIS coordinated a series of Embassy-wide programs designed to make contact with groups from which future leaders of Morocco probably will be drawn. Receptions and seminars were held for the organizations, together with university students enrolled in American literature courses and those in the mass communications field.

A panel of lecturers, fluent in either Arabic or French and versed in such subjects

USIS librarian explains the American index system to Ghanaian students at center in Accra.



Young Africans, at school in England, are acquainted with the USIS library in London.

as U.S. foreign policy, literature, education and related topics, was assembled from the American community. When the list of lecturers was made available to the youth groups, 2 dozen requests for speakers were received immediately. Each of the ensuing lectures was followed by discussion periods and film showings, which in turn led to the establishment of English-language classes.

Sixty-five Moroccan youth groups received USIS book collections in Arabic totaling 3,100 volumes. Hobby groups were organized; law students were invited to an informal session with an American international lawyer; and concerts by the U.S. Air Force Band were staged in the leading cities of Marrakech, Casablanca, and Fez. Popular Moroccan athletes, who are teachers of physical education, were selected to spend 3 months at an American university.

Youth Day is held every Thursday at USIS Ouagadougou in the new African nation of Upper Volta. Film shows are followed by lively discussion sessions. In Nairobi, the post distributed 60 sets of the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, a donation by the publishers, to schools and institutions throughout Kenya.

Some 30,000 Dahomeans, mostly students, were reached by USIS Cotonou with films, books, and periodicals during a 10-day mobile unit tour of the Northwest Prefecture of Dahomey.

In Latin American cities having universities, 6 Student Affairs Officers and 22 grantees have been assigned to USIS posts and binational centers. These officers work closely with the students and collect materials for the Agency's Regional Service Center in Mexico City. Stories written by students are channeled to the center to be used in Mexico for use in pamphlets, periodicals, and other publications distributed throughout a large part of Latin America.

Student publications, strongly leftist as a rule, use such material because it has been written by other students. Pamphlets produced at the Regional Center for Latin American students have included titles such as: I HAVE NOT DIED IN VAIN, written by a Cuban student before he was shot; STUDENTS AGAINST THE WALL, the story of West Berlin students aiding East Berliners; How

THE UNIVERSITY FELL, about the University of Havana; and UNIVERSITY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, a question and answer piece.

In Venezuela, a group of 41 young intellectuals attended a week-long seminar on democratic thought. The event drew heavy national press coverage. On the closing day the participants (including many of leftist leanings) listed their opinons. They praised the seminar because it enabled them to compare different points of view in a democratic atmosphere. The participants also condemned the Communist system as blocking freedom and social justice "so necessary to the proper development of modern man."

The first seminar in American Studies for students in Argentine universities was organized by USIS in Buenos Aires from April 28 to May 3. Thirty-three students, representing 9 universities and both the Naval and Air Force Academies, took part as the official representatives of their schools. The 5 themes discussed were EDUCATION IN THE U.S., U.S. GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONS, CULTURE IN THE U.S., THE U.S. SOCIAL STRUCTURE, and PAN-AMERICANISM.

A few days before the seminar, USIS Buenos Aires had opened a new section in its library to house its magazine and newspaper collection, a music library, and a microfilm reader with a microfilm collection of THE NEW YORK TIMES dating from 1961. Heavy interest was registered immediately.

More than a thousand students from Mexico City's 2 leading universities arrived at school shortly after dawn on May 14 to see special direct telecasts of the countdown of the projected Gordon Cooper space flight. USIS in Mexico had placed television sets at the National University and the Polytechnic University and—despite the traditionally leftist and anti-North American views of many students in that country—they turned out in record numbers.

On the other side of the world, in Japan, seminars on American Studies were arranged for intellectual leaders who work with youth as well as for students themselves. Professors and students from 53 universities throughout

Young Nepalese college students were attracted to an "American Week" seminar held in May.

the country attended the session. The Agency's TV program, WASHINGTON REPORT, released biweekly in that country, featured discussions with 3 Japanese exchange students at American universities on their reactions to campus life and U.S. education as well as political life in this country.

Elsewhere in the Orient, the Agency continues its accent on youth. In Thailand, about 60 percent of those using the 6 USIS information centers are young people, and in addition to the Educational Affairs Officer, a number of USIS officers are concentrating on programs for youth. Mobile information teams, composed primarily of Thai Government officials in which USIS plays a role, reach large numbers of youngsters in remote areas with USIS films and written materials. Other activities in Thailand are aimed at the junior members of the nation, such as providing several hundred copies of a survey of the U.S. Government, called GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, which has been translated into Thai. The publications were given to the country's 2 major universities where they are used in a required course.

USIS Hong Kong also had focused on

youth; nearly all of its budget for book translations was devoted to that age group. Top priority is allocated to middle school and university students in film showings—75 percent of all programs are concentrated in this area. Library and cultural center activities have been revamped; about 80 percent of all patrons are of middle school and college age. The Cultural Affairs Officer has spoken frequently to audiences in local schools in both English and Chinese.

The Vietnamese language version of FREE WORLD, edited in Saigon and printed in Manila, enjoys an established popularity. Because of its proved success with youth, distribution was recently increased from 100,000 to 150,000. Senior English classes of public secondary schools, and some private schools, get the English-language magazine, YOUNG CITIZEN. American university textbooks in economics, public administration, sociology, and American literature are being translated by the post: there were no university texts in Vietnamese until this effort started. In addition, a more generalized translation program will increasingly make youth a major audience.

In neighboring Cambodia, the post's youth periodical, KALYNAMIT, has been changed from a quarterly to a bimonthly with a circulation of 22,000 through the cultural centers, the USIS library, and an individual list of selected youth leaders.

USIS Paris publishes INFORMATIONS & DOCUMENTS, which covers a variety of timely subjects, especially about the United States. The publication is now being edited with greater emphasis on youth. It is distributed in Cambodia, and in other French-speaking areas in Southeast Asia, primarily to students who have returned from France after having attended schools and universities there.

In Nepal, a week-long educational and cultural program was arranged during May

Young Masai and Kisii tribesmen in Kenya are shown a film by a USIS field unit. For many of them it was a first chance to see a motion picture. Agency units regularly tour the country.

for 100 student leaders of all the colleges and the University of Kathmandu. Each day a different aspect of American life was featured; themes included education, space science, U.S. foreign and student life. Film showings and lectures related to these subjects were followed by discussion periods. Packets of USIS publications were furnished to all participants.

South Asia mirrored a similar picture. USIS posts in India presented cultural programs in 10 major cities during the reporting period to reach the students of 8 universities and 25 colleges with a variety of exhibits, films, and lectures.

A 2-week program at the University of Calcutta, for example, attracted nearly 20,000 students in February. Seminar leaders included 36 Indians and 19 Americans. Five exhibits, including one of Mariner II, were displayed. Some 700 subscriptions to Agency publications, including the prizewinning magazine SPAN and the AMERICAN REPORTER newspaper, were ordered.

The press in Calcutta devoted dozens of columns of print and photos to the program, including 8 front-paged articles and 5 laudatory editorials.

An AMERICAN CULTURAL WEEK, presented by USIS Madras and Andhra University in February, was attended by 22,750 Indian students and faculty members. Lectures and discussion sessions were supplemented by film showings and exhibits.

In Pakistan, despite overhanging final examinations, some 400 Punjab University students, along with students from all colleges in Lahore, joined with a visiting guitar soloist in an evening devoted to American folksongs. This aspect of American life was virtually unknown to the students and they joined in with vigor and warmth. An exhibit of American folk music, including books, records, posters, and pamphlets, was displayed along with a book exhibit in the library. All participants received a songbook and the Agency pamphlet, AMERICAN FOLKLORE.

Throughout Europe, USIS posts continued to initiate many discussion-meetings and seminars for youth groups. Local U.S. businessmen met with students of the Bremen Foreign Trade School at the *Amerika Haus,* for example, to discuss the economic policies of the United States. The *Amerika Haus* in Hamburg offered a 40-hour series of lecture-discussions on Communism and current developments in East Europe to a delegation of North German youths who had been invited to visit Moscow and Leningrad. AMERICAN QUESTION HOUR, a series of question-and-answer presentations by USIS officers, was arranged in many secondary schools throughout Germany.

Two radio series aimed at youth in East Berlin and the East Zone of Germany were aired by the Agency's widely heard Berlin

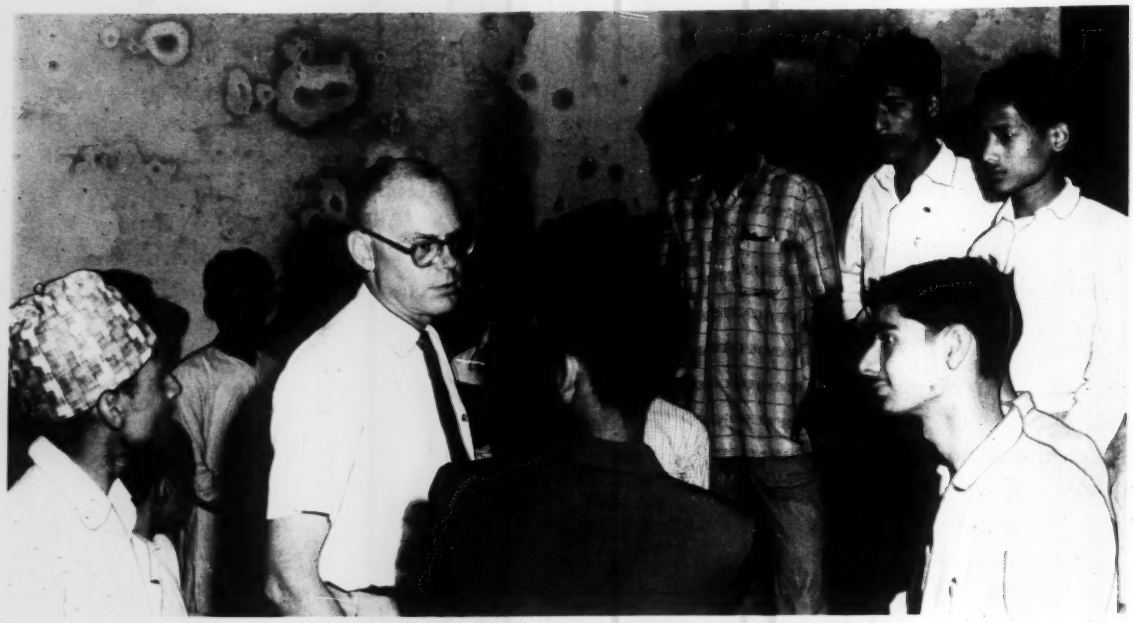
Folklore and allegory have been enlisted to help break through cultural barriers and to communicate political ideas to overseas communities with limited sophistication and experience.

A ***Voice of America*** series, initiated in May, makes meaningful to such communities the significance of international problems and events by employing parallel examples familiar to the audience. One recent program explained why all nations must share in financing the United Nations by the use of this story:

A tribe, preparing for a feast, asks each member to bring a calabash of wine. One shrewd character, however, decides to bring water which, he figures, will not be noticed when mixed with everyone else's wine.

As the feast begins, it becomes clear that each member has had the same bright idea. Each has brought a calabash of water, thinking it will make no difference when mixed with everyone else's wine.

And so, the commentator observes, "one cannot come to drink wine when one has brought only water."



Face-to-face contact: a USIS officer in Nepal meeting with students of a Kathmandu college.

radio station, RIAS. The subjects included YOUTH and THE WALL, reactions of German and foreign youth, and an explanation of the similarity in aims of Nazi and Communist youth organizations.

In Iceland, the national affiliate of the Atlantic Political Youth Association was invited to visit the NATO base for a discussion period. In Italy, the role of youth was stressed in a seminar on Europe and the Atlantic Community, organized by USIS at the University of Florence. NATO-country youth also gathered at Palermo to discuss PROBLEMS OF A UNITED EUROPE, at a USIS-organized YOUTH WEEK.

Despite one of the worst winters in northern Europe, an exhibit on U.S. space achievements, including a lecture-demonstration, was shown at 20 high schools and junior colleges in 15 cities throughout Denmark. Danish instructors cooperated in carrying out the lecture-demonstrations.

USIS Madrid developed a fortnightly radio program broadcast in 5 cities and narrated by an American university student who interviewed Spanish student guests. Several newly formed student groups of Asians and Africans in England were helped by USIS to put together programs on youth development themes.

Many methods attract youth to USIS Information Centers. For example, hundreds of young Neapolitans attend a day-long open house every Wednesday at the library to see films, explore the book shelves, and visit the information section. A varied afternoon program ranges from lectures, music sessions,

On every continent, Agency officers are attempting also to reach students and young people who have never come to USIS before unless they had rocks in their hands. Agency officers are not trying to counter the Communist techniques of riotous demonstration with organized mob pressure. They are seeking no student mobs chanting "USA, USA." Rather, they are trying to reach the hitherto unreachables with help and inspiration. USIS officers are trying to convince young people that the United States stands with them in their efforts to modernize their societies, and that democracy and freedom can be effective instruments in helping solve their problems and better their lives.

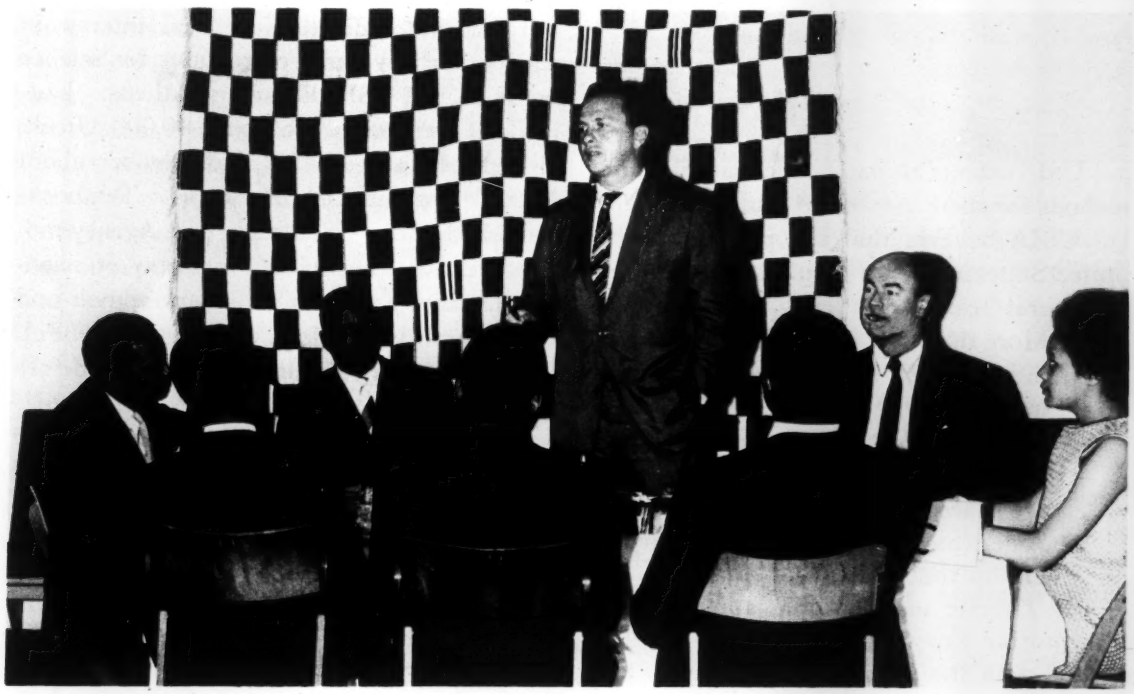
poetry readings, films, or a play featuring Agency officers and local amateur actors.

USIS in Oslo, in cooperation with several Norwegian organizations, sponsored a trip of 18 youth leaders to Paris, Ramstein, and Berlin where they heard lectures dealing with the Atlantic Alliance and the European Economic Community.

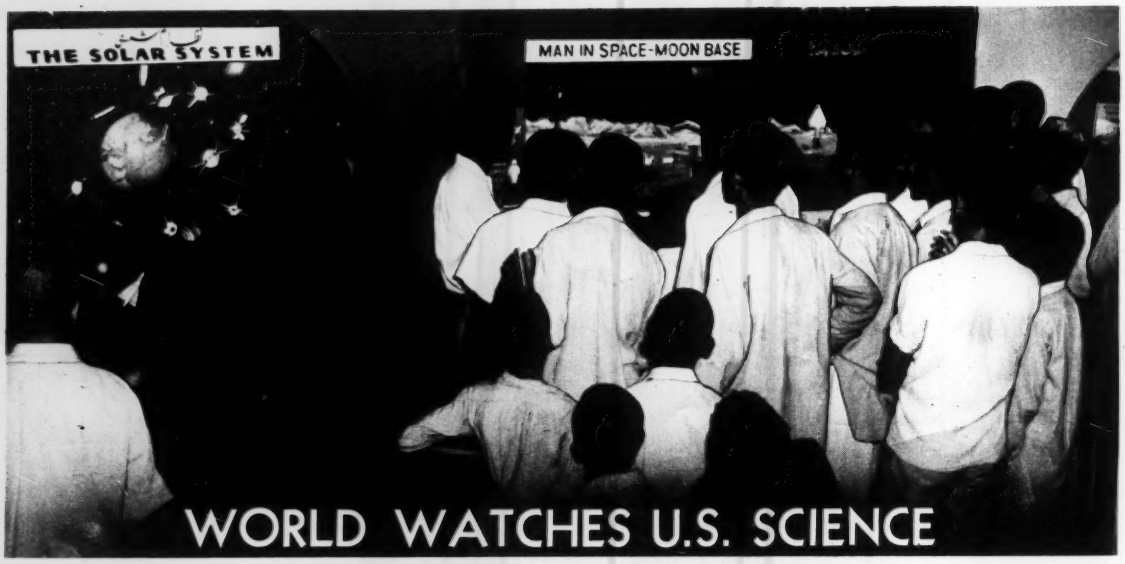
In Oporto, Portugal, Ruth Slenczynska, the noted American pianist, played for student groups, and some 700 students attended 8 sessions on the history of American jazz in Lisbon. The largest audience ever to attend a recital at the Lisbon Conservatory—largely students—turned out to hear the Negro soprano, Martha Flowers, interpret Gershwin's music and a number of spirituals.

Thirty-three students from 12 African countries were among the guests at the dinner debate held at the USIS youth center in Paris on May 28. Diplomats and journalists from Africa attended, as did Charles E. Bohlen, U.S. Ambassador to France; William Attwood, who was at that time the U.S. Ambassador to Guinea; and Mr. Mammadou Diakhité, the Guinean Ambassador to France.

Lebanese students participated in a USIS seminar on Library Science sponsored at Beirut in June.



Ambassador Attwood discusses problems of mutual interest with African students visiting Paris.



WORLD WATCHES U.S. SCIENCE

USIA Meets World-wide Interest in American Science—Our Exhibits on Space Probes Especially Popular in all Areas—Radio, TV Programs, Books on Space Reach Large Audiences

AMERICAN scientific achievements have attracted the interest of people throughout the world and generated a demand for information about everything from outer space to down-to-earth discoveries and inventions.

The Agency is turning this challenge into an opportunity: the story of American scientific feats goes out from Agency headquarters, and USIS officers abroad devise materials and methods for their specialized audiences.

USIA believes that the prowess of the United States in science should be emphasized for several reasons:

- More than ever before, people all over the world are intrigued with advances in science.
- U.S. scientists rate among the most distinguished and their achievements are shared with the world.
- American scientific resources surpass any in the world.

In Greece, many people are dedicated to acquiring knowledge and hence are fascinated with the latest developments in laboratories and in space. The Greek national radio network carries a weekly USIA program, called CONQUEST IN SPACE, which is devoted exclusively to U.S. space achievements. The full text of the broadcast is later printed in EMBROS, an Athens daily paper.

Another indication of local interest in science is the volume of requests for science books at the USIS library in Athens. During an average month some 40,000 Greeks visit the library, and of that number about 10,000 take out scientific works. Textbooks published under USIS aegis, and Agency motion pictures, constitute a mainstay of scientific teaching in Greek secondary schools and universities. American scientists and Fulbright professors also lecture regularly before student groups and government officials.

In Sweden, USIS Stockholm stresses the close ties between the Swedish and U.S. science communities. The results of joint projects such as the installation of American seismic instruments in Sweden are regularly published in leading periodicals.

Officers at the post say that the development of close contact with science writers, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television is their most effective tool in telling the story

of American science. The rapport between USIS and science writers is maintained by—

- Providing background material and photographs of American scientific achievements
- Helping to plan reporting trips to the United States
- Arranging special film showings on science subjects
- Distributing USIA–NASA Science Writers Service
- Inviting writers to meet American scientists

In addition to working closely with Swedish journalists, the post sponsored NASA's exhibit, SPACE IN SERVICE OF MANKIND. USIS also showed its own exhibit, U.S. PROGRESS IN SPACE SCIENCE, in 4 cities with great public acceptance.

USIS Cairo is placing increasing emphasis on science as one of the best means of reaching key audiences, especially since the United Arab Republic looks on science and technology as essential to its development as a modern state. Interest in American scientific progress extends to top level U.A.R. scientists: the chairman of the newly formed U.A.R. space research committee came to the Agency's Cairo post recently for help of all kinds. He got it.

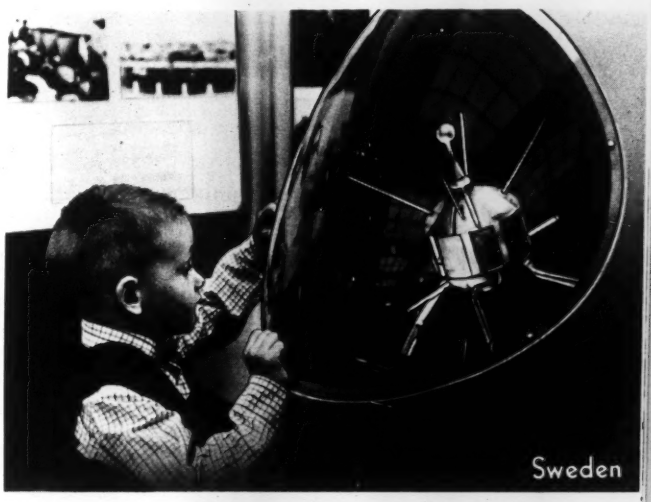
A science news letter, produced by USIS officers, emphasizes developments such as saline water conversion and other research especially relevant to the Arab world. It enjoys wide acceptance. Pieces from it are often used verbatim, with a USIS credit line, in the U.A.R. Information Department's international distribution newspaper, which reprints articles from the world's press. The Agency's regional service center in Beirut reproduces the science news letter for other USIS posts.

Science films with Arabic sound tracks are in heavy demand by high schools, universities, and other interested groups. The Cairo post is planning a special science film forum along the lines of the successful programs of the past.

The central theme of the post's Public Law 480 textbook program, which has the cooperation of the U.A.R. Ministry of Education, is science and technology. About 75 books are translated each year, and many of them deal with aspects of science and their effects on mankind.

Books on science are a major attraction for students and officials who patronize USIS libraries in Cairo, Alexandria, and Port Said. USIS Alexandria is experimenting this summer with special courses in scientific English which is essential for many Egyptians.

The Agency produced an exhibit called WORLD SCIENCE AND THE USA, which was opened in Cairo by the Egyptian Minister of Scientific Research. It drew capacity crowds of students and officials. The Minister of Agriculture and all his senior staff, most of


Sweden

whom are graduates of American universities, came to see a locally assembled SCIENCE AND U.S. AGRICULTURE exhibit geared to presentation of a special issue of AL SADAQA, the post's weekly Arabic newspaper.

In Korea, USIS Seoul keeps the public informed about American leadership in science. Exhibits are always on display at the information center in Seoul, at 3 branch centers and at more than 40 reading rooms around the country. The two leading post publications, called WEEKLY REVIEW and FREE WORLD, have sections regularly devoted to science.

The Agency-produced space satellite models with lecture kit have been widely utilized in Korea by educational, government,

cultural, and military institutions. Lectures were given at each showing. Science professors at universities and high schools attended the first sessions and an American Air Force officer, formerly with space centers in the United States and now stationed in Korea, answered students' questions.

The post has also displayed colorful space exhibits, some of which have drawn such crowds that traffic was interrupted in front of the USIS library on the main city hall square.

On the other side of the world, the Nigerian Foreign Minister pledged his nation's support for the West's space program. Some of the more notable results:

- Another tracking station at Kano, open to the public
- The USNS *Kingsport* anchored for the second time in the harbor at Lagos as a floating ground station for Syncom II, newest of the experimental communications satellites. The ship is open to the public and has been thoroughly covered by the Nigerian newspapers and radio stations.
- Commemorative stamps on the Kano station and the *Kingsport* have been printed by the Nigerian Government.
- The Agency's NEW HORIZONS IN SCIENCE and SCIENCE REPORTS series are now in demand by radio and television networks and stations.

A USIS space lecturer traveled 10,000 miles in Nigeria, gave 149 lectures, including 16 film shows and 4 TV appearances, to a combined audience of 29,000, excluding TV. Related publications were distributed at his

In Bombay, the USIS exhibit called ***World Science and the USA*** was greatly appreciated by scientists and academicians. It was jointly sponsored by the University of Bombay and USIS and inaugurated on May 11 by Dr. M. G. K. Menon, Dean of the Physics Faculty at the Tata Institute.

Scientists and others praised the exhibit, which drew more than 12,000 visitors during its 12-day showing, and was covered well by the press. Although colleges and universities were closed for vacations, about three-fourths of the viewers were scientists, science faculty members, and science students. The rest were people interested in science, and children brought by parents.

Indian sailors shown visiting USIS exhibit held in Bombay on progress in the world of science.

lectures in the outlying regions of the country.

In all this activity, the Agency constantly supplies materials to field offices and carries VOICE OF AMERICA programs that tell of U.S. scientific prowess.

The VOICE is now producing 3 regular weekly programs dealing with science: NEW HORIZONS, tailored for a sophisticated audience; POPULAR SCIENCE, written in simplified form; and MEDICAL FEATURES, which are items interesting to the layman. In addition, there have been special series of scientific features, usually consisting of 13 separate half-hour broadcasts.

SCIENCE REPORT, an Agency television program, is produced in 4 languages for 52 countries with a viewing audience of 26 million people a month. It consists of two 15-minute programs each month. The program ranks as one of the most successful TV series ever distributed overseas: because of its enthusiastic reception, more than 90 percent of the posts have asked that it be continued.

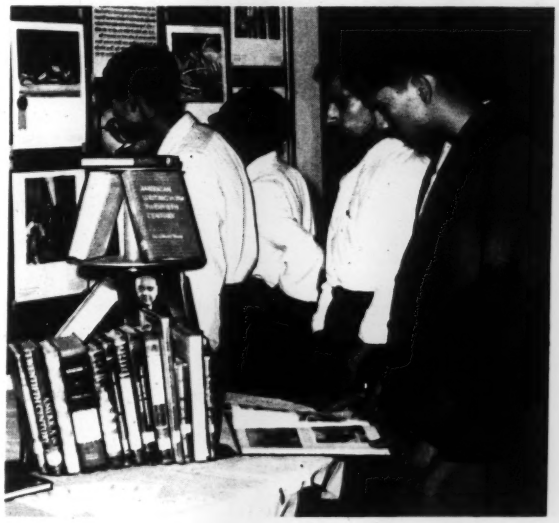
Another series, PLANET EARTH, acquired from the National Academy of Sciences, has been distributed in 4 languages in 34 countries. Demand for it continues. The Agency also produced or acquired 20 additional programs and features on space research and other scientific subjects.

USIA has also helped foreign networks to produce science programs such as assisting the British Broadcasting Corporation to make 4 of them in this country.

The Agency's account of the Mariner II Venus probe captivated public attention in every corner of the world:

- USIA's first TV export to Rumania was made in January; that nation's television network aired the program as a part of a regularly scheduled countrywide telecast.
- More than 4 million Swedes saw the show at peak evening time.
- In Morocco, the telecast was hailed as "the highlight of the year."

The Agency's motion picture service produced and acquired a number of films to keep up with the heavy overseas demand. KRYSTALLOS, a 1-reel color film, explains the use of quartz crystals by communications research systems and the years of research that went into the successful manufacture of high-grade crystals for industrial use. HARVEST OF AN ATOMIC AGE, 2 reels in color, demonstrates the results of U.S. experiments with atomically irradiated seeds to develop plants and foods that are more resistant to disease and extreme weather conditions.

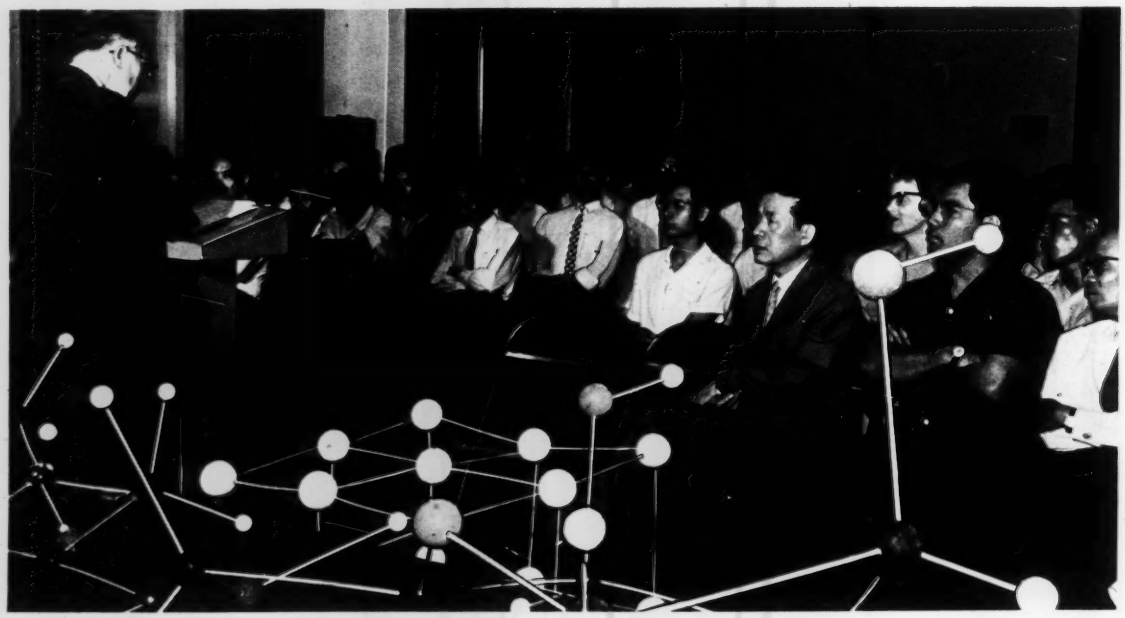


A science seminar and exhibit in faraway Nepal drew hundreds of adults and youth.

A biographical sketch of John Glenn, the astronaut, in 3 reels of color, has been produced in 24 languages and distributed in 97 countries. Two other acquisitions were ATOMS FOR SPACE, 3 reels in color, depicting the development and use of compact nuclear power for space by the AEC, and OUR NEAREST STAR, 1 reel in color, explaining the power system's use in transit of the 4–A navigational satellite.

Agency-produced films included THE GLENN CAPSULE IN CHILE, which is a 1-reel documentary in Spanish. Another, in Portuguese, is called RESEARCHERS OF TOMORROW. It describes the efforts of the U.S. Research Institute, the Sao Paulo Department of Agriculture, and the food-for-peace program to improve the productivity and nutritive value of certain foods.

Booklets and articles on many phases



A visiting American specialist explains uses of atomic energy at the Saigon Information Center.

of scientific research and accomplishments were prepared by the Agency's press and publications service. The subjects: INTERNATIONAL QUIET SUN YEAR, future Gemini and Apollo space explorations, underwater archeological explorations, child health, mental retardation, the fight against tropical diseases, cancer research, and the orbiting of copper needles in space in a new communications experiment.

This flow of material, while voluminous, never equaled demand, and USIS officers abroad exercised ingenuity to supplement it with exhibits, seminars, and lectures.

At 154 binational centers and 175 information centers overseas, collections of scientific materials were made available to foreign readers. Libraries include books and periodicals ranging from science encyclopedias to basic how-to-do-it manuals. Textbooks are available in nearly all fields of science. Special collections were placed on long-term loan with host-country libraries, universities, medical and engineering schools, and professional groups.

USIS libraries include sets of a science bookshelf of selected paperbacks, consisting of 30 standard titles, covering mathematics, space exploration, physics, chemistry, engineering, and other areas of scientific study. These also are lent to schools and circulated among educators and students while other sets are presented to universities and libraries. The Agency supplements the book collection with subscriptions to more than 300 U.S. scientific publications.

Reading rooms also provide a place for talks and seminars arranged by USIS officers. Among these were slide lectures, dealing with manned and unmanned flight, which were sent to all posts in February. ADVENTURES IN GEOGRAPHY—75 YEARS OF EXPLORATION is a slide lecture that overseas audiences like very much. It was prepared in cooperation with

Solar Energy and ***U.S. Experiments in Space*** were star attractions at American Week in Vallodolid, Spain. Both exhibits were constructed by the local USIS post and were supplemented with Agency films, a record concert, and collections of cultural and historical materials. The exhibit on American development of power drawn from the sun later toured a number of countries throughout the Near East.

the National Geographic Society. Another slide lecture, made possible through the cooperation of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., featured the launching of Telstar II on May 7.

Seven sets of a space lecture demonstration kit circulated in the past 6 months. Each was complete with slides and small models of Apollo, Mercury, Explorer I, UK–I, Tiros, and Mariner, along with narrations in translation. An exhibit featuring space vehicle models of the Explorer, Vanguard, Tiros, Pioneer, Mercury, X–15, and Telstar I is also touring overseas.

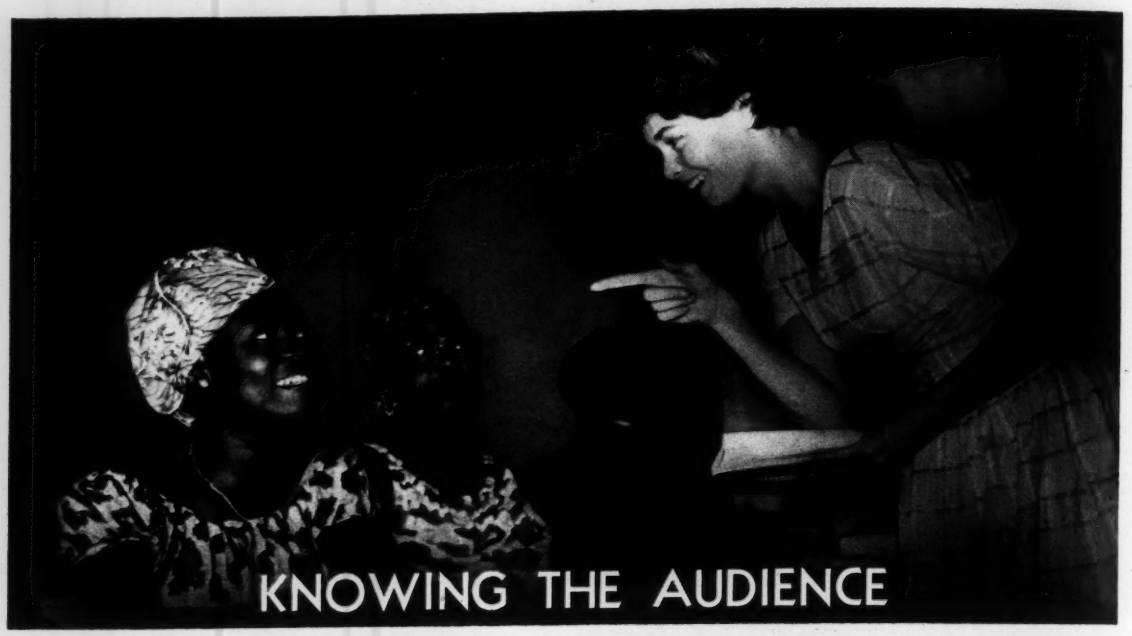
One thousand copies of a photographic exhibit, U.S. PROGRESS IN SPACE, were dispatched to field posts in May with texts in English, Spanish, and French. In Copenhagen a group of high school and college students, working in conjunction with the USIS post, produced a comprehensive report and analysis of U.S. space research as the result of the exhibit there.

Under the Cultural Exchange Agreement with the Soviet Union, the TECHNICAL BOOKS USA exhibit opened in Leningrad in April and went on to Kiev in May and June where it proved to be a special attraction for Soviet scientists and students. Earlier, in Moscow, it had attracted 25,000 visitors.

As the result of a similar reciprocal agreement, the exhibit, MEDICINE USA, had 2 showings in Yugoslavia this spring at major trade fairs held in Zagreb and Belgrade.

Science Youth Day on the Island of Okinawa focused on the Voice of America relay facilities at Okum and Onna Point. At left some high school students from the Ryukyus examine various tools used in the VOA maintenance shops.

Medicine USA toured several East European cities to show professionals and others the latest equipment and techniques used in the United States. Seen here in Belgrade, are two American doctors explaining devices employed in dental practice.



Foreign Public Opinion Research Helps USIA Plan Output of Materials—Basic Studies Probe Audience Attitudes—Policy on the Public Release of Survey Results is Liberalized

THE Agency constantly surveys public opinion abroad in an effort to remove the guesswork from communicating with people overseas. In February 1963 USIA liberalized its policy of releasing the results of these studies to Congress and the public.

This research on public attitudes toward various subjects, along with listening and reading habits, comes to the Agency in a constant flow, and thus enables it to adapt materials to achieve maximum impact.

The research efforts range from places with high literacy and modern communications media to those where literacy is low, newspapers are virtually unknown, and where the people have never seen a motion picture or television program.

Whatever the level of communications and comprehension, USIA must know what people think and feel about the issues that concern the United States and the free world. Knowing the reaction abroad to U.S. policies is always important as a guideline in formulating the Agency's operations.

Within this framework, Agency research sets out to accomplish its goals in a number of ways. It is designed to:

- Identify the long-term values and aspirations of the world's peoples.
- Determine the current attitudes of the USIA's audience.
- Study special groups it is attempting to influence.
- Evaluate channels and methods of communication.
- Weigh the effectiveness of its varied programs.

Since the Agency competes everywhere with the Communists, USIA carefully researches their propaganda. One result is an annual book-length study which examines in detail the diversity and intensity of worldwide Communist efforts.

Surveys and analyses of Communist activities, however, constitute only part of the research and reference support to Agency officers who operate programs in 106 countries. Some 650 studies of attitudes, current opinion, and communications outlets have been prepared during the past 5 years.

Others have assessed world opinion of U.S. Government actions and policy statements.

Fact books about communications in 76 countries have been written. These basic reference works spell out detailed information on population, education, literacy, religion, languages, communications networks and access to them. In many instances, such as those involving the newly independent countries of Africa, they provide the only compiled reference works on national communications.

> The veil of secrecy concealing Soviet space launchings was withdrawn in April at the time of the Lunik IV space shot at the moon.
>
> In contrast to all previous Soviet space efforts, the launch of Lunik IV was preceded by an advance and massive fanfare of Soviet propaganda to set the stage for another major space achievement. This reached its peak on April 4 when Soviet broadcasters voiced 98 commentaries on the subject within a period of 24 hours.
>
> Late that day, the Soviets began omitting the usual data on temperature and pressure inside the capsule. The next day, a scheduled Moscow Radio talk, ***Hitting the Moon,*** was canceled and replaced by a musical program. Then came the news that Lunik IV had failed in its mission and missed the moon by a considerable distance . . .

The factbooks and similar studies are used by all U.S. Government agencies concerned with public opinion abroad, but they were written primarily to provide direct support for Agency programs.

People in any country act on what they believe to be facts on a particular subject. Research shows that the accuracy of facts does not necessarily influence popular belief in them. Therefore, to direct programs to change or reinforce attitudes toward the United States and its policies, USIA must know what people think, and why they hold

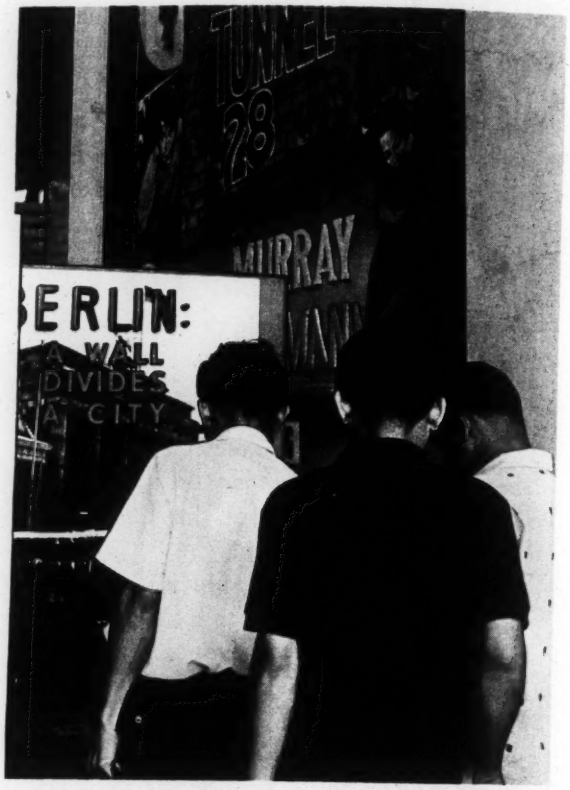
their beliefs on various issues of the day.

One study in the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, and Italy, for example, surveyed attitudes toward 17 aspects of the American way of life. Questions ranged from business practices, use of leisure time, education, the arts and science, to American literature, women and youth.

The answers pointed up the misconceptions most commonly held in Western Europe about the United States, and Europeans' interest in different aspects of U.S. life. Many of the findings confirmed the intuition of experienced officers. Other results cast helpful light on the question of why people abroad believed what they did, and from what sources they obtained their information.

In the light of these findings, USIA assigned priority attention to the most important subjects and directed its output to correct distorted and harmful impressions. Subsequent surveys were useful in evaluating the success of certain Agency programs aimed at influencing the news of well-defined groups known to have held specific opinions.

Periodic surveys have long been made to



Millions of people around the world have seen Agency exhibits depicting the "Wall of Shame" the Communists constructed in Berlin.

Bookmobile in Burma: the reading materials it carries are carefully chosen for reader interest.

evaluate trends in Western European attitudes toward a variety of issues and problems. Dramatic shifts in opinion often result from events that capture public imagination. Popular views on space exploration, for example, vary in the public mind and the relative progress of the Soviet Union vis-à-vis the United States hinges, in part, on which of the two has recently achieved a dramatic advance.

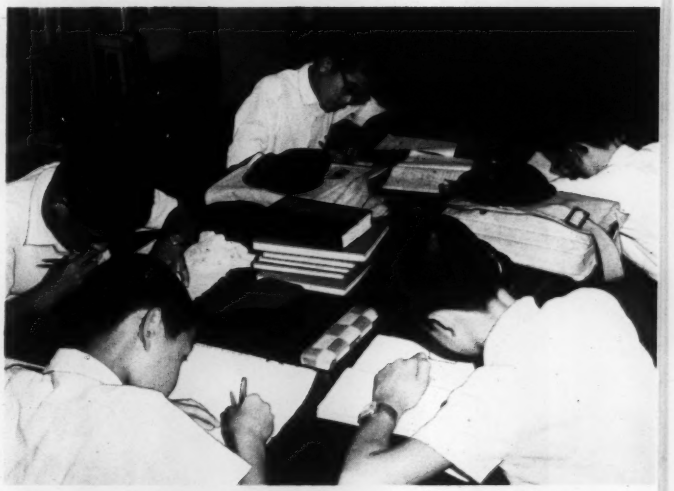
Bob Considine, a leading journalist, recently wrote:

"The caliber of our film documentaries has picked up considerably. Murrow and his associates are turning out productions which in many cases would win critical acclaim from the most hard-bitten U.S. television critics. USIA has turned The Wall in Berlin into a prop, in a sense, to the complete discomfiture of the Communists. Afro-Asians, neutrals, and others are invited to send delegations to West Berlin to observe this 20th-century obscenity. Our cameras catch them at The Wall discussing it in their own tongues, not ours. Their reactions, not ours, are of importance—as we send those films to their countries to be shown."

In 1960, for instance, most Britons believed that the U.S.S.R. led the United States in all of five classes of space development, despite a long series of American space conquests. What were the facts?

The Russians did lead in ability to launch the biggest and heaviest satellites. However, the United States had orbited a greater number of satellites. In addition, those launchings had produced far more scientific information than the Soviet shots.

Similarly, British respondents thought the Soviets were ahead of the United States when measured by dependability of rockets and effectiveness of missiles, yet, at the time, information publicly available was insufficient to determine the issue.



Tokyo high school students at work in USIS library.

These misconceptions underlined the fact that the American space story was not getting across in England and that the popular British view of Soviet leadership was based largely on inadequate knowledge. To remedy the situation, USIA greatly increased its output, through all Agency media, of persuasive, factual information about American space achievements. Surveys subsequently showed more understanding of the facts.

European awareness of U.S. strength in space soared when TELSTAR, the American Telephone & Telegraph's communications satellite, relayed television programs between the United States and Europe. That feat produced an extraordinary impact on public opinion throughout Europe and elsewhere. It showed conclusively that the United States does more than just match other space accomplishments; in certain fields it demonstrably excels and leads the Soviet Union.

Agency films shown in Korea during the past year were seen by audiences totaling 85,861,182, more than triple the actual population of the Republic. USIS in Seoul reported that 69,421,252 people saw 1 or more of the post's weekly newsreel, *Library News.* The remaining audience saw at least 1 of the 150 other Agency films exhibited in the 368 theaters in that country.

Research takes the guesswork out of communications. It shows ways to identify US interests with those of the local audience. Here a new Alliance for Progress school opening is filmed.

Other studies in 7 Latin American countries between December 1960 and February 1961 indicated that opinion was predominantly against Fidel Castro at the outset and that the opposition increased steadily during the period. The major source of disapproval stemmed from Castro's executions, his dictatorial extremes, and his ties to international Communism. This critical attitude extended beyond Castro to include almost all his domestic and international policies. However, his economic policies and program of "land reform" were viewed favorably, although the Cuban revolution and its aftermath were not generally regarded as a model for social change in Latin America.

More recent studies in Latin America have sought to measure public awareness of the Alliance for Progress, a major political commitment of the United States, and the degree of grassroots expectations and support for the program.

In addition to such long-range studies, USIA compiles flash reports on foreign public reaction to a developing crisis. A major example occurred during the October 1962 Cuban crisis when overseas posts reported the tenor of foreign editorial comment and broadcasts. These assessments were supplied directly to the executive committee of the National Security Council and to the appropriate Federal agencies. Similar rapid reports were supplied on overseas reaction to Atlantic Alliance problems and the Sino-Indian conflict. During the latter crisis, analyses of Chinese propaganda dealing with the issue were relayed to USIS New Delhi.

Another key area of research is the identification of elements of a national or regional population to which USIA's informational efforts should be directed.

In a Southeast Asian village, for example,

USIS Caracas inaugurated an Educational Counseling Service to cope with the stream of young Venezuelans eager to attend United States universities. Among Latin Americans, the number of Venezuelans attending American universities is second only to the number of Mexicans. Last year more than 1,000 Venezuelans entered high schools, universities, and vocational schools in the United States.

virtually all information comes from the headman, the schoolteacher, the Buddhist priest, and the traveling vendor. In the capital city of the country, other opinion formers are likely to include government officials, university faculties and students, and certain categories of skilled workers. If Agency officers and materials can reach these opinion molders and carriers, it can be expected that the message will be widely disseminated.

> Nine USIS Information Centers in Japan distributed 50,000 books to schools, universities, and municipal libraries during the reporting period.
>
> The largest distribution was in Kobe where 27,000 books were presented to universities, junior colleges, and high schools for classroom and library use and for setting up American Studies groups. Smaller donations were made to various institutions in Kanazawa, in Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Niigata, Kyoto, Sapporo, Nagoya, and Osaka.

One research study of such a group was the report entitled COMMUNICATIONS HABITS OF THE CHINESE MINORITY IN BANGKOK AND SOUTHERN THAILAND. This survey of the Chinese in Thailand, a quasi-elite minority and a key group in the Thai economy, had practical value for USIS in Thailand. That usefulness was extended when the findings were integrated with comparable studies of other target groups in Thailand. The evaluation was then combined with other demographic findings to provide an even broader study published recently as the THAILAND COMMUNICATIONS FACT BOOK.

The book also included information on the newspaper-reading and radio-listening habits of government officials, Buddhist monks, schoolteachers, university students, and the overseas Chinese. One finding, for example, showed that films effectively reach the Chinese: nine-tenths of the Chinese in southern Thailand have seen documentary films, mostly about the United States; over half of them prefer American films and they go to a commercial theater at least weekly.

Most of the surveys are intended primarily for government use, but only those which include government interpretations or sensitive data obtained from diplomatic and intelligence sources are classified.

The Agency announced in February a new policy on releasing classified surveys. It provides that studies classified as "Confidential" will be given on request to the chairman and ranking minority member of appropriate committees of Congress, but they will not be made public. Such studies will automatically be declassified and released 2 years after completion, except in rare cases where national security may be jeopardized by so doing. Surveys originally classified as "Official Use Only" will be available to appropriate committee members on request, but will not be put in the public domain for at least a year.

USIA wives volunteer for many duties at home and abroad. Here a group sorts books from Post Office dead-letter office for shipment to posts and libraries established in 106 countries.

APPENDICES

U.S. Advisory Commission On Information

J. LEONARD REINSCH, *Chairman,* executive director, WSB, Atlanta, Ga.

SIGURD S. LARMON, Chrysler Building, New York City.

CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF, journalist, Cowles Publications, Washington, D.C.

M. S. NOVIK, public service radio consultant, New York City.

JOHN L. SEIGENTHALER, editor, The Nashville Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn.

Broadcast Advisory Committee

ROGER W. CLIPP, vice president, station WFIL, Philadelphia, Pa.

DONLEY F. FEDDERSEN, National Educational Television and Radio Center, New York City.

RAYMOND F. GUY, broadcast consulting engineer, Haworth, N.J.

RALPH N. HARMON, vice president for engineering, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., Inc., New York City.

JACK W. HARRIS, vice president and general manager, station KPRC, Houston, Tex.

FRANK L. MARX, vice president, American Broadcasting Co., New York City.

WILLIAM MCANDREW, vice president, National Broadcasting Co., New York City.

HOWARD S. MEIGHAN, president, Videotape Productions of New York, Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.

ROBERT SAUDEK, president, Robert Saudek Associates, Inc., New York City.

SYLVESTER L. WEAVER, Jr., chairman, McCann-Erickson Corp. (Int.), New York City.

JOHN F. WHITE, president, National Educational Television and Radio Center, New York City.

Advisory Committee On Cultural Information

JACK DALTON, dean, School of Library Service, Columbia University, New York City.

ARTHUR FIEDLER, conductor, Boston Pops, Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass.

FREEMAN LEWIS, executive vice president, Pocket Books, Inc., New York City.

FLORA B. LUDINGTON, librarian, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

STORER B. LUNT, chairman of the board, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York City.

ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT, director, English Language Institute, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

PORTER A. MCCRAY, director of circulating exhibitions, Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

CHARLES E. ODEGAARD, president, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

JAMES J. RORIMER, director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

JOHN WALKER, director, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

English Teaching Advisory Panel

ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT, *Chairman.* (See above.)

DAVID P. HARRIS, director, American Language Institute, Georgetown University, Wash., D.C.

BETTY W. ROBINETT, assistant professor of English, Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind.

W. FREEMAN TWADDELL, professor of linguistics and German, Brown University, Providence, R.I.

Music Advisory Panel

ARTHUR FIEDLER, *Chairman.* (See above.)

WILFRED C. BAIN, dean of School of Music, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

WARNER LAWSON, dean, College of Fine Arts, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

PETER MENNIN, president, Juilliard School of Music, New York City.

JULIUS RUDEL, general director, New York City Opera, New York City.

HAROLD SPIVACKE, chief, Music Division, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

JOHN S. WILSON, music critic, Princeton, N.J.

Voice of America Science Advisory Group

Capt. FRANK BAHRY, Bureau of Ships, Department of the Navy.

Dr. HELMUT L. BRUECKMANN, radio antennae expert, Department of the Army.

CULLEN M. CRAIN, Electronics Department, The Rand Corp.

ROBERT L. FEIK, Electro Mechanics, Austin, Tex.

RAYMOND F. GUY, 264 Franklin St., Haworth, N.J.

RALPH N. HARMON. (See above.)

LEONARD JAFFE, Chief of Communications Satellites Programs, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

W. C. JAKES, Jr., Bell Telephone Laboratories, Inc.

RICHARD C. KIRBY, Boulder Laboratories, National Bureau of Standards.

FRANK L. MARX. (See above.)

IRVIN L. MCNALLY, Raytheon Co.

ERNEST K. SMITH, Boulder Laboratories, National Bureau of Standards.

O. G. VILLARD, Jr., Radioscience Laboratory, Stanford University.

VOICE OF AMERICA WEEKLY LANGUAGE BROADCASTS

(June 30, 1963)

	Total Hours-Minutes
Worldwide: [1]	
English	183: 45
Music U.S.A.	73: 30
Total worldwide English	257: 15
East Europe:	
Albanian	10: 30
Armenian	7: 00
Bulgarian	12: 15
Czech-Slovak	10: 30
Estonian	10: 30
Georgian	7: 00
Hungarian	17: 30
Latvian	10: 30
Lithuanian	10: 30
Polish	14: 00
Rumanian	8: 45
Russian	59: 30
To Far Eastern USSR	10: 30
Serbo-Croat	10: 30
Slovene	3: 30
Ukrainian	7: 00
To Far Eastern USSR	3: 30
Total vernacular to Eastern Europe	199: 30
Total vernacular to Far Eastern USSR	14: 00
Regionalized English to Europe [2]	3: 30
English audible in area	[1] 98: 00
Arab World—Near East:	
Arabic	42: 00
Turkish	7: 00
Total vernacular to Arab World—Near East	49: 00
English to Near and Middle East	3: 30
English audible in area	[1] 89: 15
South Asia:	
Bengali (East)	3: 30
Bengali (West)	3: 30
Hindi	3: 30
Tamil	3: 30
Urdu	7: 00
Total vernacular to South Asia	21: 00
Regionalized English to South Asia	10: 30
English audible in area	45: 30

	Total Hours-Minutes
Africa:	
Arabic	7: 00
French	10: 30
Hindi	3: 30
Swahili	7: 00
Total vernacular to Africa	28: 00
Regionalized English to Africa	7: 00
English audible in area	[1] 80: 30
Far East:	
Burmese	17: 30
Cambodian	7: 00
Indonesian	14: 00
Korean	[3] 14: 00
Lao	7: 00
Mandarin	[3] 52: 30
Thai	7: 00
Vietnamese	[3] 14: 00
Total vernacular to Far East	133: 00
Regionalized English to Far East	[3] 10: 30
English audible in area	[1 3] 73: 30
Latin America:	
Spanish	[4] 63: 00
Portuguese (Brazil)	24: 30
Total vernacular to Latin America	[5] 87: 30
Regionalized English to Latin America	8: 45
English audible in area	[1] 22: 45
Grand total, Voice of America Direct Broadcasts	789: 15

[1] Of the 257:15 hours-per-week English programing, VOA employs specially regionalized shows intended for specific area listeners and additionally beams general content programing to several geographic areas simultaneously.

[2] English "To Europe" is intended for listeners on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

[3] Broadcasts in these languages are intended for Communist Asia as well as Free Asian listeners.

[4] Of the 63:00 hours-per-week Spanish language programing, 14: 00 hpw are intended specifically for Cuban listeners.

[5] 7:00 hpw Russian language programing is also beamed to Cuba.

VOICE OF AMERICA WEEKLY HOURS OF SPECIAL TRANSMISSION

(June 30, 1963)

Regular programs which are primarily intended for local rebroadcast but which are audible to shortwave listeners in the area.

	Total Hours-Minutes
Europe:	
German: To: RIAS, West Berlin, West Germany, and Austria	13: 30
French	5: 15
Italian	: 25
(Broadcast services are provided direct by point to point cable to stations in these countries:	
Belgium-Flemish and French	: 08
Denmark	: 05
Finland	: 05
Netherlands—4 separate station outlets)	: 25
Near East: Greek	3: 00
Africa: Multi-language transmission (in English, French, Hausa, Swahili, and other African vernaculars as might be available)	14: 00
Far East:	
Multi-language transmissions (in Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Malayan, Mandarin, Thai, Vietnamese and English)	14: 00
Japanese	8: 45
Total weekly special transmissions	58: 55

VOICE OF AMERICA PACKAGED PROGRAMS

In addition to foregoing, VOA regularly prepares and ships to USIS posts abroad for placement on local radio stations the following:

To Europe:

Roughly 7:30 hours per week in French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Russian (in line with the US/USSR Cultural Agreement).

To Arab World, Near East, and South Asia:

Roughly 23 hpw in Arabic, Greek, Turkish, Persian, East and West Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Urdu, English, and occasionally in Afghan (Farsi) and Hebrew.

To Africa:

Roughly 10 hpw in English, French, Amharic, Swahili, and occasionally in Arabic, Hausa, Yoruba, Lingala, and other African dialects as opportunity affords.

To Far East:

Roughly 85 hpw in Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Malayan, Mandarin, Thai, Vietnamese, French and English.

To Latin America:

Roughly 800 hpw (18 hpw to each USIS post in Latin America) in Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English. Other languages distributed on request are Japanese, Armenian, and Hindi.

PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS SERVICE

Hours of Wireless File, Weekly Transmissions

(June 30, 1963)

Area and language	*Number of countries*	*Number of posts*	*Total hours*
Near East and South Asia: English	13	17	22:00
Africa:			
English	30	32	17:00
French	18*	18*	15:00
Europe: English	16	16	17:00
East Europe: English	6	6	10:00
Latin America:			
Spanish	18	20	19:00
English	5	5	13:00
Far East:			
English	15	15	20:00
French	3*	3*	2:00
Grand total	103	111	135:00

*These countries and posts also receive English transmissions.

Salaries and Expenses Appropriation
(Fiscal Year 1963)

Appropriation, Public Law 87–843, 87th Congress	[1] $120, 445, 218
Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1963, Public Law 88–25, 88th Congress	2, 645, 000
Reimbursements from other accounts	5, 105, 411
Total	128, 195, 629

Appropriation

Fiscal year:	
1954	84, 217, 000
1955	77, 299, 000
1956	87, 336, 630
1957	113, 000, 000
1958	96, 517, 000
1959	101, 673, 800
1960	101, 557, 300
1961	105, 330, 300
1962	[2] 111, 464, 940
1963	[1] 123, 090, 218

[1] Excludes $54,782 appropriation transferred to Public Buildings Service, General Services Admin.
[2] Excludes $35,060 appropriation transferred to Public Buildings Service, General Services Admin.

Authorizations, Obligations, and Expenditures by Organizational Element
Fiscal Year 1963

[Obligations and expenditures as of June 30, 1963]
Salaries and Expenses Appropriation

	Authorized	Obligated	Expended [1]
Overseas Missions	$50, 193, 018	$50, 161, 067	$41, 269, 813
Press and Publications Service	10, 861, 501	10, 846, 744	9, 482, 160
Motion Picture Service	7, 079, 916	7, 079, 655	5, 012, 209
Information Center Service	6, 402, 201	6, 398, 298	4, 706, 383
Broadcasting Service	23, 192, 631	23, 190, 475	20, 056, 625
Television Service	3, 853, 808	3, 800, 334	2, 727, 786
Research and Reference Service	1, 549, 802	1, 547, 615	1, 314, 282
Cooperative Programs With Private Organizations	466, 633	466, 342	421, 730
Program Direction	2, 007, 616	1, 999, 299	1, 849, 489
Administration and Staff Support	7, 515, 936	7, 511, 316	6, 586, 390
Administrative Support	14, 470, 928	14, 470, 928	12, 522, 210
Agency-wide Personnel Detailed to Other Agencies	601, 639	601, 096	557, 906
Total	128, 195, 629	128, 073, 169	106, 506, 983

[1] Expenditures reported by individual allottees as of June 30, 1963.

Salaries and Expenses (Special Foreign Currency Appropriation)

[Obligations and expenditures through June 30, 1963

	Authorizations	Obligations	Expenditures
Restricted currency countries:			
Far East	$921, 182	$814, 494	$698, 976
Near East and South Asia	2, 005, 986	1, 823, 022	959, 303
Latin America	965, 623	933, 335	701, 941
West Europe	919, 776	919, 735	770, 293
Excess currency countries:			
Far East	2, 789, 438	2, 383, 300	2, 134, 491
Near East and South Asia	18, 700, 906	16, 925, 648	14, 037, 786
Special European programs	1, 488, 035	1, 112, 438	1, 059, 110
Soviet and East Europe	728, 423	540, 515	60, 992
Broadcasting Service	139, 961	139, 961	120, 488
Total [1]	28, 659, 330	25, 592, 448	20, 543, 380

[1] Excludes allocated funds expended prior to appropriations.

Acquisition and Construction of Radio Facilities (Continuing Appropriation)

[Obligations and expenditures through June 30, 1963]

	Total authorizations	Cumulative obligations	Cumulative expenditures
Total	[1] $112, 076, 358	$98, 587, 363	$86, 429, 226

[1] Includes $751,566 in counterpart funds and $396,136 reimbursements. Excludes $6,906,717 and $3,200,000 transferred to "Salaries and Expenses, Department of State, 1954" and "Salaries and Expenses, U.S. Information Agency, 1955," respectively.

Other Programs Administered by U.S. Information Agency

[Obligations and expenditures through June 30, 1963]

	Total authorizations	Cumulative obligations	Cumulative expenditures
Contract guarantees under informational media guarantee program	$82, 050, 773	$81, 300, 294	$74, 810, 059
Trade fair and related activities of the "Special International Exhibitions Program" as authorized by the "Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961" (Public Law 87–256): [1]			
Special International Program	20, 061, 471	16, 934, 947	15, 704, 864
Special International Program (Foreign Currency)	1, 648, 264	1, 398, 225	1, 261, 481

[1] Cultural presentations under this authority are carried in Department of State authorizations and appropriations beginning with fiscal year 1963. Authorizations prior to fiscal year 1963 and obligations and expenditures against those amounts are included in the amounts reported above.

LOCATION OF USIS INSTALLATIONS ABROAD*

AFGHANISTAN—Kabul

ALGERIA—Algiers, Constantine, Oran

ARGENTINA—Buenos Aires, Cordoba Rosario, *Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Dean Funes, General Alvear, Mendoza, Rosario, Salta, San Francisco, San Juan, Santiago del Estero, Tucuman, Villa Dolores, Villa Maria,* (Avellaneda)

AUSTRALIA—Canberra, Melbourne, Sydney, (Melbourne)

AUSTRIA—Vienna, Salzburg, (Linz)

BELGIUM—Brussels

BOLIVIA—La Paz, Cochabamba, *La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz* (Oruro), (Potosi), (Sucre), (Tarija)

BRAZIL—Rio de Janeiro, Belem, Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, Curitiba, Fortaleza, Porto Alegre, Recife, Salvador, Sao Paulo, *Belem, Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, Curitiba, Florianapolis, Fortaleza, Juiz de Fora, Londrina, Natal, Porto Alegre, Recife Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Salvador University, Sao Luiz, Sao Paulo, Santos, Soracaba, Vitoria, Aracaju, Araraquara, Barbacena, Botucatu, Caxias do Sul, Itapetininga, Joao Pessoa, Manaus, Marilia, Pelotas, Piracicaba, Resende, Presidente Prudente, Ponta Grossa, Ribeirao Preto, Santa Maria, Sao Jose do Rio Preto, Uberaba, Uberlandia, Viscosa*

BRITISH GUIANA—Georgetown

BURMA-Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, *Rangoon*

BURUNDI—Usumbura

CAMBODIA—Phnom Penh, (Battambang), (Chbar Ampeou), (Kampot), (Komgpong Cham), (Komgpong Chhnang), (Komgpong Luong), (Komgpong Phnom), (Komgpong Speu), (Komgpong Thom), Prey Veng), (Pursat), (Siem Reap), (Svay Rieng), (Takeo)

CAMEROON—Yaounde, Douala

CANADA—Ottawa, Toronto

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC—Bengui

CEYLON—Colombo, (Kandy)

CHAD—Fort Lamy

CHILE—Santiago, *Antofagasta, Chillan, Chuquicamata, Concepcion, Maria Elena, Osorno, Pedro de Valdivia, Punta Arenas, Santiago, Talca, Temuco, Valparaiso*

COLOMBIA—Bogota, Cali, Barranquilla, *Bogota, Bucaramanga, Cali, Cartagena, Manizales, Medellin, Popayan,* (Barranquilla), (Medellin)

CONGO, Republic of the—Leopoldville, Bukavu, Stanleyville, Elizabethville, Coquilhatville.

CONGO—Republic of—Brazzaville

COSTA RICA—San Jose, *Limon, Puntaranas, San Jose* (Golfito)

CYPRUS—Nicosia

DAHOMEY—Cotonou

DENMARK—Copenhagen

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—Santo Domingo, Santiago de los Caballeros, *Santiago, Santa Domingo,* (Santo Domingo)

ECUADOR—Quito, Guayaquil, *Ambato, Bahia de Caraquez, Cuenca, Guayaquil, Manta, Otavlo, Portoviejo, Quito,* (Riobamba)

EL SALVADOR—San Salvador, *Ahuachapan, San Miguel, San Salvador*

ETHIOPIA—Addis Ababa, Asmara, (Harar)

FINLAND—Helsinki

FRANCE—Paris, Bordeaux, Marseille, Strasbourg, Tours, *Rennes,* (Lyon)

FRENCH WEST INDIES—Fort-de-France, (Point-a Pitre), Fort-de-France)

GERMANY—Bonn, Berlin, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, Stuttgart, Cologne, Essen, Kaiserslautern, Bremen, Hannover, Kiel, *Darmstadt, Frieburg, Heidelberg, Kassel, Koblenz, Marburg, Nurnberg, Regensburg, Tuebingen,* (Dusseldorf), (Saarbruecken)

GHANA—Accra

GREAT BRITAIN—London

GREECE—Athens, Thessaloniki, *Athens,* (Kavalla), (Patras), (Piraeus)

GUATEMALA—Guatemala City, *Guatemala City,* (Quezaltenango)

GUINEA—Conakry

HAITI—Port-au-Prince, *Port-au-Prince,* (Cap Haitien)

HONDURAS—Tegucigalpa, *San Pedro Sula, Tegurigalpa*

HONG KONG—Hong Knog

ICELAND—Reykjavik

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*Key to types of installation:

Kabul—mission post, branch post or subpost.

Buenos Aires—bi-national center operated with host country.

(Avellaneda)—reading room or distribution outlet.

INDIA—New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Trivandrum, *Bombay, Calcutta,* (Guntur), (Patna)

INDONESIA—Djakarta, Jogjakarta, Medan, Surabaya (Djakarta), (Makassar)

IRAN—Tehran, Isfahan, Khorramshahr, Meshed, Tabriz, *Tehran, Isfahan, Meshed*

IRAQ—Baghdad

ISRAEL—Tel Aviv (Jerusalem)

ITALY—Rome, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Trieste, Turin, Catania, *Genoa, Naples,* (Bari)

IVORY COAST—Abidjan

JAMAICA—Kingston, (Kingston)

JAPAN—Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka, Nogoya, Sapporo, Yokohama, Niigata, Sendai, Hiroshima, Kobe, Kyoto, Kanazawa, (Akita), (Amami), (Hakodate), (Kokura), (Kumamoto), (Matsuyama), (Nagano), (Nagasaki), (Okayama), (Shizuoka), (Takamatsu)

JORDAN—Amman, (Jerusalem)

KENYA—Nairobi

KOREA—Seoul, Kwangju, Pusan, Taegu

LAOS—Vientiane, Luang Prabang, Pakse, Savannakhet, *Vientiane,* (Luang Prabang), (Pakse), (Savannakhet)

LEBANON—Beirut, (Nasra)

LIBERIA—Monrovia

LIBYA—Benghazi, Tripoli, Baida, (Sebha)

MALAGASY REPUBLIC—Tananarive

MALAYA—Kuala Lumpur, Penang

MALI—Bamako

MEXICO—Mexico City, Guadalajara, Mazatlan, Monterrey, *Guadalajara, Merida, Mexico City, Monterrey, Morelia, San Luis Potosi, Veracruz,* (Mazatlan), (Puebla), (Tampico)

MOROCCO—Rabat, Casablanca, Fez, Marrakech, Tangier

NEPAL—Katmandu

NETHERLANDS—The Hague, (Amsterdam)

NEW ZEALAND—Wellington, (Wellington)

NICARAGUA—Manague, *Leon, Managua*

NIGERIA—Lagos, Enugu, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano

NIGER—Niamey

NORWAY—Oslo, (Tromso)

PAKISTAN—Karachi, Dacca, Lahore, Peshawar, *Karachi,* (Barisal), (Chittagong), (Hyderabad), (Mymensingh), (Quetta), (Rajshahi), (Rangpur), (Rawalpindi), (Sylhet)

PANAMA—Panama City, David, *Colon, Panama City*

PARAGUAY—Asuncion, *Asuncion*

PERU—Lima, Arequipa, *Arequipa, Callao, Chiclayo, Cuzco, Huancayo, Lima, Miraflores, Piura, Puna, Tacna, Trujillo,* (Cuzco), (Puno)

PHILIPPINES—Manila, Cebu

PORTUGAL—Lisbon, (Oporto)

RHODESIA & NYASALAND, Federation of—Salisbury, Blantyre, Lusaka

SAUDI ARABIA—Jidda

SENEGAL—Dakar

SIERRA LEONE—Freetown

SINGAPORE—Singapore

SOMALI REPUBLIC—Mogadiscio

SOUTH AFRICA, Republic of—Pretoria, Capetown, Johannesburg

SPAIN—Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, *Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid,* (Bilbao)

SUDAN—Khartoum

SURINAM—Paramaribo

SWEDEN—Stockholm, (Goteborg)

SWITZERLAND—Bern, Geneva

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC—Damascus

TAIWAN—Taipei, Kaohsiung, Taichung, (Chai-Yi), (Pingtung), (Tainan)

TANGANYIKA—Dar-es-Salaam

THAILAND—Bangkok, Chiengmai, Korat, Songkhla, Ubol, Udorn, *Bangkok*

TOGO—Lome

TRINIDAD—Port-of-Spain (Port-of-Spain)

TUNISIA—Tunis

TURKEY—Ankara, Adana, Istanbul, Izmir, *Ankara, Adana, Izmir, Bursa, Istanbul*

UGANDA—Kampala

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC—Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said

UPPER VOLTA—Ouagadougou

URUGUAY—Montevideo, (Salto)

VENEZUELA—Caracas, Puerto La Cruz, Maracaibo, *Caracas, Puerto La Cruz*

VIETNAM—Saigon, Can Tho, Dalat, Hue, Dalat, *Saigon, Hue,* (Can Tho)

YEMEN—Taiz

YUGOSLAVIA—Belgrade, Zagreb, (Novi Sad)

ZANZIBAR—Zanzibar

NOTE: Listing does not include RADIO RELAY STATIONS (Colombo, Rhodes, Monrovia, Munich, Okinawa, Philippines, Tangier, Thessaloniki); PRESS SERVICE CENTERS (Beirut, Manila, Mexico City); or RADIO PROGRAM CENTERS (Bangkok, Cairo, Munich, Rhodes, Monrovia); or posts within United States (Miami and Foreign Correspondents Center, New York).

IA-68
2-10-54

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
ROUTING SLIP

TO: NAME OR TITLE	ORGAN. SYMBOL	ROOM NO.	BLDG.	INITIALS	DATE
1. Mr. Tom Coleman					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

	APPROVAL		NECESSARY ACTION
	AS REQUESTED		NOTE AND FORWARD
	COMMENT		NOTE AND RETURN
	FILE		PER CONVERSATION
	FOR CORRECTION		PREPARE REPLY
	FOR YOUR INFORMATION		RETURN TO SENDER
	INITIAL FOR CLEARANCE		SEE ME
	INVESTIGATE		SIGNATURE
	JUSTIFY		

REMARKS OR ADDITIONAL ROUTING

Lowell Bennett would be most appreciative if you would pass the attached material to Mr. Murrow.

FROM (Name or Organization)	ROOM NO.	BLDG.
Catherine P. Dufrane cpd	PHONE NO. 2796	DATE 10/15

1963

GUINEA'S REACTION TO THE

DEATH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

(Note: Following is a report sent by the U.S. Embassy in Conakry, Guinea. U.S. Ambassador James Loeb left Conakry for Washington consultations, as previously planned, early Saturday morning, November 23, less than twelve hours after the news of President Kennedy's assassination had reached Conakry. The report was prepared by Public Affairs Officer Arthur Bardos, with the assistance of Charge d'Affaires Donald Herdeck and Political Officer J. Daniel Loubert).

The discovery of the degree to which President Kennedy had become the symbol of human aspirations in Guinea--a country which has taken more pains than most to maintain what is regarded as a posture of "neutrality"--has been a moving experience to Americans living here. Not only cabinet ministers and high officials hastened to the Ambassador's residence late Friday night to share their visibly sincere shock and grief with him, but, among many others, the country's best loved popular singer, Kandia, as well as the Ambassador's cook, who came on his day off. A "Voice of America" listener wrote in to say that at the time he heard the news "several friends were around me with tears in their eyes, in complete silence." Reports from schools, large offices, from any place where groups habitually gather, described an atmosphere of mourning, of sobs, almost of despair. The USIS windows featuring pictures of President Kennedy attracted crowds during all hours of the day and night, and the Embassy and USIS were flooded with requests for photographs of the martyred President.

The news spread rapidly throughout Guinea, and in N'Zerekore in the heart of the forest region, American missionaries received the visit of the governor of the Region who came to express the sympathy of the whole population. The leaders of the protestant delegation presented a sum of money, the result of a collection, to their American pastor, to be used according to the local custom of the Guerze people, to purchase a rush mat in which to bury President Kennedy.

Reports were unanimous that President TOURE was profoundly shaken by the news of the assassination. He was already aware of the event when the Ambassador arrived at the President's private residence, and the two men embraced. The emotion symbolized by this gesture--one of a common grief uniting Guineans and Americans--has permeated the encounters of US officers with Guinean officials throughout the past week. Where in some cases there had been perfunctory courtesy in personal relations, there was suddenly

something more

something more--a feeling of inter-dependence, of need for one another in in the search for an understanding of the horrible thing that had happened. Expressions of sympathy by Guinean friends were of course even more profound and touching. President Sekou Toure is reported to have said: "I have lost my only true friend in the outside world."

Immediately after receiving the tragic news, Radio Conakry invited the Ambassador to address the Guinean people. Speaking in French, the Ambassador recalled his 17 years' friendship with President Kennedy and commented on Kennedy's personal attachment to Toure. He closed with an appeal to Guineans to have faith in the American people.

The Embassy received a steady stream of visitors, telegrams and letters expressing sympathy. Most Embassies cancelled their social functions the first week, flew their flags at half mast (the East German Commercial Mission did the same) and joined the American community in its grief. Needless to say, the Asian communist countries and Cuba expressed no such sympathy. The principal officer of most Embassies including the USSR personally visited the Embassy the days following the assassination to sign the Embassy's book and to talk to the Charge d'Affaires about the sense of bereavement of their governments and of themselves. A solemn requiem mass was celebrated in the Cathedral and the French Protestant Church held an austere memorial service.

Minister of Information Alassane Diop, personally went to the radio station in order to draft the first announcement of President Kennedy's death. The director of information service, Alpha Ibrahima DIALLO, a fervent admirer of President Kennedy since a call at the White House early this year, stayed up all night to put together a truly remarkable special issue of the Government newspaper. Emile TOMPAPA, the director of the radio station, also stayed up all night, writing elegiac prose laments in poetic French, to be interwoven with recorded spirituals, taped fragments of President Kennedy's speeches, and generous portions of Handel's "Hallelujah"--all to add up to a movingly sincere memorial program broadcast over Radio Conakry, the "Voice of the Revolution." All of them seemed to feel that they had to do something in order to express their sense of loss and their grief. Guineans who have on other occasions undoubtedly manifested particularly fraternal feelings toward their Chinese comrades booed and insulted the Red Chinese delegates to an Afro-Asian jurists' conference when the latter made a point of refusing to join in the observance of a minute of silence in memory of President Kennedy.

The impact

The impact of President Kennedy's tragic death on other nations around the globe, the words spoken, the gestures made, the fears awakened, the sudden loneliness felt elsewhere, are likely to have paralleled the Embassy's experience here in Guinea. There are, however, not many countries where this intensity of emotion could have been more unexpected. It had been known that informed people in Guinea thought well of President Kennedy and that President Toure had prided himself on his friendship. Yet, the whole state apparatus, and especially the information media, were geared to a peculiar brand of neutrality, under which attacks on Western countries were almost as rare as on Communist ones, but identification with Communist Bloc ideology (especially its Asiatic variant) always seemed closer, more heartfelt, than with Western democracy. The editor who was enthusiastic about President Kennedy's last address before the United Nations nevertheless had felt at that time that he should give nearly equal space to Gromyko's admittedly dull speech before the same session.

This kind of coverage in press and radio, combined with a low literacy rate and a generally inner-directed society, had made one wonder how many Guineans even knew who John F. Kennedy was. It made one wonder, too, whether those who knew about him would dare, even if their feelings were strong and positive, to express their affection for him. And, in spite of President Toure's personal views, there was every reason to doubt that the government apparatus would be permitted to pull out all stops in glorification of a white leader, a "capitalist," an American.

All stops were pulled out, people expressed their grief without restraint, and just about everybody in Guinea seemed to have fallen under the spell of the courageous young hero of far away, the slayer of the dragons of discrimination, poverty, ignorance and war.

President Toure is as charismatic a leader as any in Africa. Paradoxically, however, it seems not enough to have a great regional leader, a familiar figure of human dimensions. In a complex age, in the face of the vaguely felt danger of global extinction, and the threat of racial conflict on a global scale, and, perhaps above all, at a moment in history when the African must prove to himself his own dignity and worth, these anxieties, transcending Guinea and Africa, could only be laid to rest by a more universal symbol of security and hope. John F. Kennedy had, far more than anyone realized, become such a symbol to Guineans on all levels of society.

The fact that he was murdered while fighting the good fight made him at once more precious to them, and more awe-inspiringly remote. Sacrifice is the vehicle of redemption in all societies, and President Kennedy made the supreme sacrifice.

No matter

No matter how the police may explain the murder, nor who will be declared the murderer, Sekou Toure's Guinea will want him to be a racist. Nowhere is the battle over the black man's rights enjoined so dramatically as in America, the land of the only war ever fought over race. Somehow the old evils must yet be probed and burned out. And, in the battle, as sang the recording of the spiritual played on Radio Conakry over and over, "they killed the noble man." In Guinea, the myth of the sacrificed is being created.

With the symbol becoming myth, a new source of spiritual strength may be in the making. A new source, too, of a deeper current of Guinean friendship for the United States. But President Kennedy, "the only true friend in the outside world," the guarantor of a whole new political orientation of Guinea, is dead. Who will slay the dragons when they rise again? Fears and loneliness seek appeasement.

This, then, is a moment of suspense and anxious exploration of the new American President--in Guinea, as elsewhere in the world.

INTEREST IN PRESIDENT JOHNSON

After the first stunned day or two, requests from cabinet members for information about President Johnson, his past achievements and utterances, multiplied. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is preparing a Johnson dossier for President Toure. The Minister of Education is reading up on the new president. And, the Johnson window of the USIS center, added to the Kennedy display on the day after the funeral, has been attracting as much attention as the pictures of John F. Kennedy. The French broadcasts of the "Voice of America" are being monitored by Guinean officials more rigorously than ever, and President Johnson's first address to the Congress was heard by most of them. They liked what they heard and seemed relieved to have been able to like it. The start is good.

Murrow Asks Cut Rates on Satellite Use

By J. A. O'LEARY
Star Staff Writer

Edward R. Murrow, head of the United States Information Agency, today advocated reduced rates for use of the proposed communications satellite by his agency in partial repayment for the Nation's investment in making this new development possible.

He told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee his agency "in general supports" the pending private enterprise bill, which has administration backing.

But he made it clear his agency would not be able to use it to spread the doctrine of freedom around the world on its present budget if the rates are comparable to existing charges for commercial cables.

"The national investment in the system has been great," said Mr. Murrow. "Having contributed to developing the system, the Government should not be on a parity of payment with other commercial users. Affordable rates for our agency would be an appropriate partial repayment."

Up to Congress

Under questioning, Mr. Murrow said the bill would enable a Government agency to negotiate with the proposed satellite corporation for special rates, but contains no guarantee that reductions would be allowed.

His testimony prompted Senator Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama, acting chairman, to observe the Newton W. Minow, chairman of the FCC, "did not give us any cause for hoping there would be lower rates for the Government."

Senator Sparkman said he got the impression Mr. Minow had disapproved of the idea. The FCC chairman, who testified Friday, indicated it was up to Congress to so indicate if it wanted rate differentials for the Government as a matter of policy.

Senator Morse, Democrat of Oregon, leading opponent of the private enterprise bill, asked Mr. Murrow if he would oppose an amendment requiring the satellite corporation to transmit a given number of hours of freedom information from USIA by television each day at cost.

"I am not here to propose an amendment," Mr. Murrow replied. "I felt it was my duty to call attention to the magnitude of cost."

Earlier, Mr. Murrow had explained that, if the new satellite rates were comparable to current cable charges, it would cost USIA $900 million a year to use the satellite for 90 minutes a day to transmit a television program in behalf of freedom around the world.

Budget Limitation

To emphasize that this would be impossible under the present budget, Mr. Murrow testified that, for all purposes, his agency had only $111 million last year and has only $120 million in a pending appropriation bill for this year.

Mr. Murrow told the committee the recent successful demonstration of the AT&T Telstar satellite had been greeted with world-wide acclaim for the accomplishments of the United States.

But he cautioned this country against overselling the idea because "it is still a long way to a going operation" for a world-wide communications satellite system. Some parts of the system are several years away, and others a decade away, he added.

Mr. Murrow told Senator Symington, Democrat of Missouri, that he does not favor Government ownership of the satellite system, and would vote for the private enterprise bill if he were in the Senate.

The scheduled appearance of Secretary Rusk at 2:30 had to be postponed until later in the afternoon, however, because some committee members were still questioning Mr. Murrow.

The committee also is planning some night sessions in order to comply with the orders of the Senate to report the bill back to the floor not later than Friday.

The bill, strongly supported by the Kennedy administration, would set up a corporation in which half of the stock would be owned by communication companies and half by the public generally, but with close Government supervision.

Liberal Opponents

A group of about 15 liberal Democrats is fighting the bill as a "giveaway" to the private carriers of a new channel of communication which should be owned by the Government.

Senators Morse and Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania, said over the week end they would not object to private operation on a lease basis if the Government owned the satellites.

Senator Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin, said he has received a number of telegrams tody suggesting that "a lot of propaganda" has been put out against AT&T. The Senator said he understood no one company could have more than 20 per cent of the stock.

Mr. Murrow replied, however, that his counsel had advised him it would be possible for one corporation to own 50 per cent.

The bill was drafted on the assumption that a number of carriers would join in the venture, because it provides that no company could vote for more than three of the six directors to be chosen by the communication carriers. There would be six other directors elected by the public stockholders, and three appointed by the President.

AUGUST 6, 1962

(Name of newspaper missing)

STATE OF THE NATION DINNER QUESTION - THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7

Q. With the greater facility of broadcast by satellite -- in the medium of sight plus sound -- is it not now possible to communicate U. S. information more convincingly, depicting our true concept of peace with prosperity without conquest?

TWO-MINUTE ANSWER

If I were to take your question quite literally, I think the answer would be "no."

I do not believe it is now possible to be more convincing merely for the fact that our information can be relayed instantly through space.

A good many technical handicaps have to be overcome before the world is truly interconnected by a system that will allow the communication of information by sight and by sound on a people-to-people basis.

Ground receiving stations are yet to be built which can feed programs from space into ordinary home TV receivers. And even when they are built, many countries where we want our message to be heard operate under communication controls laid down by the government. Unlike our Voice of America radio programs, which can be tuned in directly by shortwave receiver owners, our overseas TV audience can be reached only after what we have designed to reach them has been sifted through technical and,

in some cases, ideological controls.

The meaningful written explanations of our history, philosophy and achievements, that are contained in English and many other languages on our library shelves around the world, cannot be digested carefully and at a self-set pace by an audience in front of a TV set.

A message from a satellite cannot reach the jungles, the plains, the mountains and the people there -- as our USIA films can -- until that good day arrives when everyone can afford a TV receiver or have access to a community one.

A picture with words that are spoken is not necessarily better than pictures with words that are written, and distributed by our USIA posts abroad in pamphlet form, to be studied at leisure or as an individual's own interest commands.

Let me not suggest that television is unimportant to international communications. It is indeed. It has added a whole new dimension to our ability to tell this country's story to vast audiences abroad. There are now

over 60 million TV sets in nearly 70 countries outside our own -- a phenomenal increase over the past few years. We are hard-pressed to meet the great demand from overseas television for USIA programs.

But I feel that no amount of hardware in space, no amount of dancing images on orthicon tubes, or well written and spoken words from a loudspeaker can ever replace a vital three feet in space -- those three feet of space that separate two people communicating, with honesty and conviction, in person, one with the other.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7

6:00 p.m. "sharp" - Head-table group convenes for cocktails in the Florentine Foyer above the Ballroom - Sheraton-Park (Go from the Lobby, through Esplanade, into the Florentine Foyer.)

7:00 p.m. "promptly" - Dinner - Grand March of the Head Table from Florentine Foyer - down Grand Staircase - to Ballroom.

Wed., May 2 - 11:00 a.m.

May 1, 1962

To : I - Mr. Murrow

From : I/R - Lowell Bennett

Subject: TV Interview with Senator Vance Hartke, Wednesday, May 2, 1962

Vance Hartke, D, of Evansville, Illinois; born 1919; graduated from Evansville College and Indiana University Law School; veteran of US Navy and Coast Guard Service in WW II; Mayor of Evansville 1956-58; seven children; elected to US Senate November, 1958.

15-min. TV interview to be filmed at 11:00 a.m., Room T-42, Senate Wing of Capitol. Paul Pierce is A/A and will attend. John Bauernschmidt will precede and meet you there.

1. What is the role of the USIA in the communications satellite program?

To propose program content and coordinate arrangements for it with the domestic TV industry - to work out details with European program representatives concerning the receipt of our program in Europe and of theirs in the USA - to coordinate telephone demonstrations both in Europe and Brazil - inform other government agencies - explain this use of outer space by means of USIA media.

2. What are plans for improving the Voice of America, and how effective is it now?

New facilities being built at Greenville, Monrovia, Rhodes, Woofferton - truck-mounted, air-transportable transmitters. Clearer voice to Africa, Latin America. Effectiveness may be measured by world reaction to the Glenn flight - was largest broadcast of its kind in history of international broadcasting due to fact many local and regional networks picked up and re-broadcast VOA materials. Although demonstrations may be expected against US resumption of nuclear tests, the fact that world reaction was no greater than it was is sufficient reason to credit VOA with having helped explain reasons for tests. Would take a multi-million dollar campaign to achieve as much if commercial public relations facilities had been charged with the job.

3. <u>What is USIA saying about the resumption of nuclear testing?</u>

That it is the result of the deepest consideration by the Administration - prompted by the failure of the Soviets to observe the moratorium - that we are standing by the creditable record made since the proposals of Mr. Baruch - - that history and the written record will point to where the blame belongs -- that US still prepared to work out a test-ban treaty.

I/R:JEBauernschmidt:hcf

EDWARD R. MURROW - SCHEDULE - FRIDAY, APRIL 13 - SATURDAY 14

Friday, April 13, 1962

Lv. Washington at 11:45 a.m., NE. 114, luncheon
Ar. LaGuardia at 12:48 p.m.

Driver for the Carey Limousine Service will meet E. R. M. at airport gate and take directly to the Waldorf Astoria. Note: Advise driver when he wishes to be picked up on Saturday morning. No expense involved. Advise Miss Hanson, MU 4-6116 if plans for this service are changed.

Reservation at the Waldorf

4:00 p.m. - Rehearsal - Grand Ballroom of Waldorf. Among those participating: Cornelius Ryan (LW 4-3525); Al Perlmutter; George Fidanza (IMS projectionist); Ernest Wiener of USIA Correspondents Center will be at hand.

* * * * *

BLACK TIE

6:30 p.m. - Reception - Louis XVI Suite - Waldorf

7:30 p.m. - Dinner - Grand Ballroom - Waldorf - Twenty-Third Annual Awards Dinner of the Overseas Press Club of America

9:45 p.m. - E. R. M. presentation

Saturday, April 14

Lv. LaGuardia at 9:00 a.m., American 473
Ar. Washington at 10:05 a.m.

MANY VOICES OF AMERICA

USIA's job: make policy intelligible and, if possible, palatable.

Associate American people with hopes, aspirations of others

USIA, at annual cost of single Polaris sub, covers only fraction of spectrum of American influence abroad, however.

Other influences: 33,000 missionaries, operating on a budget almost twice that of USIA.

Operations of Foundations in schools, exchanges, research on aggregate budget approximately same as ours.

Nearly one million soldiers and dependents.

4 million American tourists abroad annually.

Hollywood's vast export, and that of TV

American papers, magazines have international editions.

Readers Digest: 9 million copies monthly in 12 languages

Time, Newsweek, Life; Paris editions of the Herald Tribune and NY Times, Rome Daily American etc.

Foreign Correspondents Here -

Who we are and what we do

USIA OPERATIONS

Radio: 107 hours daily in 37 languages on short-wave.

Audience: 20 million on normal day

"Package programs": 780 hours daily in up to 60 languages on medium-wave stations throughout non-Communist world.

Audience: 45 million on normal day.

Latin America alone: 235 stations in 15 countries replay VOA programs. Virtually no medium-wave Communist competition.

Films: 600 million people abroad see USIA films monthly.

210 film libraries in 98 countries.

Glenn -
Adula -

Newsreel "Today" in 1,300 theaters in 30 African countries.

Television: 150 million audience in 57 countries see USIA's 500 filmed reports and feature stories annually.

"Panorama Panamericano", 38 cities, 17 countries, 12 million audience.

Service Centers: 176 in 80 countries plus 85 libraries and 128 binational centers.

English teaching: over one million since 1953

Exhibits: some 150 circulating worldwide at all times

Exchanges: (with State Dept.) 5,000 students, leaders annually.

Press & Publications: 10,000 words daily to 5 world areas by radio-teletype - commentaries, features, backgrounders.

Amerika Illustrated: 52,000 Russian; 30,000 Polish

Free World: 430,000 in 8 languages produced in Manila

50 other magazines and periodicals in 23 languages to 2-1/2 million audience.

Pamphlets: some 12,500,000 copies in 1961

Cartoons: 5 strips used by 2,700 papers in 87 countries.

Personal Contact: 1,250 US officers abroad: 6,000 locals

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Lenin in 1905: "Propaganda is of crucial importance for the eventual triumph of the Party."

Lenin in 1922: "Dictatorship of the proletariat was successful because it knew how to combine compulsion with persuasion."

Propaganda always been central to Communist social, political order

Department of Agitation & Propaganda is one of 7 top Soviet ministries.

Communists carefully mesh propaganda with political, economic, and military action

Soviets in external propaganda probably outspend USIA 10 to 1

Communist bloc broadcasts over 3,000 hours weekly; VOA 725

Russian book exports to non-bloc areas last year: 40 million

SinoSoviet news-agencies now active in 40 non-bloc countries

Number of Communist "cultural delegations" going abroad has doubled in past few years: artists, lecturers, sports, teachers

FIVE THEMES

1. TEST BAN - Despite Soviet intransigeance, the United States is doing everything in its power to obtain a treaty banning nuclear testing, the first, vital step toward general disarmament.

2. BERLIN - Soviet efforts to abrogate their agreements and deprive West Berliners of their freedom threaten the security and freedom of people everywhere. Under no circumstances, therefore, will the U S abandon Free Berlin.

3. UNITED NATIONS - An effective United Nations which has sufficient authority to act in crisis situations is indispensable to the security of small nations. Knowing this, the Soviets are seeking to paralyze the UN Secretariat with an unworkable "troika" arrangement.

4. FREE CHOICE - The SinoSoviet Bloc, despite lip-service support to emerging nationalism, is implacably opposed to independent nationalist movements and genuine neutrality. Man's best hope is in "a world of free choice" such as sought by the US not a "world of coercion" as favored by the Communists.

5. MODERNIZATION - Modernization of newly-developing nations can best be achieved through democratic, pragmatic political and economic development consistent with the traditions, character and aspirations of a people.

An example: What the Agency has done about Berlin

Radio: Documentaries in multiple languages for worldwide medium wave:

"The Manufactured Crisis", "The Berlin Story", "Berlin 1961"

Heavy emphasis on Berlin in news, features, commentaries in 36 languages past four months.

RIAS, round-the-clock in short, medium and long wave and FM

75% of East Germans hear it despite 600 Communist jammers.

Films: 7 documentaries, 24 newsreels in 35 languages to 106 countries

Some titles: "Journey Across Berlin", "Promise to History", "Day of Denial", "They Are Not Alone"

Seen by literally millions of people in thousands of theaters in virtually every non-Communist country.

Television: "Anatomy of Aggression": to 67 posts in 51 countries

"Focus Berlin": to 54 posts in 38 countries

All Agency films also adapted for TV showings

Press: Wireless file to 90 key offices in 5 major world areas

Heavy emphasis on Berlin; translated &adapted for use locally.

Dozens of leading papers carry full texts of speeches, communiques because Agency makes translations available quickly.

Special kit of 15 illustrated articles in hundreds of publications abroad.

Cross-filing editorial comment supporting US position.

Centers: lectures, seminars, forums, exhibits, posters, book displays

Others: 750 foreign personalities & newsmen brought to Berlin by USIA and city government to see for themselves

Future - Longer Service - Training -
Radio Plans -
Cheap Books -
Finance -

September 11, 1961

ARKANSAS

Senators

John L. McClellan, Democrat, of Camden, Arkansas;
born at Sheridan, Grant County, Ark., Feb. 25, 1896;
first lieutenant of A.S.S.C. during World War I;
lawyer, prosecuting attorney of 7th judicial district of Ark. 1926-30;
member of 74th and 75th Congresses from 6th dist. of Ark;
elected U.S. Senator Nov. 3, 1942. Married.

J.W. Fulbright, Democrat, of Fayetteville, Ark.
Univ. of Ark.; Rhodes Scholar, Oxford; George Washington Univ.;
attorney, U.S. Department of Justice; instructor in law, GWU;
president, Univ. of Ark.
elected to 78th Congress 1942; elected to U.S. Senate 1944.
Married.

Representatives

Ezekiel Candler Gathings, Democrat, of West Memphis, Crittenden County, Ark.
born in Prairie, Monroe County, Miss., Nov. 10, 1903;
University of Alabama; University of Arkansas;
lawyer; member of State senate, 1935-39;
elected to 76th and succeeding Congresses. Married.

Wilbur D. Mills, Democrat, of Kensett, Ar., born there May 24, 1909.
Hendrix College and Harvard Law School.
admitted to practice law beforeSupreme Court of Ark. 1933,
Supreme Court of U.S. in 1939; served as county and probate
judge of White County, Ark. 1934 to 1938;
elected to 76th and succeeding Congresses. Married.

James William Trimble, Democrat, of Berryville, Ark;
born near Osage, Carroll County, Ark., Feb. 3, 1894;
graduated from University of Arkansas;
lawyer; prosecuting attorney; circuit judge;
elected to 79th Congress 1944; and succeeding Congresses.
Married.

Oren Harris, Democrat, of El Droado, Ark.; born Hempstead County, Ark. Dec. 20 '03;
Henderson College, Arkadelphia, Ark.;
Cumberland University Law School, Lebanon, Tenn.;
engaged in practice of law since 1930;
admitted to practice in U.S. Supreme Court;
deputy prosecuting attorney Union County 1933-36;
prosecuting attorney of 13th judicial circuit 1936 and 1938;
elected to 77th Congress 1940 and succeeding Congresses. Married.

A National Cultural Policy

In his Inaugural Address, following upon Robert Frost's prophecy of "a next Augustan age" the President called for encouragement of the arts and for a global alliance to "assure a more fruitful life for all mankind". By this and other declarations, this administration has committed itself, before the country and the world, to cultural advancement as a major national aim. It will now want to address itself to fulfilling this commitment.

I. National and World Importance

That other great issues at home and abroad press upon the nation does not mean that this is the wrong moment to start. On the contrary, in times like these, the decisive national resources are courage and resolution, and nothing can add to these as well as the vision of a worthy goal beyond current crises and the sense of moving toward it despite stalemate or setback elsewhere.

At the least, therefore, a serious effort to improve the quality of American cultural life would be a boost to national morale. It would inevitably be more. It would confirm that in the endless striving for peace and material well-being, we have not lost sight of why we want them. And if it resulted, as thoughtfully and energetically carried out it surely could, in restoring the pursuit of happiness to the place it had in American thought and faith at the time of the Declaration of Independence, it would do no less than transform the national character and open, for the whole world to see, an exhilarating new chapter in the American Revolution for the nineteen sixties.

In our international relations, establishment of cultural advancement as a major aim of the United States could not fail to make us more effective. Among nations of like heritage and development, it would raise our standing as a leader; it would make the less developed nations think better of us as a model; and to the nations of the Soviet bloc, it would show devotion on our part to a humanism transcending political differences, a demonstration which holds more promise than any other approach tried thus far of bringing forth affirmative response from their side. Arts, letters, and learning are the only goods for which a world common market exists. In a world otherwise divided on fundamentals, this cultural common market has better prospect of thriving than any other institution of unifying

tendency. If it does thrive, ties will be established among peoples as never before and a new force will be at work everywhere to make peace durable.

II. Main Elements of a Policy: Views of the Executive Branch

The foregoing observations provide the central premises of a national cultural* policy: that cultural advancement is of crucial importance to the nation and the world; that it must now be recognized as a major national goal; and that, in setting priorities on expenditure of effort and resources, it must be treated accordingly.

For present purposes, it would be premature to put forward, however tentatively, a more detailed statement. The particulars of a national cultural policy should not be proposed a priori, but should emerge from assiduous study of a number of specific issues of which the attached list is illustrative. Before such a study is started, a sounding of opinion within the Executive Branch should be made to determine, first, whether the cultural policy just stated in broad outline is acceptable as a starting point, and second, whether the prospect of support is sufficiently good to justify further effort to work out the policy fully and put it into effect. If the response is positive, organizing for action is the immediate next step.

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*It is in order to say what the term culture as used here means. Culture is not seen as something apart from life, a set of superficial adornments to add or take away, but as an element, infused and inseparable, of the main stream. It shows itself not just in museums, concert halls, theaters, and universities, but in homes, clothes, talk, cities, villages, parks, roads, packages, automobiles, gadgets, churches, radio, television, cemeteries, baseball stadiums — a list without end. Yet, in this context, culture must mean less than the whole complex of attainments, beliefs, traditions, excellences, and deficiencies which differentiate one nation from another. It may be enough for present purposes to say that culture is art, letters, and learning as distinguished from skill, didactic writing, and professional knowledge; that although, like the latter, it may be utilitarian as well, its distinguishing qualities are elevation and aesthetic value; that it is spiritual rather than materialistic; that it is an integral and pervasive element of human existence; and that it is the clearest and most direct expression of man's aspirations and capacity.

III. Organizing for Action

For a program of cultural advancement, the Executive Branch, which must be the moving force, is strong in the essentials: the President and Mrs. Kennedy, whose personal identification with arts, letters, and learning is universally known and respected, are ideally suited for leadership in this field; cultural leaders, able and willing to contribute ideas, advice, and effort have joined the Administration in good number; public reaction promises to be dominantly favorable; Congressional support seems to be getting stronger; and private citizens, organizations, business enterprises, labor unions, and foundations, as well as academic institutions, learned and professional societies, and religious groups can be counted upon to give their backing.

One lack within the Executive Branch is an administrative unit specially qualified to set this new departure in motion. The only agencies of the Federal Government officially invested with responsibilities in this field are the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the State Department, the United States Information Agency, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. By the terms of their legislative mandates, State and USIA are concerned primarily with international cultural programs, and HEW with domestic. Moreover, the authorized activities of each fall within one or more strictly defined fields, with the consequence that none of the three can claim that by experience or statutory prescription it is the indicated instrument for launching a comprehensive program of cultural advancement. Nor could the three taken together. A first step should therefore be the establishment of a steering committee to lay out strategy and get the campaign under way.

The steering committee should have as few members as compatible with being broadly representative. It should be made up of individuals who both ex officio and as a matter of personal faith can be counted upon to work wholeheartedly. In addition to representatives of the White House, State, USIA, and HEW, it might draw from the following: the Federal Communications Commission, the Department of Interior (esp. National Parks), the Smithsonian Institution, the National Science Foundation, and although it would mean going outside the strict confines of the Executive Branch, the Library of Congress. Without blinking the requirement of small size, it should remain open to such additional representatives of the Executive Branch as in the opinion of the members would increase its effectiveness. The task of the steering committee should be twofold: (1) to develop a comprehensive national cultural policy; and (2) to work out and set in motion a plan of action to put it into effect. The first specific

objective of the committee should be tentative formulation of both the policy and the plan of action for review with the President. As soon afterwards as feasible, a conference of cultural and intellectual leaders should be called for the purpose of advancing the work of the committee and stirring public interest and support.

An illustrative list of issues bearing on national cultural policy, for consideration by the committee, the conference, and all others concerned, is attached.

MI;hs
11 September 1961

Issues Bearing upon National Cultural Policy

1. What should be the Federal Government's responsibilities in encouraging enrichment of the nation's cultural life?

2. What legislation is needed to establish these responsibilities in national policy and to confer the necessary powers to discharge them?

NOTE: Study of most of the following questions may suggest particular proposals for legislation.

3. How should the Federal Government's program of cultural advancement be related to existing Federal programs and activities?

a. How can HEW appropriately encourage cultural advancement through its educational activities?

b. How can the FCC encourage the development of educational and cultural TV and radio?

c. What can the Federal Government do to assure high aesthetic quality in all programs of urban redevelopment to which it gives support?

d. Should cultural presentations, e.g. theater, music, dance, lectures, exhibitions, be added as a major element of National Parks programs?

4. How can the quality and effectiveness of all existing cultural programs, domestic and international, supported by the Federal Government be improved?

5. What steps should be taken to develop new institutions, technics, and devices for furthering cultural advancement at home and abroad, such as an Arts Corps, motorized cultural caravans, and communications satellites?

6. How, in our cultural relations with other countries, can we establish the fact and spirit of mutuality and cooperation in working for cultural advancement?

a. How can we improve the quality of our official cultural representation abroad?

b. What steps should be taken to strengthen our ties with the outstanding and most influential (i.e., politically as well as culturally) artists and intellectuals of other countries?

c. What steps should be taken to increase and improve the flow to us of cultural exports from other countries?

d. To what extent should we seek to enter into Treaties of Cultural Cooperation with other countries of the world?

e. Should a system of Presidential awards for cultural achievement anywhere in the world be established?

7. To what extent should the Federal Government give financial support to the establishment and operation of local cultural centers (e.g., Lincoln Center in New York) not otherwise under Federal auspices?

8. How should the Federal Government support the development of Washington as a major cultural and intellectual center, capable of exerting nation-wide and international influence on cultural advancement?

a. Should the President and his immediate staff assume leadership in establishing the proposed Washington Cultural Center?

9. How can the contribution from all non-governmental sources to cultural advancement be increased?

10. What steps should the Federal Government take to counteract economic conditions unfavorable to the arts?

a. Should federal taxes on artistic performances and on earnings of creative and performing artists be reduced?

b. Should the Federal Government develop a system of subsidies for artists and artistic enterprises and institutions, including subsidies for education and training in the arts, to be granted only where economic viability is otherwise unattainable?

MI:hs
11 September 1961

1961

Book on U.S. for O.A.S.

AGENDA

Meeting on USIA Book Programs
9:30 a.m. - September 7, 1961
Room 660 - 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

I. The Increasing Emphasis on Books in the Information Program.

II. IMG - Appraisal of Future Prospects

A discussion of this program in terms of its effectiveness and its limitations, with a consideration of all suggested alternative arrangements.

* III. Proposed New USIA Book Publishing Program

Development of books specially written or adapted for general readers in Latin America, Africa, Middle East, Far East; to be produced by the Agency to sell at 10¢ to 15¢; to be distributed through local commercial channels under arrangements made by USIS field officers.
(Languages: Spanish, Portuguese, French, Arabic, English.)

IV. Expansion of Regular Translation Program

To step up the translations program, USIA proposes to buy language rights to certain important books, arrange for the local translation, and present the local publisher with a MS ready for immediate publication.

* Note: Mr. Richard N. Goodwin, Assistant Special Counsel to the President, will be present to participate in the discussion on the proposed book programs for Latin America.

Participants - Book Publishers

Meeting on USIA Book Programs

September 7, 1961

Mr. Edgar Baker
Vice President & Managing Director
Time-Life International

Mr. Curtis G. Benjamin
Chairman of the Board
McGraw-Hill Book Company

Mr. Kurt Enoch, President
The New American Library of
World Literature, Inc.

Mr. Robert W. Frase
Washington Representative
ABPC - ATPI

Mr. Raymond C. Harwood
President
Harper & Brothers

Mr. William Kelty
Assistant General Manager
Office of International Editions
Reader's Digest

Mr. Dan Lacy
Managing Director
American Book Publishers Council

Mr. Freeman Lewis
Executive Vice President
Pocket Books, Inc.

Mr. Austin McCaffrey
Executive Director
American Textbook Publishers
Institute

Mr. Harry Most
President
W. B. Saunders Company

Mr. William E. Spaulding
President
Houghton Mifflin Company

Mr. Warren Sullivan
President
The Macmillan Company

Mr. W. Bradford Wiley
President
John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Mr. Thomas J. Wilson
Director
Harvard University Press

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Director

Subject: White House Luncheon for Alhaji the Honorable Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria.

USIS PROGRAM

USIS operates its main Information Center at the federal capital, Lagos, and Branch Centers at each of the three Regional Capitals (Ibadan, Enugu and Kaduna). Press placement runs fairly high; an estimated 150 articles or photos per month. The post produces a cultural journal, the Nigerian-American Quarterly, aimed primarily at students, professors, and similar target groups. Forty thousand copies of American Outlook, the monthly newspaper put out by USIS-Accra, are distributed in Nigeria.

A major USIS project in Nigeria has been the filming and production of a five-reel color film, "Nigeria: Salute to Independence." Released early in calendar 1961, the film was shown to the Prime Minister at an Embassy reception on the eve of his departure for the U. S. He was "audibly impressed," according to the Embassy.

Film showings are conducted regularly at each of the centers and throughout the country via film loans and the four USIS mobile film units. The post provides coverage of local events for incorporation in the Agency's monthly film magazine, Today, and distributes the reel through its own and commercial channels.

Nigeria was the first sub-Saharan country in Africa to install television. USIS has been servicing the Western region station since its opening, and is now also regularly placing films and TV features over the Eastern Region station, recently opened at Enugu. The Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation uses USIS tapes, including series such as "The Jackie Robinson Show."

The Public Affairs Officer in Nigeria is John A. Noon. Preston Valien is CAO.

Lawrence J. Hall
Acting Assistant Director for Africa

MEMORANDUM.

TO: Lloyd A. Free

FROM: Edward R. Murrow December 23, 1960.

Comments on Part 2 U.S.I.A.

Proposal No. 10: Presumably if any or all of the functions mentioned in Proposals Nos. 5 to 8 should be transferred to the U.S.I.A., additional funds would be required. I haven't a clue as to how much the increase should be since I have had no access to the relevant documents.

VI President's Supplementary Fund: Obviously it would be useful to have financial flexibility to meet emergency situations. The action proposed in the event of a sustained assault against the morale of the West Berliners might be useful, but having watched them under sustained assault I am convinced it would be ineffective. The emergency wouldn't be psychological in essence. This would be an example where the U.S.I.A. influence and prestige could best be exercised through the communications systems existing in the Federal German Republic. (Sorry no time to expand this, but in Britain in '40-'41 I seem to recall that American broadcasts, visits by prominent Americans, the opportunity for Britons to tell their story to America, didn't do a hell of a lot to improve the morale of the British). If under the suggested circumstances the Berliners are to stand steady, they will require not psychological support but access to raw materials, the assurance of continued work and the knowledge that if they die retribution will fall upon the aggressor.

Proposal No. 11: Probably a wise and useful provision, al

Proposal No. 12: During the past year I have talked with U.I.S.A. personnel from Oslo to Tokyo. They would all cheer such an amendment to Public Law 480, and so would I.

Proposal No. 13: Undoubtedly wise. A number of U.S.I.A. officials abroad are seeking or hoping for transfer to the Foreign Service, in order to acquire status and security.

Proposal No. 14: This is the heart of the business. I should like to see the emphasis put upon Item C. While not downgrading the importance of language training and knowledge of the country to which a man is assigned, I have found that too many people who possess these qualifications are woefully lacking in knowledge of their own country, its history and institutions.

Proposal No. 15: I doubt the wisdom. Certainly no effort should

be made in this direction before the University level, and then preferably in graduate schools. The level of serious communication, both in print and on the air in England, France, Switzerland is higher than it is in this country (maybe because they have no schools of journalism). The search should be, not for people who know the techniques of communication, but who know and deeply believe what it is they are trying to communicate. (If one day you'll give me more than fifteen minutes to meet your deadline, I'll be glad to expand this.

E.R.M.

CONFIDENTIAL

TASK FORCE ON U.S.I.A.

December 21, 1960

MEMORANDUM FROM: Loyd A. Free
4 Newlands Street
Chevy Chase 15, Maryland
Tel: OLiver 2-8934

TO: Task Force Consultants

Attached is Part Two of a preliminary report on the subject of U.S.I.A. funds, salaries, career service, training, etc.

It would be very helpful for us if we could have your reaction to the attached no later than Monday, December 26th.

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

December 21, 1960

TASK FORCE ON U.S.I.A.

Part Two: Funds; salaries; career service; training; etc.

IV. Internal Organization and Operations

The function of this Task Force is to bring to the attention of the President-Elect matters concerning the international information and education programs which will require action by him, as President, primarily by way of legislation or executive order. We will not, therefore, concern ourselves with questions of organization or operations internal to U.S.I.A. which will be within the power and responsibility of the new Director of U.S.I.A., without requiring Presidential action.

V. U.S.I.A.'s Budget

U.S.I.A.'s appropriations for the current fiscal year total almost $121 million (including costs of new construction of broadcasting facilities, amounts available in foreign currencies, and funds for the Information Media Guaranty Program); its ceiling for FY '62 as authorized by the Bureau of the Budget is about $130 million. We believe the latter amount to be inadequate (in view particularly of the compelling demands for an expansion of the program with respect to the underdeveloped areas of Africa, Latin America and

Asia). At the same time, we feel that increases in U.S.I.A's budget should be gradual, rather than climactic in order to permit the Agency to reorganize itself in orderly fashion (e.g., in the way of recruiting additional personnel) for effective handling of new or expanded programs.

Proposal No. 10

That U.S.I.A.'s budget for FY '62 to cover the functions it is now performing) be increased to $150 million (exclusive of major new items for the construction of broadcasting facilities), with similar additional increases to follow in succeeding fiscal years. And that, if any or all of the functions mentioned in Proposals No. 5-8 be transferred to U.S.I.A., its budget be adjusted upward accordingly, with proportionate increases in the amounts now being devoted to these programs.

VI. President's Supplementary Fund

The likelihood that special, urgent or emergency situations will arise over the next few years, for which substantial extra funds for new or expanded information or educational projects will be required, is too compelling to be ignored, and cannot effectively be met by regular appropriations to any one or more of the existing agencies.

Examples in the recent past of situations that have not been adequately coped with because of shortage of funds

are the emergence of a formidable list of new nations with new problems in Africa, and the continuing threat presented by the Castro Revolution, with its international ambitions, in Latin America. Current examples are the situations in the Congo and in Laos, where greatly expanded U.S. activities of both an overt and a covert nature are called for.

A very likely instance of such a future emergency situation, in which special unbudgeted funds might have great impact, is presented by the probability of Communist aggression against West Berlin. The Communists are aware that, if the morale of the people of West Berlin crumbles, the city could fall into their hands, almost regardless of what defensive action the Western powers may take. In the event of a sustained assault against the morale of the West Berliners, it would clearly be highly desirable to:

a. Step up the activities of the U.S. radio station in West Berlin (RIAS).
b. Sponsor visits of prominent Americans to West Berlin.
c. When and where appropriate enable the West Berliners to tell their story in other countries.
d. In general, temporarily increase U.S. staffs and programs in West Berlin in order to cope effectively with the psychological emergency.

Special unbudgeted funds in the hands of the President could also prove useful in exploiting or countering presently unpredictable developments in the field of space or of weapon systems, whether on our side or on the Communist side.

And, in general, funds not allocated to any specific agency should be available for financing the execution of plans, programs or projects devised or approved by the Psychological Requirements Board (outlined in Proposal No. 1), with particular reference to those which take on a multi-agency character.

Proposal No. 11

That a special, supplementary appropriation in the amount of $100 million be made to the President, earmarked for government-wide information and educational programs or projects, to be expended at the discretion of the President on the recommendation of the Psychological Requirements Board and that commitment or expenditure of these funds be authorized at any time within three years from the date of the appropriation.

VII. P.L. 480 Funds

At the present time, the funds in local currencies deriving from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities can be expended only for certain specified types of information and educational activities (e.g., for the translation, publication and distribution of books and periodicals; to provide assistance to Bi-national Centers, etc.); and for certain of these purposes only up to a specified amount per fiscal year. Although the availability of such funds is limited to

a relatively few countries, there would seem to be no reason why they should not be used, wherever available, for any and all types of international information and educational purposes.

Proposal No. 12

That Public Law 480 be amended to provide that funds derived from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities, once declared surplus, should be available for budgeting for any and all international information and educational programs authorized by law, without specific limitation as to the amount per annum that may be expended for any such purpose.

VIII. Salaries

Both in terms of attracting competent personnel, and of giving them adequate status on a relative governmental basis, a general up-grading of the top staff of U.S.I.A. appears desirable.

Proposal No. 13

That the salaries of U.S.I.A.'s top command be upgraded to the levels presently applicable to corresponding positions in the Department of State. For example, the salary of the Director of U.S.I.A. (now $21,000) should be raised to the level of that of Undersecretary of State ($22,500); the salaries of U.S.I.A.'s Deputy Director for Policy and Planning, the five Assistant Directors for different areas, and the Chief of the Voice of America (now $18,500) should be raised to the

level of that of Assistant Secretaries of State ($20,000). And that positions below the top command should be up-graded accordingly.

IX. Career Service

In order more effectively to recruit and retain competent personnel through the years, a career service for U.S.I.A., similar to the Foreign Service or to the career services of the Armed Forces, would seem to be desirable.

Proposal No. 14

That legislation should be passed (similar to a bill already approved by the Senate) establishing a career service for U.S.I.A.

X. Training Program

At the present time, the competence of personnel working on international information and educational programs on a government-wide basis is seriously prejudiced by inadequate training and indoctrination. A more adequate training program is urgently called for, not only with respect to new recruits but also in regard to advanced and refresher courses for older hands, as well, especially with respect to the following:

a. Area and language training.
b. Training in ways of conducting effective information and educational programs (including the development of objectives; the selection of "target groups", taking

into account the power and influence structure, present and future, of a given country; media potentialities and limitations; the programs, resources and facilities of the various information and educational arms government-wide; etc.)

c. Training about the U.S., its philosophy, its institutions, its policies; current trends; etc.

d. Training about Communism, the Communist powers, their institutions, their philosophy, current trends; etc.

Proposal No. 15

That adequate facilities, with adequate funds, be provided, both within the government and utilizing the facilities of American schools and universities, for training the personnel who are conducting or will conduct the international information and educational programs of the U.S. Government.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lloyd A. Free December 20, 1960

Comments Regarding Part I. U.S.I.A.

1). I take no exception to the contents of the document regarding "psychological failures" of the U.S. Government as a whole. Our deficiencies in this area are in fact understated. It would be a mistake to assume that our leadership is questioned only in Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. Our competence and our stability are increasingly questioned in Western Europe. Nations to which we have acted as midwife and fairy godmother decline to accept our leadership. We have succeeded in creating the impression that one of our purposes is to "sanctify the status quo," that we have lost our appetite and sympathy for change. In certain areas of the world our fondness for slogans has obscured the real nature of the problem that confronts us. We aren't engaged in "a battle for men's minds." It is rather a battle for their bellies. Below a certain caloric intake, freedom, justice and all the rest are meaningless.

2). Failures of the U.S. Information and Cultural Arms:

Here again no basic disagreement. I regard (E) and particularly Item 2 under that heading, to be of the utmost importance. Our failure in this area is due to a considerable extent to past practices in the area of recruitment and indoctrination of personnel.

3). Preliminary Recommendations:

Proposal No. 1
The success of such a Board would obviously depend upon its access to relevant material in State, Defense, Commerce and even Agriculture.

A clear definition of "general U.S. international objectives" would be required before intelligent recommendations could be made. Here I find Item 3 most significant, and POLARIS the best recent example. This weapons system was the result

of "concurrent development" but there was no parallel development regarding psychological problems which could and should have been anticipated. POLARIS is more than a revolutionary weapons system. It will impinge upon our diplomacy. British reaction to the Holy Loch base could have been anticipated. No. 6 under above, of the utmost importance, has been neglected. There are vast opportunities for using both allies and neutrals as unannounced "chosen instruments" in the area of ideas and information.

Proposal No. 2
There are too many agencies attempting to deal with this whole problem in piecemeal fashion. Why not set up the equivalent of a Royal Commission, preferably privately financed to study the entire problem.

Proposal No. 3
Certainly the Director of the U.S.I.A. should have limited access to the President and the Secretary of State, but I am somewhat troubled by what seems to me to be undue emphasis placed upon psychological considerations throughout this entire Paper. Foreign policy is generally determined by considerations of power. The important thing would seem to be, not that the Director should have the opportunity to argue for or against a given policy on the grounds of psychologicalconsiderations, but rather that he be informed in advance of what policies are in the making in order that he may do what he can to make that policy both intelligible and palatable to those nations likely to be affected by it.

Proposal No. 4
Absolutely indispensable to the proper functioning of the U.S.I.A.

Proposal No. 5
I am uncertain and hesitate to express an opinion, but am inclined to think that so far as possible the administration of exchange programs, even though financed with government funds, should be left in the hands of private institutions such as the Institute of International Education.

Proposal No. 6
Probably a wise move, but I am not sufficiently familiar with the details to hold a firm opinion.

Proposal No. 7
Having seen a lot of Trade Fairs around the world I am sure something ought to be done about our representation there. I don't believe it is possible to draw a distinction between pure promotion of trade and "psychological ends." Indeed I am sure it can't be done. It ought to be possible to work out a method whereby the U.S.I.A. could sort of "infiltrate" those international expositions ostensibly designed strictly for the promotion of trade.

Proposal No. 8
Should have been done a long time ago, and could become a most effective instrument.

Proposal No. 9
Concur, but would like to add that in this reporter's view the U.S.I.A. has long suffered both in the public and the congressional mind from lack of any sense of participation. Few know, and perhaps fewer care what is being said and done in the name of the nation. There ought to be a non-partisan, distinguished Board of Review which would produce a semi-annual audit of the effectiveness of the Agency. These reports should and could receive the widest domestic circulation producing perhaps some sense of responsibility or participation on the part of Congress and the so-called opinion-makers.

CONFIDENTIAL

TASK FORCE ON U.S.I.A.

MEMORANDUM FROM: Lloyd A. Free
4 Newlands Street
Chevy Chase 15, Maryland
Tel: OLiver 2-8934

TO: Task Force Consultants

Enclosed is an initial draft of part one of a task force report analyzing the failures of the U.S. Information effort, together with some preliminary recommendations designed to correct such failures.

A second paper covering the problems with respect to the U.S. Information Agency itself (e.g., budget, personnel, training, indoctrination, etc.) will be sent to you early next week.

We would very much appreciate receiving by Thursday, December 22nd at the above address your reaction to the enclosed draft. It would be most helpful if your comments were restricted to the subject matters covered in this preliminary paper. Please feel free, however, to express disagreement, propose additional recommendations, or suggest other subjects to be included in the final task force report.

If you have any questions, feel free to call me collect at the number listed above. With thanks for your prompt attention.

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

TASK FORCE ON U.S.I.A.

Part One: The over all picture; policy formulation; coordination of programs; etc.

I Psychological Failures of the U.S. Government as a Whole

An extensive reservoir of good will still exists toward the United States in most countries, among most peoples. This popularity, however, has not been effectively related to the political behavior of other governments and other peoples.

Furthermore, it is being eroded. Ugly manifestations of anti-American sentiment have been dangerously frequent in recent years (in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia).

And even among our friends, confidence in U.S. leadership has dropped alarmingly. Respect for American (vs. Soviet) achievements has waned in connection with such vital fields as space development, scientific progress, and military superiority. Extensive doubts have arisen in regard to American competence to lead the Free World: not only about our ability to provide the sinews of leadership, but about our wisdom, our perspective, our ability to act rather than merely to react, our understanding of others and their problems, even about our disinterestedness and our moral fiber. In short, the U.S. at this stage is still generally liked but not highly respected nor trusted in the context of leadership.

Three of the reasons for this decline in confidence lie in our failure in recent years:

a. To maintain a dynamic posture in the face of world problems and to develop forward-looking policies and programs, motivated and oriented by considerations more positive in their nature than sheer anti-Communism.

b. More specifically, to relate the U.S., in a direct, dynamic way to the "revolution in aspirations" now sweeping the globe and to the progress on their own national and local fronts so ardently desired by most of the world's peoples. We have allowed the U.S. to become identified as the defender of the status quo, rather than as the champion of change, of progress.

c. To come to terms with the spirit of nationalism, the most powerful emotional force now at work in large areas of the world.

Looking at the situation in the specific context of the battle against Communism, the Russians, Chinese and Communists in general have managed in recent years to gain significant footholds and influence in parts of the world which were formerly largely denied to them (e.g., in parts of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia). In this connection, the U.S. has failed to develop an American (or "Western" or democratic) ideology which can compete effectively with Communism in commanding the ideological allegiances of men. Nor have we succeeded in any measure in stimulating and developing corps of local "activists" in other countries capable of competing zealously with the native Communists.

The U.S. has also failed to a large extent in pushing the psychological war very effectively behind the Iron Curtain. On the whole, the Communist side has been able to choose psychological battle grounds at will on Free World territory, with relatively little disruption from American psychological initiatives directed behind its own lines.

II Failures of the U.S. Information and Cultural Arms

Reversing the adverse psychological situations and trends outlined above will require primarily the adoption of a more dynamic posture by the Government of the U.S. toward the world scene generally and the development of more forward-looking substantive policies. It will also, however, require the rectification of certain weaknesses and deficiencies at the level of the information and cultural arms of the U.S. Government, as such. These agencies have failed in adequate measure:

a. To succeed in infusing psychological considerations, in a sufficiently systematic way, into the formulation of substantive policies which have or could have psychological impact.

b. To develop sufficient focus and direction in our information and cultural programs generally in terms of objectives, particularly in the way of developing sufficiently clear-cut, meaningful long-range objectives (world-wide and country-by-country) toward which all the media (both "fast" and "slow") should be working.

c. To devise common informational themes to be stressed by all arms of the government (including the President and Secretary of State) over a period of time, which would contribute to the achievement of our psychological objectives.

d. To determine with sufficient precision (taking into a account the power and influence structure, present and future, of each country) the "target groups" to be worked on on a priority basis.

e. More specifically in this connection, to establish, on a sufficiently systematic and extensive basis, close, continuing working relationships:

(1) with new or emerging elites (e.g., of a military or urban middle-class nature); or

(2) with urban labor in many countries where labor is playing or will play an increasingly important political role.

f. To put the U.S. on a sympathetic, respected footing vis-a-vis the intellectuals in most parts of the world, who have great influence but tend to be anti-U.S. or at least cool toward the U.S.

g. To coordinate, on a sufficiently systematic and adequate basis, the various informational and cultural tools available to the U.S. Government in a concerted effort to attain agreed long-range objectives with respect to key "target groups". In this connection, it is recommended below that certain educational and information programs now being conducted by other agencies be transferred to U.S.I.A. On the other hand, this is not feasible when it comes to the activities of the C.I.A. and to those of the Department of Defense (with particular reference to the military assistance training program), where the problem is not one of amalgamation but of more effective coordination.

III Preliminary Recommendations

To retify the weaknesses and deficiencies outlined above, the following initial steps are suggested:

Proposal No. 1

That a Psychological Requirements Board, with a small, high-level staff, be established in the framework of the National Security Council. The functions of this Board would be as follows:

1. In general, to help to infuse psychological considerations into the formulation and execution of U.S. policies and programs.

2. To recommend long-range psychological objectives (world-wide and country-by-country), which if attained would assist in the fulfillment of general U.S. international objectives.

3. To identify upcoming problems and situations, of whatever nature, which will present serious psychological problems, and to work out the psychological requirements, in terms of policies and programs, for dealing with them.

4. To anticipate future developments which will create psychological problems (e.g., by way of Russian, Chinese or other Communist moves) and to recommend steps for coping with them in advance, either to exploit or to counter them.

5. Periodically to assess the U.S. psychological position, especially with respect to U.S. prestige, in the world as a whole, in particular areas, or in specific crucial countries, and to devise and recommend the psychological requirements, in terms of moves, policies and programs, for improving that position (which would include a critical review of current information and education programs).

6. To propose measures for coordinating the U.S. information and education policies and programs with those of other countries of the Free World.

7. To devise moves, policies and programs for pushing the psychological war more effectively behind the Iron Curtain.

In executing the foregoing functions, the Psychological Requirements Board and its Staff should, of course, be able to command the cooperation of other governmental agencies; to utilize their facilities (e.g., their research facilities); and in general to enlist the ideas and suggestions of their staffs (e.g., the officers in the State and Defense Departments, CIA, etc.).

Reliance would also be placed upon: outside, non-governmental experts and consultants; independent social science research; and upon non-governmental activities such as Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberation, etc.

Proposal No. 2

That to facilitate the work of the Psychological Requirements Board, the scope of pertinent policy studies, analyses and social science research now being conducted or commissioned by the agencies of the Government involved in international matters be very considerably increased and pointed up in terms of the functions of the Board; and that the Board itself be provided with adequate funds for financing such studies as it may wish to commission in its own right.

Proposal No. 3

That, while U.S.I.A. and the other information and educational arms of the U.S. should remain under the policy direction of the Secretary of State, the Director of U.S.I.A. should be constituted the chief adviser, both to the President and to the Secretary of State, on the psychological aspects of international problems, with primary responsibility for calling attention to the psychological considerations which must be taken into account if the U.S. is to accomplish its international objectives.

Proposal No. 4

That, to perform this function on a systematic basis, the Director of U.S.I.A. should be made a member of the National Security Council.

Proposal No. 5

That the exchange of persons program, now being administered by the Department of State, should be transferred to U.S.I.A.

Proposal No. 6

That the administration of the cultural presentations aspects of the President's Special International Program should similarly be transferred from State to U.S.I.A.

Proposal No. 7

That the trade fairs aspects of the President's program be transferred from the Department of Commerce to U.S.I.A., excepting only those trade fairs which truly have as their objective the promotion of trade rather than psychological ends.

Proposal No. 8

That the administration of the educational, book and English-teaching programs now being conducted by I.C.A. which are not strictly of a technical assistance nature be turned over to U.S.I.A.

Proposal No. 9

That U.S.I.A.'s status as an independent agency be retained and that, more specifically, it not be put back under the Department of State.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lloyd A. Free December 27, 1960

SUBJECT: Comments on your Part 3 (International Education and Exchange of Persons)

Difficult to comment upon your preliminary recommendations without prolonged examination of your basic premise, "the aim of making international education and exchange of persons a more valuable instrument of U.S. policy." Should such activities be used or regarded as an instrument of policy? I am not sure. But I am sure that sound policy in this area depends upon the resolution of that question. The contribution of German scholars flung out by Hitler who were brought to this country has been considerable, but their coming here had nothing to do with U.S. policy. I am not sure that what the academicians call the "cross-fertilization of cultures" can best be achieved through government action or intervention when the motivating force is political or propaganda advantage. I think that the history of the migration of scholars as distinct from technicians indicates that they sought to escape being used as instruments of national policy.

Proposal 16
This proposal would seem to be wise although as indicated I lack detailed knowledge of current operations.

Proposal 17
Some such authority is needed. The figure of 2 to 3 million dollars seems to be excessive, but that may be because I am unaccustomed to contemplating undertakings of this magnitude.

Proposal 18
Reference is made to your earlier comment, "that political guidance for international education activities must be provided with a very light tough." There is a real danger here that the Public Affairs Officer may unwittingly infringe on the prerogatives of private institutions who may not in effect be making "a contribution towards the objectives of U.S. education" because they either don't know or don't care about those objectives. This unfortunate Officer will require the skill necessary to operate a "mixed economy" in the field of international educational activities.

Proposal 19
Agree entirely with a special cheer for Item C which has been sadly neglected by private organizations operating in the field.

Proposal 20
Badly needed, but if a device can be found, the orientation should be conducted by private institutions and organizations even though subsidized with government funds.

Proposal 21, 22, 23
I find nothing objectionable in any of this, but would venture to add a footnote. There may be some danger that we come to concentrate our educational assistance to foreign countries, particularly the undernourished ones in terms of exchange of persons. Consideration ought to be given to the financing and in some cases the staffing of institutions within these countries for long study abroad tends to denationalize the student, making him reluctant to labor in the rural vineyard. This is I think particularly true in teacher training. Men of such divergent views as Nehru and Nasser have both said they would prefer properly staffed teacher training institutions in their countries to the sending abroad of their students who frequently don't want to return home and who are often an abrasive element in their own culture when they do. To put it another way, I should think one of the urgent items to be considered under your proposal 17 would be a really comprehensive study of the evidence and experience available in order that past practices and policies might be subject to scrutiny before being continued.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Lloyd A. Free
4 Newlands Street
Chevy Chase 16, Maryland

ERM:gw

CONFIDENTIAL

TASK FORCE ON U.S.I.A.

MEMORANDUM FROM: Lloyd A. Free
4 Newlands Street
Chevy Chase 15, Maryland
Tel: OLiver 2-8934

TO: Task Force Consultants

Enclosed is an initial draft of the third part of the proposed task force report on the U.S. information effort.

This draft is at a more preliminary stage than the two preceding ones you have received. At first we hesitated even to prepare a paper on international exchange in view of the complexity of the subject and the fact that, while it is an essential part of the information program, it is also an essential part of several other programs. We finally decided, however, to send a paper to you even in this very rough form, in the hope that it might stimulate comments and suggestions that we would otherwise not receive.

We would very much appreciate receiving your reactions by Thursday, December 29, at the latest. If you have not time to write, please feel free to call me collect at the number listed above.

Once more, thank you for your prompt attention.

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

TASK FORCE ON U.S.I.A.

Part Three: International Education and Exchange of Persons

I. The Extent of U.S. Participation in Educational Exchange

International education and exchange of persons includes a large number of different types of activity: study of undergraduate and graduate students in the United States; study of Americans abroad; training of foreign technicians in the United States; training of foreign military personnel at American installations here, abroad, and in third countries; visits of foreign leaders to this country; research by American scholars abroad; research by foreign scholars in the United States; and international business and tourist traffic. There are many other activities that shade into these, such as certain categories of international correspondence.

There are no accurate statistics of the extent of all these activities taken together, although the numbers of persons in some categories are known. The Institute of International Education estimates that in 1960 the number of foreign students here was on the order of 50,000, and the number of American students abroad was about 13,000. Not included in these statistics, however, are secondary school students, personnel engaged in various types of technical training, military students, and probably many other categories. As a broad approximation it may be estimated that 100,000 foreigners studied

in the United States during 1960 and about 25,000 Americans engaged in some kind of study abroad. If one includes tourists and businessmen, about 700,000 foreigners visit the United States each year, and several times that number of Americans travel abroad.

The U.S. government sponsors and pays for a substantial share of total international education activities, although a very large majority of those engaged in some phase of international education are supported by private funds. The largest training program in this country is run by the Department of Defense, which trains some 15,000 military personnel per year. Next in order of size is the program of the ICA, which trains some 6,000 foreign nationals in the United States annually. The State Department arranges for some 4,000 students, teachers, and leaders from abroad to visit this country every year. Defense and ICA support a far smaller number of trainees in "third country" programs, in which personnel from one foreign country is trained in another foreign nation. U.S.I.A. arranges for the cooperation of American business organizations and other private organizations in certain phases of international exchange activities.

It is estimated that the U.S. effort in international educational activities approximates $200 million annually. The State Department has requested approximately $30 million for its international education program in fiscal year 1962, but this figure includes some "soft" currencies.

II. Special Problems of Government-Sponsored International Education Programs

In addition to the fact that nobody knows exactly how many persons, and what categories, are involved in international education activities, and the fact that the amount the government is spending to promote these activities is almost equally vague, there are a number of special problems facing the United States in this field:

a. There is a widespread, although ill-defined attitude in the United States that government should not interfere in international education activities. Education should not be sullied by politics. This attitude is often found prevalent at U.S. universities and is not unknown in Congress. For instance, some universities will not cooperate with the ICA, which apparently is regarded as too militaristic, but they will cooperate with the State Department. Similar attitudes can be found in some foreign countries. All this means that political guidance for international education activities must be provided with a very light touch.

b. All the U.S.-sponsored programs could not efficiently be placed under one agency, since education is often a part of a highly specialized activity that must be directed by the appropriate functional agency. Some of the ICA programs could equally well be administered by the Department of State, but it is difficult to see how any other agency could administer some of the more technical training activities of ICA or military training provided by the Defense Department. There will thus always be a number of agencies involved. Also, it has been noted above that one agency can sometimes operate under conditions where another cannot. Thus, Guinea has permitted an ICA program but has not permitted a State Department program. Therefore, there are advantages to having more than one agency involved, as well as disadvantages.

c. International education activities shade into other kinds of activities. For instance, a given objective may sometimes be achieved either by providing informational materials through U.S.I.A. or by bringing selected personnel to the United States. Intelligent decisions as to how much effort to allocate to exchange of persons thus depends in part on taking into consideration other possible means of doing the same job.

d. The various types of effects of international education, and how these effects are achieved, are not well understood. Far more research along these lines is needed. For instance, there are those who maintain that it would be more effective to place increased emphasis on building educational institutions abroad, or to expand third country training programs, than to continue bringing foreign students to the United States at the present rate.

e. Although the slogan "keep politics out of education" is a popular one, international education is a highly political matter, and public funds spent in support of such activities must be justified in terms of advantages they will bring the United States. The idea that international education is a good thing in itself, and will ultimately benefit the free world regardless of how the training is used by those who receive it, is incorrect and sometimes plays into the hands of the Communists. Some of the leading figures in Communist China are American trained.

III. Preliminary Recommendations

The following proposals are tentatively advanced with the aim of making international education and exchange of persons a more valuable instrument of U.S. policy.

Proposal No. 16

No large expansion of exchange of persons programs across the board should be attempted at this time. Instead, efforts should be directed toward improving the quality of existing programs applying to all countries and toward building new programs to serve the needs of emerging areas, especially Africa. To accomplish such improvement and expansion an initial increase of approximately 20 per cent in the exchange of persons or educational budgets of the agencies concerned will be required. Additional funds for special programs or areas can be provided from the Presidential special funds earmarked for informational activities, as needed.

Proposal No. 17

The President should create within U.S.I.A. a central coordinating authority to serve as a focal point for international education and exchange of persons activities. This coordinating authority should have a budget of two to three million dollars per year to conduct, among other things, the following functions:

a. To provide policy guidance to all governmental agencies engaged in exchange of persons or international education activities.

b. To act as a clearing-house for information on such programs.

c. To conduct studies of international education and exchange activities and frame recommendations designed to make these programs more useful for the attainment of U.S. objectives.

Proposal No. 18

Within each U.S. mission overseas, the Public Affairs Officer should be given responsibility for coordinating, on behalf of the Ambassador, all U.S. government-sponsored exchange of persons and international education activities. For him to discharge this responsibility, additional Cultural Affairs personnel will be required. The Public Affairs Officer should be directed to inform himself about all activities of this nature that are sponsored in the host country by private U.S. foundations and other organizations, and about those that are initiated from within the country concerned or within third countries. Specifically, the Public Affairs Officer should attempt to insure that all U.S.-sponsored activities in this area, whether private or public, are making the greatest possible contribution toward the achievement of U.S. objectives.

Proposal No. 19

The quality of existing programs should be improved by:

a. Establishing facilities for more careful selection of personnel to come to the United States or to be trained elsewhere. Bi-national commissions under the Fulbright program have worked very well in some areas, and their scope of responsibility might be expanded.

b. Providing additional orientation facilities for foreign personnel involved in U.S.-sponsored programs, both before they leave for the United States and after they have arrived here.

c. Instituting more extensive follow-up programs overseas for the benefit of personnel who have studied in the United States under either public or private auspices. This would include providing them with professional publications, helping them to maintain contact with professional organizations in the United States, encouraging local organizations of returned students, and so on.

Proposal No. 20

The U.S. should provide better services and, where it is welcome, guidance to privately sponsored U.S. education and exchange of persons programs. For example, orientation services for foreign students might be made available to private groups that wish to avail themselves of them.

Proposal No. 21

All international education programs should be budgeted on a basis that will free them from reliance on soft currency funds that happen to be available. For instance, at the present time there are more available soft-currency funds in some Western European countries than can be used, while in Africa -- where the need is great -- there are almost none. At the present time there is a strong tendency to spend these funds more because they are available than because an important policy need is being served.

Proposal No. 22

Greatly increased efforts should be made to develop education and exchange programs in conjunction with friendly countries on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The picture of these programs as cooperative efforts of free world nations should be encouraged. For instance, it would be possible to train some American students specializing on African affairs in Paris, and under some circumstances it might be more appropriate to train personnel from underdeveloped nations in Western Europe, Japan, or the Philippines, rather than in the United States.

Proposal No. 23

Exchange programs with iron curtain countries should be continued on a basis of reciprocity, but increased efforts should be made to evaluate the political effects of these programs and to find ways of using them more effectively to achieve U.S. objectives.

Ellenden-Acheson-
Sky Bolt.

MANY VOICES OF AMERICA

USIA's job: make policy intelligible and, if possible, palatable.

associate American people with hopes, aspirations of others

USIA, at annual cost of single Polaris sub, covers only fraction of spectrum of American influence abroad, however.

Other influences: 33,000 missionaries. Operations of Foundations in schools, exchanges, research. Nearly one million soldiers and dependents overseas. 4 million American tourists abroad annually. Vast export of Hollywood and commercial TV.

American papers, magazines have international editions

Reader's Digest: 9 million copies monthly in 12 languages

Time, Newsweek, Life; Paris editions of Herald Trib and NYTimes, Rome Daily American, Stars and Stripes.

USIA OPERATIONS

USIA's role in policy-formulation

NSC attendance

multi-level working relationship with State, Defense

Nuclear Testing

USIA in overseas Embassies

Integral component of "Country Teams" - with State, AID, MAAG, CIA and Service attaches

USIS communications network is one of principal US assets abroad.

Dual USIS role: psychological and public affairs adviser to ambassador and means by which US point of view is communicated to local populations.

Media Operations:

Radio: 107 hours daily in 38 languages on short-wave.

"Package programs": 780 hours daily in up to 60 languages on medium-wave stations throughout non-Communist world.

Latin America alone: 260 stations in 15 countries replay VOA programs.

Films: 600 million people abroad see USIA films monthly.

220 film libraries in 104 countries.

Newsreel "Today" in 700 theaters in 30 African countries.

Television: 150 million audience in 57 countries see USIA's 500 filmed reports and feature stories annually.

"Panorama Panamericano": 42 cities, 18 countries, 12 million audience in Latin America.

"Let's Learn English" on TV in 31 countries.

Service Centers: 176 in 80 countries plus 85 libraries and 128 binational centers.

English-teaching: over one million since 1953.

Exhibits: some 300 circulating worldwide at all times. - Russia -

Exchanges: (with State Dept.) 5,000 students, leaders annually.

Press & Publications: 10,000 words daily to 5 world areas by radio-teletype - commentaries, features, backgrounders.

Amerika Illustrated: 80,000 Russian; 30,000 Polish

Free World: 430,000 in 8 languages produced in Manila

60 other magazines and periodicals in 23 languages to 2-1/2 million audience.

Pamphlets: some 12,500,000 copies in 1961

Cartoons: 5 strips used by 2,700 papers in 87 countries.

Personal Contact: 900 US officers abroad: 6,000 locals

Work with Private Sector: growing support from domestic TV and book industries in provision of resources for our use or placement overseas. Example: "Books USA", 5 Paperbacks - Some 450 US companies transmit USIA-provided policy documents to their 7,000 overseas representatives (documents explaining US policy on Cuba, Viet Nam, Disarmament, Berlin, etc.)

New efforts in Latin America:

Book Translation Officers, two each to Buenos Aires, Rio and Mexico City; working with local publishers to translate and distribute selected US books in low-priced editions.

Labor Information Officers, nine in number, assigned to capital cities to help make Latin American unions more effective forces for democracy.

Student Affairs Officers, six in number plus 21 USIA "grantees" have been placed in 13 countries to work with university and student-union groups to counter Communist encroachment and manipulation.

4. FREE CHOICE - The Sino-Soviet Bloc, despite lip-service support to emerging nationalism, is implacably opposed to independent nationalist movements and genuine neutrality. Man's best hope is in "a world of free choice" such as sought by the U. S., not a "world of coercion" as favored by the Communist.

5. MODERNIZATION - Modernization of newly-developing nations can best achieved through democratic, pragmatic political and economic development consistent with the traditions, character and aspirations of a people.

CUBAN CRISIS: USIA IN ACTION (a case history)

- Many months prior to October 22, USIA had been telling the world of Castro's sordid sell-out to Communism; generating support in Latin America for "Alliance for Progress" as best antidote to Communism; seeking by radio to disaffect Cubans from Castro.

- Agency brought into planning for US policy moves regarding Cuba several days before October 22.

- Arranged for linkup with 10 commercial radio stations to broadcast in Spanish southward.

- Staffed Spanish-language crews for round-the-clock VOA operation. Installed air-transportable 50 KW transmitter on Marathon Key in tandem with Navy transmitter installed on Tortugas within days.

- Alerted worldwide radio audience to President's upcoming speech to obtain maximum audience; rebroadcast speech repeatedly at peak listening times.

- Doubled frequencies for Spanish casts; broadcast in Russian for "technicians" in Cuba.

- Videotapes and films air-shipped worldwide of President's speech and good deal of follow-up material - for placement in commercial theaters, on television stations and USIS showings.

- Radio-teletype provided fast-flowing copy in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese to 102 overseas posts for placement in local papers and distribution to government leaders. Result: many hundreds of overseas papers printed President's speech in full.

- Within first critical week, 50,000 prints of aerial reconnaissance and other photos air-shipped worldwide to document the US case against Soviet missiles in Cuba. Printed by papers in scores of countries; also shown as exhibits.

- Telstar was harnassed to carry President's message to millions of TV viewers throughout Europe.

- Communist propaganda machines distorted picture of developments. For days, Russian newspaper readers were not told that Soviet missiles were in Cuba; Havana Radio listeners were not told that Organization of American States unanimously supported US. USIA output corrected these distortions.

- On October 25, 52 VOA transmitters barraged Iron Curtain with full story for 8 hours in 10 languages, using power equal to 86 of the biggest US commercial stations. Barrage broke through despite furious and massive Communist jamming efforts.

* * * * * * * *

Future plans --

Radio expansion - Greenville, Monrovia, Bangkok.

Television - one new transmitter - daily

# # #

Budget increase 25% annually -- divide between Africa and Latin America.

# # #

Need for additional care selecting fellowship students -- technical training and manual training institutes.

# # #

Recruitment, training and travel during home leave.

3 Year tour - Reduce Paper Work.

Persuade Congress potency of ideas, importance of information.

Effectiveness Were indicient

USIA

USIA COLLECTION OF MURROW TAPES

	Murrow - Deptl. Auditorium	3/24/61
*	National Press Luncheon	5/24/61
	News Conference	5/29/61
*	Johns Hopkins University Graduation	6/13/61
	Speech to Far East Diplomats - Part I " " " " Part II	6/15/61
	BBC Interview	8/18/61
	Stevenson Reports	11/26/61
*	Lincoln Group	2/10/62
	Loomis: VOA 20th Anniversary	2/26/62
*	NAB Luncheon	3/ /62
	Bucknell University	4/23/62
	Statement on Resumption of Nuclear Testing	4/25/62
	Schoenbrun Interview on Satellite Communication	7/10/62
	Asian Broadcasters Conference	8/22/62
	Reports	7/26/63
	Part I	8/20/63
	Part II	8/20/63
	Part III	8/20/63
	Part IV	8/20/63
	Honor Awards	9/17/63
*	Epitaph for a Journalist	4/29/65
	CBS Interview	4/30/65
	Obituary	5/ /65
	Education in World Today	5/17/65
	Statement re Prisoners	6/14/65
	AWRT Reception	8/18/65

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* Already in the Murrow Collection

Questions and Answers at Edward R. Murrow's Speech
before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., May 24, 1961

Q. First question, as America's Vice President in charge of international public relations, are you habitually consulted before the fat is in the fire?

A. I suppose the obvious answer to that would be to ask for a definition of both the fat and the fire, since there seems to be no shortage of either. I would answer it, however, by saying that it was suggested when I came down here that this Agency could operate effectively only if it had (1) prior access to information; (2) an opportunity to be heard on policy before policy was made. I have no complaints on that score. At the same time, I have no illusions that I am monopolizing the making of policy. (Audience laughter) But I do - I do have an opportunity to be heard.

Q. Is it true that you are resigning from USIA because you were not consulted in the Cuban fiasco?

A. Mr. President, this story that I am resigning was obviously the result of free journalistic enterprise. (Audience laughter) I have never spoken of resigning. I have never thought of resigning. I have not even had any dreams about resigning. I am happy in my work...the rations are adequate. I am in goodly company and, at least until I made this speech here today, Mr. President, I was not aware that I was in any danger of being fired. (Audience laughter....applause).

Mr. John Cosgrove, President of the National Press Club, who acted as master of ceremonies interpolated: There is one thing, Ed, things break fast in Washington, however. (More laughter)

Q. What do you say to reports that you are irked over lack of information given you by the White House, State Department and CIA?

A. Irked is not the word. Obviously, I am not able to contribute details as to the degree and frequency of consultation, but, inside this room, I was somewhat irked when after a considerable session with the President on Monday, he had me on the telephone the following morning before I had got to my office. I can only repeat that I have no complaints on the degree or the frequency of consultation. I would not care to rack up a box score as to how many I have won or lost, but the opportunity to go to bat exists.

Q. Could you please explain your statement that USIA was "truthful and complete" about the Cuban invasion, in view of the fact that the US Government at the time professed to know nothing about it and even now has not described its roll in it on the record?

A. "Truthful and complete." I meant to say that we reported it - such evidence, such events, as were available. That we quoted the American press, the American wire agencies. We quoted foreign reaction. That we delivered the complete and absolute final historical version, one that will be accepted by history, obviously we didn't. I don't think any of us did. What I meant by that statement was that we did a full, straightaway job of reporting.

Q. How do you put a favorable light for the rest of the world on such news as the current race disturbances in Alabama?

A. The answer is that you don't. They happen. They are fully reported for a period of two days. The difficulties in Alabama led most of the European news bulletin and led the papers. They also led the Voice of America broadcasts. The thing that we did do was (1) to report what happened with, I hope, brevity and clarity, and also to put the emphasis on the speed and effectiveness of the action taken first by the Federal Government, and then by the State authorities, to restore order. Beyond that we could not go, and should not.

Q. Shifting gears here again, to meet the problem of housing African diplomats has the Government considered purchasing and renting suitable housing to these people?

A. Now this you will regard as a bureaucratic answer and it probably is. The Agency is forbidden to operate within the continental limits of the United States. The matter of proper housing for African diplomats is, I believe, indeed I know, under urgent study by the State Department whose responsibility it is.

Q. Since your mandate relates to communication with peoples abroad, what does USIA do to train its representatives in foreign languages in order to communicate?

A. This is a constant problem in a country where the teaching of languages is inadequate. We do now have training courses. In our recruitment we are putting increased emphasis on language training. We require to do much more of it. We require not only people who know foreign languages, but it is equally important that the people we send abroad have knowledge and information regarding their own country. If I had my way, I would insist that every American who goes abroad in an official capacity be required to purchase a secondhand automobile, guaranteed to break down at least eight times in a small town, as he drove from one coast to the other, because I think the information he would acquire would be of great value to him abroad.

(more)

Q. Are you in urgent need of high talent volunteers from the US communications industry?

A. We are always in need of high class volunteers. The answer to the question is yes, particularly if they are familiar with the pay scale we are able to offer.

Q. Following that, do we understand that you need a larger appropriation? (Laughter)

A. When I first came down here I was advised by a man of great experience in Washington who said, in answering questions before committees, or elsewhere, (1) never try to be funny; (2) never lie; (3) never blurt out the complete truth. (Laughter from audience) This is, I am sure, not the forum to engage in a long-range discussion with the appropriation committees of the House and the Senate. I would say, however, that in our request for funds for the coming fiscal year we have asked for what we honestly believe we can spend effectively and efficiently and without waste. But as we study the program, as we acquire real estate for new facilities, new facilities for book publishing, then, in answer to the question I would quote friends of mine in Brooklyn who were wont to say "wait until next year," because we are going to ask for what we think the situation requires, and I would repeat again that the sum total of our request now before Congress represents what we think we can spend effectively and efficiently.

Q. What can be done to obtain recognition abroad for over 56 billion dollars investment in economic aid?

A. I think we all know from traveling abroad that gratitude is almost as rare a commodity amongst nations as it is amongst individuals. We in the Agency have tried through print, film, television, to make clear the degree and extent of American economic aid. It, however, ought to be remarked that one cannot hammer too hard on recipient countries in a demand that they should express, openly, their gratitude for our generosity. No more can we reasonably expect nations to which we have acted as both midwife and fairy godmother to imitate us in all respects in their social and economic organization. The aid is given, as I understand it, in large measure, to give them the economic, the educational opportunities to make a free choice without compulsion, just as the military aid is, in considerable extent, given in order that they may defend themselves. I do not mean to imply that we should downgrade our economic aid, but I do mean to say that to insist upon open expressions of great gratitude would in this wonderful, wonderful word I have learned since coming to Washington... It would be counter-productive... (Laughter from audience)... which, as I understand it in old fashioned logging terms, would mean it would backfire. (Laughter and applause)

(more)

Q. Are there any plans for increased activities in South America, other than Voice of America broadcasts?

A. There are indeed. Whatever happens to our amended budget we shall put major emphasis on Latin America and on Africa. So far as Latin America is concerned, we now have a weekly newsreel on television that is carried in 15 countries, estimated audience 10 million. (I am prepared to admit that estimate may be bloated, but I am familiar with bloated estimates from my domestic experience). (Laughter from audience) We place some 16 hundred hours of radio per week on radio stations in Latin America and this, in the vernacular, is where we put the hay in the barn, because when you can get a program on a local medium-wave transmitter then you are reaching the local audience. We shall increase our book translation program. We are going to start working, insofar as we can, with labor organizations. We hope to be able to do a certain amount of reporting of Latin America to itself, so that the increased emphasis on Latin America will by no means be confined to the Voice of America.

Q. Now continuing the broadcast view, moving to another continent however, do you think the "Courier" is a significantly useful instrument in the Voice of America program? Why?

A. The "Courier" was not a hundred percent successful. It was expensive to operate. Its signal was limited. And if pending negotiations are successful, we are going to move the transmitters ashore and either mothball or in some way dispose of the "Courier." The change will increase our signal and reduce our costs.

Q. Has a film of our Astronaut been sent abroad? If so, why the original indecision as reported in a newspaper column?

A. This is very embarrassing because the newspaper column was right... right in the sense that someone in our Agency said there was indecision. There was no indecision. We moved quantities of background material, both print and film, weeks ahead of the shot. Within roughly 26 hours of the shot we had a 10 minute film on the Jet to every post abroad. We subsequently moved another 8 minute film, which gave the highlights of Commander Shepard's visit to Washington, his news conference and his acceptance of the medal from the President. So, as I say, this is a case where we did our job; the invididual who wrote the piece did his job. But someone who was uninformed in the Agency conveyed the wrong impression. We are rather proud of what we did with that.

Q. It has been charged that USIA serves as a cover for CIA. Any comment? (Continuing laughter from audience)

(more)

A. No. (More laughter from audience).... Just no.

Q. If USIA prestige poll was good enough to be used in a Presidential campaign, why is it being dropped now, outside of the fact that there is no campaign?

A. It is quite true, as you know, that we have abandoned the so-called prestige or barometer poll. The reason we did so was that we had no interest in spending the tax-payers' money to run a rating popularity as between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Kennedy. We shall continue to do some polling, but the polling techniques will be used in an effort to discover and to determine the areas of interest, or curiosity, or apprehension, of misunderstanding. In short, an effort to find out what's bugging people about this country and its policies. And we shall also continue to make polls having to do with the impact of what we do, whether it be in films, television, or print, on the recipient country. We shall also weld into that information acquired from a variety of sources because, as you gentlemen all know from experience, if someone puts on his hat and coat and goes and talks to a half dozen cabinet ministers and to six or eight newspaper editors in a foreign country, he is likely to acquire information as to reaction, or potential reaction, to a given line of policy, much more clearly than if he relies on public opinion polls. We also did not want to create the impression that United States foreign policy is being determined by holding the finger on the pulse of a rather limited popularity poll in a foreign country.

Q. Returning to the Cuban situation for a minute, please assess the propaganda effects of the "tractors for prisoners" affair.

A. Mr. President, I anticipated that such a question might arise. As you know the President issued, shortly before noon, a statement on this subject, which is rather definitive. But it seems to me that, As Senator Smathers said I believe yesterday, that Castro's offer to exchange prisoners for tractors was a monumental propaganda blunder. The world-wide reaction was almost universally hostile. The obvious parallel was drawn all around the world between Castro's offer and the one made by Hitler when he offered to trade Jews for trucks. And this, I think, is significant - that Castro's offer has now been a running story for five days, and his friends in Moscow and Peiping have remained silent. Their radios are not commenting. The Communist press throughout the world is, in the main, observing what can only be described as a sort of embarrassed silence. Castro obviously is now attempting to recover from his blunder by saying that he wants the tractors as indemnification for damage done. What he did initially, of course, was to demonstrate again to the world in dramatic fashion that the Communist machine operates without regard for those human values and human beings that are the hallmark of civilized society. And it seems to me that had American citizens remained mute and refused to act, they

would, one, have denied their heritage and caused much of the world to believe we value our dollars and machines above the freedom of men who are willing to risk their lives in an effort to regain freedom for their fellow countrymen.

I apologize for reading this, Mr. President, but I anticipated the question and rather wanted to say what I meant to say and sometimes in ad-libbing I know from bitter experience I do not. (Laughter and loud applause)

Q. Would a USIA Person-to-Person program, beamed into the homes of leaders of foreign states, be practical?

A. I really don't know. The program survived about seven years here, and then succumbed. Some of them were, in fact, done in the homes of foreigners. I should think if the language problem could be overcome, and it could, technically speaking, that such a program might have some degree of acceptance. I really have not given that particular program any thought in recent years. (Audience laughter)

Q. Here's a quickie! Is a drive-in movie a worthy gain to Italy at US-USIA expense?

A. I suppose I could answer that as someone did once with what was called "an affirmative maybe." But I do not know that the drive-in theater was financed by United States funds and I should think the answer would be determined, in large extent, as to whether, occasionally, films produced by USIA were shown in a drive-in theater. (Laughter)

Q. Mr. Moses was here Monday and reported on the New York World's Fair. What is USIA's attitude on the World's Fair and what is USIA doing to support the Fair?

A. I can quote to you from memory a letter from Charlie Poletti, who traveled pretty well around the world in promoting the World's Fair, and it said in substance that he had received efficient, effective and invaluable cooperation from the USIA posts around the world. It gives us pleasure to receive that kind of communication. We, ourselves, as you know, are engaged in small fairs and exhibits abroad. We have a Plastics Exhibit in the Soviet Union that opened in Tashkent yesterday and the initial response was good. The answer is that we have made a substantial contribution toward encouraging foreign countries to show at the New York World's Fair.

Q. I have about five questions here. I think they're rather ones that you can handle quickly and we'll beat the two o'clock deadline. If we run over I'm

sure it will be all right. We have a pretty rapt audience here today. And this touches on the Press Club trip to Europe. Three hundred members will be flying over there September first, for a vacation, and the question is: Has the USIA or the State Department weighed the impact of dumping more than 300 National Press Club members in London, simultaneously, on a single day in September?

A. Well London, as I know from experience, is a hospitable and gracious city, and whatever hardships may be experienced by former colleagues on this journey, I should hate to see the day come when USIA, State Department, or anyone else, could say "Don't go. There are too many of you." I think the more, the better. (Laughter and applause)

Q. Isn't there some evidence that the New Zealers are beginning to display battle fatigue?

A. Sir, I regard that as a personal question. I accept it as such. And I'm afraid the answer may well be true. But I have noticed no signs of battle fatigue amongst my younger colleagues and a degree of tolerance for their more ancient associates. I have not noticed any slowing down of the tempo, although I must confess there have been times when I feel that we should commit ourselves to the proposition of the inevitability of gradualness. (Laughter) But I am much impressed with the stamina, the fortitude, and the steadiness of my colleagues. And the answer is I have not yet seen any signs of battle fatigue unless I see them while shaving in the morning. (Laughter)

Q. In a serious question, how can you explain the fact that some officers selected for your so-called Foreign Service Career Reserve suffered a pay cut for accepting what was supposed to be a form of promotion?

A. I said at the outset that when ignorance was obvious, I would confess it. My understanding is that this resulted as a result of a piece of legislation which did not turn out precisely as it was expected to turn out. The details of that I frankly am not familiar with, but as I have been taught to say, Mr. President I would be glad to supply it for the record...I just don't know.

Q. It has been reported that you have been able to play golf only twice on your new job. Was it at Burning Tree and what did you shoot? (Laughter)

A. It was at Burning Tree. Once it was in company with Bill Lawrence, so I am obliged to tell the truth lest he lie about it to you later. I pulled a tendon in my hand about a year ago, running a bulldozer. (Laughter) On one occasion, due to the bad hand, I failed to finish the round, and, on

the other occasion I had 104. (Laughter)

Q. The handwriting is different, but it's in the same vein. Are you now, or have you ever been the best lefthanded putter in Christendom?

A. I have not traveled all over Christendom, or played all the courses. (Laughter) However, there was a time in my youth when I putted very well. That reference I think appeared in print under Scotty Reston's byline. And this I'm sure arose as a result of certain experiences we had during the war when we played a few times on courses that had given hospitality to unexploded bombs, and they had little ropes around them. And I never played golf very well, but I could putt well. Reston was a much better golfer and, occasionally, I could hold him even just by putting, so I think that is the reason for that. I should like to think it's ture. (Laughter)

Q. And now before the last question, I have one here that you might have been prepared for. I don't know if you have a prepared note on it, but you might have expected it. I did. And the question is what do you think of Joe McCarthy now? (Laughter)

A. I did not expect the question. And I was taught...I think this is right... I was taught in my youth to say whatever one felt like saying about anyone who was living and had a chance to answer back. And I think that was pretty sound teaching. (Applause)

Q. Well Sir, I'd like to present you with this Certificate of Appreciation for your coming here today and with a copy of the Press Club's First Fifty Year Book, Etoain-Shrdlu. Thank you, Sir. And the last question is the job worse than with CBS in recent years? (Laughter)

A. The job is better. It is a combination of fascination mixed with occasional frustration. It is a mind stretching operation. It sometimes tends to strip the gears in the mind. I am, as I said earlier, happy in the work and in a goodly company, particularly here today. (Applause)

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1961

MURROW

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the National Press Club
Washington, D.C., May 24, 1961

WHO SPEAKS FOR AMERICA ?

It is with mingled pleasure and awe that I join you today...pleasure at being again among so many of my former colleagues...awe that I am now the object of those scowling, critical visages among whose array I once sat with my own frowning brow. The frowning brow has not changed. We have only changed seats, and I must now answer questions instead of propounding them.

I come to this microphone to tell you of the U.S. Information Agency. In a sense, it is a reciprocal visit. There are members of this club who have shared our international microphones on the Voice of America. For example, three of your members -- William Stringer, Ernest K. Lindley, and Fred Collins -- do a weekly broadcast for the Voice, entitled "Issues in the News." The program has had an excellent response from a widely appreciative audience. I trust I shall do these gentlemen no offense, however, if I share with you one letter we received that was not so enthusiastic. "Dear Voice of

(More)

America," the letter said, "Never in my life have I heard three more indecisive talkers. They never have anything definite to say. Keep them off the air and run John F. Kennedy instead." Let me add, though, that if I have as few detractors as they, I shall count myself among the fortunate.

I have been in my job as Director of the Agency scant weeks. Operating as we do in 93 countries around the world, there is much about the Agency that I have yet to learn. But as a former working newsman like most of you here today, there are a number of thoughts and impressions that I would share with you in my present role as a government official.

Our Agency operates in a difficult, not too well defined area. We embrace a multitude of disciplines and professions. Many of you are newsmen who devote your careers, as I did for 25 years, to expression in a single medium of communication. USIA employs not one but seven: radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits and the arts. We are involved in an entire range of problems: from a press run in Beirut, an exhibition in Turin, a stage performance in Munich and radio relays in Colombo. From a news telecast in Bogota to a sound-tracked film strip in Paris to a book typeset in Manila -- upon all the myriad of details we initiate, we create, we facilitate.

Even more important we must deal amidst the intangibles: the difficult, delicate human art of persuasion. For by word of mouth, by cultivated personal contact abroad, we seek to persuade others of the rightness of our view and that our actions and our goals are in harmony with theirs. And this brings on a thought: in the course of a single working day how many of you

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gentlemen here could exercise your expertise competently over an array of problems as diverse as these?

To those bold enough to reply in the affirmative, I offer a note of caution: this is only half the Agency's problem. For we deal not only in communications but also in policy. We articulate and distribute not advertising for cigarettes and soap suds but clarifications of government policy and deeds. And we speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures and styles, of vastly differing levels of comprehension. We must deal also with the very considerable pre-conditioning foreigners have had to the image and the ideas of America. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes -- however unjustified, their existence is real -- of the product we promote: the actions and the hopes of the United States.

Thus the effective overseas USIA officer must be a creature who combines the talents of professional proficiency with persistence and patience. He must try to know as much about seven media of communication as most of you gentlemen know about your one. I shall not indulge your sufferance by reading a roster of qualified officers in the Agency. But I assure you I have found I am able to call upon resourceful minds of many disciplines. We have men who number among their accomplishments, before coming with the Agency, such positions as a broadcast Peabody Award winner; a past President of NBC International; a former producer with Eagle Lion and Warner Brothers studio; the former President of a college; several deans of universities, including a Dean Emeritus from Columbia University; an original editor of Newsweek; an author of 15 published

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novels, 6 of which have been adapted for motion pictures; editors of metropolitan newspapers and national press services; overseas bureau chiefs, foreign correspondents, and Nieman fellows in Journalism. Overseas they are supported by an equally diversified and distinguished staff: nationals of the countries in which we work, writers, editors, artists, lecturers and others. They are a talented and varied crew. They serve by choice, I know, for many of them annually refuse private offers for far more money then they now earn.

In my first four months, I have asked many of my colleagues to postpone fellowships, assignments abroad and desirable posts long anticipated. Often at great personal inconvenience, their invariable response to me has been: "Whatever you think is best for the Agency, I will gladly do."

So it was that one of my own long-held illusions about government was rudely shattered on that January day when I assumed office. I arrived at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue expecting a bureaucracy of dawdlers; instead I found a bounty of capable doers. For my own part, I have never worked harder in my life. I have never been called a loafing man -- though on occasion I confess a predilection for good conversation, fine wine and rich food -- but not since the days of World War II have I worked with such frantic fascination.

I am finding that this is truly the time of the "New Zeal", and it is not easy to set the pace for my younger colleagues. Our work product would stagger the mind of what we in government call "private enterprise". Our radio broadcasts live over 88 hours a day in 35 languages. Our special wireless file puts out up to 8-10,000 words a day to each of five world areas. Our films reach an

(more)

estimated weekly audience of about 150 million people. When a special project goes through on a crash basis, we can get to an audience of over five hundred million. And in television, our "market" is rapidly expanding -- some 36 million TV sets and 160 million viewers.

Nor is our product dissipated meaninglessly. For the 50 million books we have published in 50 languages, there is incessant demand. In Blantyre, Nyasaland, a library opened in March of this year, and borrowers stripped its shelves nearly bare in about a month of operation. In another African post there was a greater demand for the Federalist Papers in four weeks time than the New York Public Library had in a year. And the first English classes formed in two newly-independent countries numbered among their pupils both Prime Ministers, a number of Cabinet officials as well as other high government leaders and their wives.

Our Agency by Congressional Mandate operates overseas. There is much misunderstanding about just what the U.S. Information Agency does. We have received letters with ominous overtones, such as a request to "send me all your information on counterfeiting" and "please rush me all the facts on bullet wounds, fast." Letter-writers have asked us "what percentage of young people are juveniles, how can I figure out which TV newscasters are Republicans, and why are most auctioneers called 'colonel'?" And do-it-yourself fans have written our Agency for information on how to bottle peanut butter, refinish driftwood, operate bongo drums, and make low-calorie soft-drinks.

Information is our job, but information of more serious import. I told the

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Senate hearing on my nomination that our Agency will attempt to make US policy as designed by the President everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible palatable.

We shall endeavor to reflect with fidelity to our allies, to the uncommitted nations, as well as to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals. Yet, in our day-to-day efforts directed to this end, we do not stand alone. For much that is known and believed about this country is beyond the purview of our Agency alone.

Just as the work of USIA is far more than just Voice of America broadcasts, so is the real voice of America far more than just our Agency. From Norway to Nyasaland, from Rio to Rangoon, the story and the face of America goes out in movies, television, magazines and the press. The military, with fighters and their families, number one million abroad. Over four million American tourists travel abroad each year. Another half million Americans live overseas for reasons embracing both business and pleasure. Foundations, educational exchanges, and international scholarships send our young intellectuals and their studious professors swarming to foreign universities. Fifty thousand foreign students and hundreds of thousands of foreign tourists visit our country every year to hear and evaluate the first-hand voice of America.

And all of this has great impact. Italy has built its first drive-in movie. An authentic drug store stands in the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe. England, heaven bless its warm draught lager, is beginning to drink cold beer in cans. American blue jeans and slacks vie with the kimono in Japan. Nairobi has its parking meters; there are skyscrapers in Johannesburg and supermarkets in

(more)

Leopoldville. Air conditioning has settled in Santiago, and even Moscow has succumbed not only to jazz and Louis Armstrong but also -- heaven assuage the souls of Marx and Lenin -- to American installment buying. And these are but frothy facets of the spreading style of America -- or of the 20th Century, since both in so many ways are synonymous.

Beneath them, and of far more lasting impact, is the broadening outward flow of ideas and techniques of how to live and work together, of respect for neighbors, of faith that every human problem is capable of human solution. We and all the other voices of America that reach outside our frontiers are helping to spread the concept of "access", of individual self-fulfilment and citizen participation.

I tell you all this not to defend our culture but to define our Agency. You gentlemen of the press share very much with our Agency the making of the picture of America that is known abroad. To give you but random figures: 89% of the people in West Germany consider the press as their major source of information about the USA. 77% in Burma, 81% in Britain and Japan, 85% in Peru and Uruguay. All of these are people, gentlemen, saying the press is their major source of information about America.

And the impact made on these people through the press is of course largely beyond the exclusive influence of USIA. Yet the picture is even broader. Not only the press, but the television, the movies, the travelling tourists, the missionaries and the businessmen, are part of the chorus that is the real voice of America. It means there are no more domestic issues. The speech of a single Senator to a hometown audience can have more impact abroad than months of

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our Agency's informational activities. A breakthrough in science or medicine, the price on the big board in Chicago, import duty on textiles -- we have lost the luxury of living in isolated America -- these events and issues are absorbed, debated and pondered on all shores of every ocean.

To some of us the picture of a burning bus in Alabama may merely represent the speed and competence of a photographer, but to those of us in the U.S. Information Agency it means that picture will be front-paged tomorrow all the way from Manila to Rabat. Here in Washington itself, for example, there exists a much unreported encumbrance on our African relations that can lose us as much influence as anything the Soviets might do. Where do we house African diplomats in our capital? These are representatives of Negro nations led by Negro leaders. It is bad enough that they read headlines of Birmingham bus burnings and beatings. It is even worse that they find it near impossible to live in the capital of our nation. Landlords will not rent to them; schools refuse their children; stores will not let them try on clothes; beaches bar their families. Today there are some 30 African representatives in Washington with what is euphemistically called "unsatisfactory housing." Fully 1/3 of these are termed emergency cases. There will be some 50 more families arriving in the next six months, 100 in the next year. It is not only that these people are humans like the rest of us, but that they are leaders of nations whose friendship this land deems vital. We would have them join our company of honorable men in defending against encroachment our dedication to dignity and freedom. But it is a dignity to which we will not fully admit them.

It was William Shakespeare who in the "Merchant of Venice" wrote lines

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that could come from the mouth of any of these wronged Negro diplomats.

"If you prick us, do we not bleed?
"If you tickle us, do we not laugh?
"If you poison us, do we not die?
"And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?"

And if revenge they should, it would be recounted as a diplomatic debacle for the United States. And if and when that day should come, do not fly to your Information Agency crying that we have not told "our story" abroad. For in this damaging indignity there is blame enough for us all. And let us remember, this is not something the Communists did to us. We do it ourselves in our own capital. Is it possible that we concern ourselves too much with outer space and far places, and too little with inner space and near places?

Let me turn back to the subject at hand. You did not invite me here to talk about our duty and our opportunity as citizens, rather to tell you about our work. Quite reasonably, you wish to know where we hope to go and how we shall try to get there. At the outset let me emphasize that I did not bring to the Agency the infinite wisdom of an outsider, with magic cures for all that's wrong.

In fact, much of what I have found is good, effective, solid. I recognize, as I know you will too, that the role of our Agency has limits. We are but one arm of the U.S. government. As such, we must respond to the policy of that government. To put it more bluntly, USIA can be no better than the policies it supports and explains. Yet within that limitation there are obviously practices and principles to which we are committed. It is fundamental that we operate on a basis of truth. Ours is, and must be, a dedication to the factual.

But this itself poses difficulties. We operate abroad; our audience is foreign. And in this world there are no absolute standards of truth. What is

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one man's truth is another man's falsehood. Our objective is, and must be, credibility. It is easy to assume that because we tell the truth as we see it, others will believe us. But statements that are true are not always believed. It is a measure of our difficulty that in this relentless half-war, truth and credibility are not co-equal.

Candor and openness have their merits...as the successful Alan Shepard demonstrated. They also have their demerits...as the abortive Cuban episode demonstrated.

On Cuba, we had no choice but to be truthful and complete. At noon on April 17, we expanded our Spanish broadcasting to Latin America from one hour of origination to 19 hours. Within two hours we were on the air. I mention this with some pride. What network could undertake such expansion on such short notice with no change in personnel allowance?

There were Latins relaying our broadcasts who said, "you are too honest, you will be misunderstood." There were Americans who protested, as the letter writer from California who heard the tirades of Dr. Paul Roa on our Spanish broadcasts and suggested we leave such broadcasting to the Voice of Castro. The answer was that Dr. Roa was speaking in the United Nations debate which we carried in its entirety. We carried the whole story -- Castro's announcement, the self-labelled "invasion", the writhing in Washington, the agonies in the UN, and even the agonizing reappraisal which a critical aftermath spilled over the Administration.

But if truth must be our guide then dreams must be our goal. To the hunger of those masses yearning to be free and to learn, to this sleeping giant

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now stirring, that is so much of the world, we shall say: "We share your dreams." As a nation, we have never been allergic to change. Ours was the first of the great revolutions. It is a birthright we do not intend to let go by default. Our responsibilities of nationhood are predicated on a helping hand to others who would elevate their crushing way of existence by change into a more bountiful society. We offer no panaceas, no final solutions. We offer to join in the search for betterment. We offer our experience and our energies in partnership in the quest for greater human excellence. This we not only endorse. This we sponsor and promote, and provoke. A tradition of government by the governed, of revolution by consent -- all of these are among the greater virtues that we have to demonstrate to a world sorely in need of great virtues.

But we shall go further. We are taking the offensive in this war of ideas. We shall be more alert in exposing Communist techniques and tactics. Distortion and duplicity about this land and its people will not go unanswered.

How shall we accomplish this dual role?

First, the projects that we launch are delivered abroad, primarily through our posts -- 218 of them in 98 countries around the world, staffed by some 1,200 American men and women and their valuable local assistants. Their relation to Washington is as the rim of a wheel to a hub. We in Washington set policy and direction for our posts abroad, but it is as a service center to our overseas operators that we serve our main function.

Second, I have already mentioned that we operate in seven principal media of communication --- radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits and the arts, as well as the all-important field of personal contact ---

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reaching out to all parts of the world in virtually all languages. As the informational arm of US policy, what we do is often imposed on us by the impact of events. But we do not await events. We anticipate, prepare and organize our resources. There is also sometimes a need to concentrate on a selected short range of subject-matter. We have thus established a new post, entitled "Director of Media Content". This job is to aim our output, to pull together the sinews of our several media, to multiply their effectiveness by combining their effort.

Next, we are concentrating our attention on the fields where the ideological competition is being waged. This means expansion in Africa -- where new nations have arisen -- and in Latin America -- where new difficulties have been born -- and in Southeast Asia -- where new pressures are upon us. We will not do this, however, at the expense of thinning the lines of communication with our traditional friends and allies.

To our neighbors to the south, we shall ask them to face the facts about this man called Castro. We shall ask them to recognize the nature of his totalitarian dictatorship, his betrayal of the ideals of the revolution that brought him to power, his suppression of basic human liberties, his treason to the ideals of civilization, and his atrocities, his calculated reliance on the Sino-Soviet bloc and the danger that this threatens to free institutions in the Western Hemisphere.

But we shall do more than merely affirm the negative. We shall examine and explain the promise of the new "Alliance for Progress", the economic and social promise that can bloom from the new planted seedling of US-Latin American cooperation.

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In Africa, there are new lands emerging with new leaders. It is a continent groping for directions, churning with ideas, surveying our style, sampling our ideals. One need only recall the heady wine of our own independence in 1776 to appreciate the new intoxication of Africa. To them we must do more than criticize their politics and caution them on the Soviets. We must share with them our hands and our hearts, our techniques and our time. We must, perhaps above all, accord them the dignity of friendship and respect. In Africa alone we have opened 12 new posts in the past year: Mali, Ivory Coast, Togo, Dohomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Congo, Gabon, Central African Republic, Chad, Ruanda-Urundi, Malagasy Republic. New countries, all of them, some not even in existence when I assumed this office less than four months ago.

In Latin America, we hope to establish 11 new posts in key interior cities, and to strengthen 17 existing posts now undermanned.

In Southeast Asia we are taking additional urgent steps to communicate our determination to support our allies and to prevent neutral countries from falling to Communism. Communication in these lands is poor. Literacy is low. The challenge to our ingenuity and to our energy is great -- and it is expensive.

Our financing for this year will we hope be adequate. But I would remind you that our budget now awaiting approval was drawn up before the sudden increase in the menace of Castro's Communism, before the stepped-up Communist assault in Laos and the eroding subversion in South Viet Nam and Thailand.

In the matter of financial and manpower substance, our adversaries have a clear advantage. The Soviet bloc spends more money jamming our radio broadcasts than we spend on our entire Agency. Our total budget is less than

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the cost of one combat loaded Polaris submarine, and it is one fifth of the estimated advertising budget of our armaments manufacturers. One American soap company spends almost as much on advertising as the USIA spends explaining US policy abroad.

We certainly do not solicit billions for propagating the truth. But this country must be willing to do what must be done -- or we will forfeit to the inexorable tide of history our role as the promoters of freedom.

Implicit in meeting this challenge is the cost of physical facility. The Voice of America broadcasts 600 hours a week and, including packaged programs, uses up to 62 languages. But, as they say in the trade, let's look at the competition. We are fourth, ranked in order behind Russia, Communist China, and the United Arab Republic. But we certainly do not intend to remain in fourth position. We are building new transmitters, one in North Carolina, and one in Liberia, but we are seriously handicapped against the opposition because they are already located physically closer to much of the audience we would reach. We have had practically no increase in power since 1953 and it is in these years that our competition has passed us.

Our broadcast and other activities do need more money, but money alone will not do the job. We need immunization from accordion financing -- granting most of our budget requests one year, squeezing them tightly the next. No network or newspaper could flourish on such financial irregularity; neither can USIA.

We face a difficult time with staffing. We need more permanent staff -- talented people willing to work for little pay and less recognition. And we need

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the cooperation of the men who help shape the thinking of our citizens. We want them to share their thoughts abroad. In Moscow and Peiping, such intellectuals and journalists are summoned at government bidding. In America, we do not bid; we request. But the argument heard sometimes here that cooperation with the government hampers professional independence is, I submit, specious. We need your help and, while we cannot pay commercial rates, we can offer another compensation: the satisfaction that you helped keep our country strong.

The history of this Agency has been brief and turbulent. I trust its future will be long and fruitful. In the bare 20 years of its life, it has had five titles and a dozen different directors. Our origins lie in the frenzied beginnings of World War II, when we operated with a radio and a prayer. Our future may lie in the unseen systems of communication satellites, when we will operate with international television and perhaps those same prayers again.

The product of this Agency is all for export, much of it invisible, much of it unknown at home. Much of its end-product effectiveness is not measurable by common standards. We do not have a rating service, and frequently our work is known to the public only when we make a mistake. We do not ask for special consideration, and certainly not for sympathy, from those of you who work in the private sector of communication.

We do not ask that our mistakes be ignored, nor that our accomplishments be exaggerated. We shall do our best to tell you what the Agency is doing in the belief that you are as concerned as we in providing the citizens of this country with information as to what is being said and done in their name abroad.

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I have learned since coming to Washington at least two things: the first is that it is easier to ask questions than to answer them, and the second, that questions are never indiscreet but answers sometimes are. I suppose the art of answering is to produce a proper mixture of candor and discretion and to confess ignorance when it is obvious. And with a promise -- in answering your questions -- to follow this precept, Mr. President, may I turn the floor back to you.

* * * * *

Reporter Douglas Brown of the BBC met Ed Murrow at the London airport on his arrival from Berlin and talked to him first about his impressions of the Berlin crisis.

Q: What role is the USIA playing in the Berlin crisis?

MURROW: Well we're continuing our ordinary program and we operate a very powerful radio station in Berlin called RIAS -- "Radio In The American Sector". It is continuing to do precisely what it has done for the last 14 years -- namely, to report the truth. There is some evidence that it is listened to by about 75% of the people in East Germany. And we have made no change in our policy. We are continuing to broadcast just as we did in more tranquil times.

Q: Mr. Murrow I wonder if I can persuade you to revert back to the old Ed Murrow and ask you with all your experience in observing the international scene, how you see the Berlin crisis working out.

MURROW: Well there is no profit in prophecy but I can give you an estimate of the position as it appeared yesterday -- last night and this morning I talked with a great number of German editors, some officials -- there is no question whatever that there is a deep sense of disappointment in W. Germany and in W. Berlin because of the delay in the delivery of the note of protest and the failure to take action. There is developing, I think, what might be called a crisis of confidence, there is increasing feeling in W. Berlin that the people are isolated and you hear on many sides from very sober serious people.

The comparison between what has happened and when Hitler went into the Rhineland there is on the part of these people, and I am in speaking particularly of newspaper editors, no demand for drastic dramatic dangerous action but there is an insistance that the West should be able to do something other than spend about 52 hours in preparing a note of protest which is regarded by most W. Berliners as rather tepid in tone.

Q: Of course the grim question is, isn't it, will it come to war?

MURROW: Well that is a question of course that is being asked in Berlin. It is certainly a question that I cannot answer and I don't know anyone who can.

Mr. Brown then asked Mr. Murrow if the Information services on the African continent, particularly the newly independent countries, ought to be stepped up.

MURROW: We are both in African and Latin American, yes. (The question unintelligible).

MURROW: Particularly because of the emergence of new nations people are searching around for new allegiances in an effort to chart their own course -- in an effort to provide them with information upon which a free choice can be made.

Q: In places like Africa, do you regard yourself in competition with the British Information Services?

MURROW: On the contrary we don't regard ourselves in competition with the British Information Services in any area. As a matter of fact, we had a conference in Paris and we will have some informal conversations here in London

designed entirely to further coordinate our efforts -- to move them more in tandem, and we proceed on the assumption that the British and ourselves want to live in the same kind of world under the same kind of conditions and in some areas the British are able to tell the story of a world of free choice contrasted.

Garbled announcer apologizes for that faulty recording.

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FOR RELEASE AT 4 P.M. EDT, 2 P.M. CST, SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1961

Statement by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency,
at the First National Conference on Peaceful Uses of Space
at the Education Building, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Thank you Mr. Chairman. I have looked forward with keen anticipation to this meeting -- not for what I would say but for what I would learn. I have listened with interest to my fellow panelists, and the enlightenment of their remarks only reinforces a conclusion I just stated: namely that I am out of my league. Your participants these two days have been drawn from impressive scientific backgrounds, top administrators from preeminent technical institutions, all with their eyes trained on the heavens. I bring credentials primarily as a reporter, my background in science is confined to the one technical conclusion that I was able to wring from 25 years of broadcasting namely, the long waves are in fact short and the short waves are long.

I have traded my microphone for a meeting table. The change has been invigorating. But I might question your premise that because I now reside on the new frontier of politics I am therefore qualified to speak on the next frontier of space. I read your purpose in this conference as being, quote, "to bring together an array of some of the best minds in space and related fields." I feel myself at best a distant though I hope respectful relation. In your array of dazzling minds in space I feel my own lustre appropriately dimmed by the

company in which I stand.

At the risk of being the one rocket on your panel which fails on the pad, I'm going to assume the role of the Socratic interlocutor. I do this in no sense to doubt the necessity of the program but rather to propose certain questions for discussion by experts.

The most incisive letter I ever received in a quarter century of news-casting was a missile-like missive from a lady who had long listened to me but wrote: "Not only do you not tell me anything important but you don't even ask me interesting questions." I hope at least to ask some interesting questions.

I would speak to you today not as the head of a technical agency but as a person identified with the problems of policy and the feelings of people. I share with you an excitement about the future. Communication systems in space can help unburden communication systems on earth. Subways and highways will continue jammed, but at least while waiting for commuter routes to unclog we may someday be able to watch live the latest TV from Europe. Broadcasting, of course, is the main reason our Agency is watching developments in space. Whether done directly or by point to point relay, we have a large and obvious stake in any improvement in bombarding the world with words and music and pictures.

And that is precisely the point. We can orbit our rockets and transmit our broadcasts, but in the end we still deal with the base elements of human communication: words and pictures. Space satellites will not make it any better; it will simply diffuse it over a wider area.

On a basis of policy, politics, and content, space communications will

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not solve the fundamental problem of communications, one that has haunted man since time immemorial: What is he to say and how is he to say it? A communication system -- even one in space -- is totally neutral. Batteries and wave lengths have no vocabulary. A transmitter whether on the earth or in the atmosphere does not know what to say. Communication systems have no conscience, only a history. They will transmit both filth and inspiration with equal facility. The mistakes -- and they will abound as much tomorrow as they do today -- will still be made by humans.

With apologies to my fellow panelist from the F.C.C., Mr. Craven, I suggest that here is where the "wasteland of television" speech by Mr. Newton Minow imposes itself on our thoughts. Even beyond that wasteland, do we really want the world, without the context of background knowledge, to see TV covering the bloodlettings and bus burnings in Alabama?

Space satellites will neither solve our dilemmas nor salve our conscience. Television and radio are still television and radio, whether sent from a tower 500 yards away or a satellite 500 miles above.

But even beyond our sins of society there are grave matters of international policy. Any system I take it by its nature must be global. One does not send a signal to a satellite and have it die there. There must be a terminal point in another country. Like Pandora glimpsing inside her box, the problems begin to appear. We must in some cases at least use facilities of other countries. How? Shall we do it by agreement with them? Broadcasting needs frequencies. In developed countries these frequencies have been distributed.

There may be a major problem of finance; who pays for the system?

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Participation by many smaller nations may involve an outflow of hard currency when they can ill afford the loss of international exchange. The problem then becomes a mixture of the engineering, the legal, the political, the financial.

There is another international barrier that is at least worth mentioning: the difference in international broadcast standards. Television in the United States is different from television in England, Russia, and France. Standardization has great merit, but a nation's individual standard is precious to it. Besides the bald element of national pride, control of standards mean, as I understand it within certain limits, control of what people see and hear. This would bring us in conflict not only with other countries but even with ourselves. What American engineer, for example, would recommend overhauling U.S. television production standards to gain international compatability?

In the field of space satellites, international amity must be based on domestic unity. And domestic unity about space communications seems to be somewhere on the horizon. There are at least three major policy areas upon which agreement must be reached.

One, shall the space system be government or private enterprise? The problem has been ingrained in our past and is probably ordained for our future. Even if a decision were made for private enterprise, the capital requirements are so enormous that there would have to be some government participation.

Two, shall the system be military or civilian? Both have good arguments. Space communications can have endless military purposes; what national leader would deny its use for defense of our democracy? But I

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mentioned earlier that we must have the cooperation of other countries. If the system is military, will this make it unattractive in convincing other countries to participate?

But we don't solve these problems by opting for a civilian system. There are still government needs for security and national defense. Further should only one communication carrier run the system and lease facilities to other carriers? Or perhaps to be fair we should let the companies merge to form one surviving carrier for international communications.

Three, underwriting the cost. Will we make the system pay its own way abroad, subsidize it in part, or give it away free? Although foreign cooperation is important, many countries cannot afford the cost of a satellite participation.

Communicating around the world is expensive. To the extent communication costs are high, the free flow of information is hindered. If costs for a satellite system are higher, which now seems reasonable, the flow of information will be hampered even more.

All of which brings me to the uncomfortable subject of paying the bill. Experts agree on only one thing: the astronomics of space become the astronomics of money. Beyond that, estimates diverge like forks in the road.

It is here that I make certain emphasis for our Information Agency. A system of communications satellites will be meaningful for our Agency only if it is a cheap system. We cannot squander millions for the novelty of using a new satellite system. On our Agency budget we must staff and maintain over 200 posts in nearly 100 countries around the world and carry on a range

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of highly diversified activities. Broadcasting is only one of those activities.

Satellite communication will be an additional system of communications. Not a completely new system, but an additional one.

We will still broadcast standard band radio; there will still be normal broadcasting of television. The satellite system will be an expansion and expensive, but it is unlikely to be a replacement.

There is a further problem in the power system to be used. How does one send the best signal to a satellite and then back to earth? We must be competitive in our broadcasting. People will not listen/watch a signal if that signal is weak or distorted. They will turn to the signal offering the best quality of reception. There must be good transmission, consistently every day of the week, every week of the year.

There may be another issue worth discussing: let us call it the "gimmick value" of the satellite. When a person can receive our radio on normal broadcast bands, and TV over normal broadcast channels, why should they ever bother looking or listening for the same programs merely because we have beamed them via satellite? For the first few weeks it may have the gimmick value of inducing an audience. But when the honeymoon is over and our marriage between programming and audience has settled into its day to day monotony, satellite broadcasting may offer little more in any areas than we offer today.

We have, flown Commander Shepard's Mercury capsule to the United States exhibit at the 24th International Air Show at le Bourget in Paris. There over a million people at the world's largest international exposition on aviation

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and space will see this symbol of the latest American space success -- and this on the very site where nearly a generation ago a slim lad named Lindbergh landed his "Spirit of St. Louis" after another historic flight over the Atlantic.

One assessment we will have to make is how we choose to shape our lives and our fortunes. This generation of Americans has no monopoly on problems. They abound abroad. Over much of this globe there are unfed bellies and tired bodies that will turn to our satellite system with but marginal interest. The grindstone of poverty will still be the lodestone of policy. It would seem the level of living would be a relatively high priority for this generation to face. Maybe schools and sewers in certain developing areas are more important than satellites.

I have come today not to doubt your hopes. If we would do this job there is much to consider. There is hard work as well as harsh risks. I once knew a man, who in the twilight of his colorful career would flee into the house when an airplane passed overhead; when asked why, he would respond: "Someday one of those things'll drop a monkey wrench."

I suppose that there may be monkey wrenches dropped in this vision.

I pick no quarrel with a dream. And the hope of a world system of communications with satellites may be a dream worth the trying. But history will record that there were more people than there were nations, and more dreams then there were people. Not all of those dreams could be delivered to reality. It may be that the history of our day will be decided by what dreams we choose to deliver. The issue, gentlemen, is not how we deliver it, but what our delivery has to say.

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STATEMENT OF EDWARD R. MURROW

May 29, 1961

Perhaps I should begin by apologizing for interrupting a pleasant weekend, however, I trust that the information we have collected will not be found unpleasing.

This Agency, as is its custom, has been conducting a continuing survey of press and radio reaction to Fidel Castro's offer to exchange prisoners for tractors. It is clear that Castro has blustered his way into a major blunder. With a single utterance he has erased that narrow line of philosophy and tactics that separates communism from fascism.

Almost without exception the press and radio of the free world have drawn the obvious parallel between his proposal and that of the Germans when they offered to trade Jews for trucks. Castro revealed himself for what he is and U.S. reaction reflected what we are. Most of the free world found our response to the offer to be in accord with our heritage and tradition of regard for the individual. Castro has damaged the cause of communism. His senior partners in Moscow and Peking have not supported him.

There is a groundswell of disgust welling up in Latin America. We have prepared for you a summary of press reaction. From both conservative and liberal newspapers, from government figures, from committees and voluntary groups, the comment is the same. This has been accompanied by demonstrations for freedom by students, women, legislators in favor of the United States.

Castro's offer has been called blackmail. That is a handy word, but in civilized countries censure of the act should run to the blackmailer not to the blackmailed. As Dr. Milton Eisenhower observed, a mother paying ransome to regain the life of a child is not denounced because she deals with a blackmailer. The calumny is on the head of the man perpetrating the wrong not on the wronged.

In recent days, after more than a week of hesitation, communist radio stations are calling Castro's offer an act of humanitarianism, but the communist press, particularly in Latin America, has maintained what can only be described as an embarrassed silence.

The U. S. Information Agency can claim no credit for this widespread response of revulsion. It was not our informational propaganda that produced the result. Such editorial reaction cannot be persuaded or purchased. The reaction in Latin America and elsewhere was the response of free men to an offer to trade men for machines. The result was predictable. Had the people of this country remained mute, the reaction would have undoubtedly been otherwise.

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Text of Remarks by
Edward R. Murrow
at USIA Honor Awards Ceremony in the
New Auditorium, Department of State, June 9, 1961

I am convinced the greatest reward on earth for achievement is the satisfaction in human conscience which comes with self-realization of a job well done. Today's public recognition therefore is sauce on the pudding for the men and women whose concentration of energy and talent and devotion to their work has caused this ceremony.

But I should like to use this occasion to pay tribute not only to those who receive awards but also to the men and women of the Agency who are making public service what the President termed "a proud and lively career." To each of you here and those overseas whose conscience accepts with tranquility the job you do, I address these remarks.

In these days when so much future depends upon what we now do, I believe that a tranquil conscience over personal performance cannot be achieved without a sense of urgency. If it is true that each generation finds its own time the most trying, this never can excuse our own lack of diligence or devotion in applying our talents to our chores. I do believe that urgency and stamina are required as never before in this Agency.

My own confidence in our ability to fulfill the role of the Agency is based upon my knowledge that here in Washington and in posts around the world, we have men and women whose nervous systems respond with energy and ideas when stimulated by a challenge.

Ideas are our prime commodity. We as an Information Agency, representing an affluent nation, need fear no scarcity in this most precious of our products. The resources of a society in which ideas compete never can be matched by the output of an intellectual assembly line. I look upon dissent and disagreement as a grist for genius.

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Ours is the task of documenting and communicating this genius of our nation so those unaccustomed to our ways and thoughts can understand. As all of you who have labored at it know well, this chore comes easier to him who only tells us how than to us who have to do it.

With the premium I place on ideas, I do not propose to abandon those procedures and techniques which lack only the quality of newness. But on this occasion, when we recognize performance above the routine, I want to encourage proposals of how we should do our business better. This Agency, with the President, "recognizes the value of daring and dissent" and greets "healthy controversy as the hallmark of healthy change."

So I exhort you to dare to dissent, to push your ideas with assurance that all will be welcome if not all are adopted, and, as one of my staff members who is in perpetual opposition to chaos once suggested: Make a big noise with your suggestions -- but through channels.

My brief time in USIA has fortified my confidence that we have the capacity to do our job. It has convinced me that we need to increase our capabilities for doing it better. For my part, I assure you that I shall not shirk the chore of seeking the tools and talents we need, and which our nation needs us to have.

The time ahead, I believe, will unfold a dynamic American role in international affairs. As our national policies to carry out this role emerge, the burdens and the opportunities of our Agency will increase. I shall not preside over an abdication of this responsibility.

We now are given the task of making sure the world comprehends what stirs us as a people. This frontier is the Alliance for Progress, education in Africa, the development of the means for a better livelihood in Asia, and in the end man's right of free choice. We must make known our selfish motive to assure peace and the preservation of our own right to choose.

How can we gear our people and machinery to reach the minds of understandably suspicious people around the world? How can we best reflect not only our heritage but our drive toward the future? Reduced to simple terms, the answer lies in theprograms we produce and successfully present to the right audiences abroad.

As you ponder the way, never discard an idea for fear the bureaucracy can't digest it. Budgets never will seem to be enough, but we shall strive tirelessly for the means which in prudence can be employed.

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For such ideas we seek and for sustained achievement in the service, we demonstrate here that all reward is not put over to paradise -- we have our honor awards today.

In deep appreciation for the work of the Agency's employees and with earnest anticipation of your imaginative devotion to the task before us, I congratulate the men and women singled out for recognition today.

Permit me to add a purely personal word. I have not yet reached the age where my own reminiscences fascinate me, but I have seen certain crises and conflicts and have at times been moderately well paid for observing how men and women conduct themselves under such conditions. There was Vienna at the time of the Anschluss -- the betrayal of Czechoslovakia - Dunkirk -- the British expedition to Norway -- the Blitz in London -- and that year when Britain fought alone. There was North Africa, Normandy, Buchenwald and Dachau, the first months of the war in Korea, too many international conferences to count. The brief intervals of tranquility are lost in the memory of turmoil. And yet I am persuaded that new crises of greater magnitude impend. Decisions of great complexity and greater consequence are just over the horizon. Our oceans have become rivers, our dreams have become doubts and the very atmosphere is harsh.

It is long since this country has suffered or sacrificed. It is long since our ability to stand steady in our shoes in time of adversity has been tested. I suggest that the testing time approaches. If we are to meet that test -- and all previous crises must be regarded as prelude to it -- then we must combine patience with fortitude. We must recognize that there are no easy answers and that difficulty is an excuse history never accepts.

We in this Agency have the honor to serve our country. We must devise methods for serving it better. We must disenthrall ourselves and re-examine our policies and practices. An organization or an agency is not a chart any more than a charter guarantees character. This Agency is without constituents, much of our product is invisible, many of our accomplishments intangible, some of our critics irrational. That is as it must be, but I would suggest to you in all seriousness that there must be one constant element in this Agency if we are to accomplish the task the President and our heritage have imposed upon us. If we are to make our contribution to the defense and expansion of freedom on this minor planet, we must have pride. We must not be defeated by secondary victories or discouraged by major reversals. However dreary the drudgery, we must believe it to be of consequence. I believe that history even in a footnote will so regard it.

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Release No. 30

FOR RELEASE AT 9:30 A.M. EDT, TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1961

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before Johns Hopkins University
June 13, 1961
Baltimore, Maryland

THE DIVIDED WORLD

You do me great honor in conferring upon me the mantle of your degree. And I, pauper that I am in thanks, am humbled even in gratitude.

In his gracious invitation Dr. Eisenhower observed that your University is small in size. But the quality of greatness is measured not by acres or numbers but by purpose and accomplishment. I stand upon soil near hallowed for its role in making the modern American mind. By any standard that is worthy, the name of Hopkins must rank high.

It was Johns Hopkins in the last century that first set a new frontier of its own in education. The idea of graduate education in America is linked first with Johns Hopkins. Under the Presidency of Daniel Coit Gilman you pioneered the then radical notion that a college was not a university, that intellectual excellence could and would be attained through graduate study, that to teach the teachers scholarship was as worthy an enterprise as to teach the students wisdom. As Charles Eliot of Harvard later remarked, "The creation of a school of graduate studies (at Johns Hopkins)...has lifted every other university in the

country..."

Educational radicalism under Daniel Gilman has given way to international humanism under Milton Eisenhower. Your School of Advanced Inter-National Studies gives intellectual vigor to the moulders of our present as well as the makers of our future. Much cherished by my own Agency is your Bologna Center in Italy. Here USIA has assisted Johns Hopkins in creating a center of American studies in Europe -- a center whose scope bodes well to encompass the entire North Atlantic community, a symbol of the universality of the inquiring mind that is the hallmark of free men everywhere.

I take it as an appropriate symbol that Johns Hopkins, a leader in American education of the last century, has in this century become a leader of world education. For it is to the dimension of the world around us that your generation and mine must now address its efforts.

I shall give you no graduation sermon, painting vistas of promise about tomorrow's bounty. For the dreams of tomorrow grow out of the realities of today. Tomorrow's bounty is a function of today's sweat.

I have brought my son to these proceedings. He will in a few years time sit in those same seats of graduation that you now occupy. What I say to you could, in a sense, be a valedictory for his ears as well. I do have dreams of tomorrow -- for him and for you, and even, if I am not too presumptious on the chronology of age, for Dr. Eisenhower and myself. But dreams are the gossamer of self deception if they divide our attention between hopes and hard work. For it is hard work that faces our divided world -- a world spawned in heartache, wracked by bestiality, beset with frustration.

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To refer to a world divided may be misleading. Division implies duality -- a bi-polar world divided between two nation states. I suggest this thinking is outmoded.

The world today which beckons to you and my son is a far different thing. The issues are changing; the old answers will no longer do. Containment has become competition, the alliance system may need study, rearmament fosters arms control, the dependent world opts now for its own independence. The world is indeed divided. But it is long division now -- not into two camps but into many camps. It is no longer US versus THEM. Duality has become multiplicity.

This should be not saddening so much as challenging. We are living, in Mr. Stevenson's happy phrase, amid the revolution of rising expectations. No land by definition could ever be more qualified to participate than we. As for revolution, it is our birthright. As for rising expectations, where is there a more capacious or generous land than this, floating on its floodtide of washing machines and automobiles.

But if we would convert our washing machines to grander schemes, if we would put our shoulders to the revolutionary wheel, there are expectations of our own with which we must cope.

The first is speed. The rapidity of change is now beyond our control. Expectancy is literally exploding around the world. The demand for results is timed today -- not for tomorrow or next week, but for now. The continents will no longer respond to a call for moderation.

Second, we can be influential, even determinative, but we can never

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be controlling. There are people who will question our motives, resist our claims, and seek to edge their own way into a place in the sun. As we would determine our national policies by what we define as our own best interest, so would they feel the same about defining their own destinies. As we would not do otherwise ourselves, so should we not expect otherwise from other lands.

Third, we must not fall into what I call the "fallacy of forms." Other lands will seek forms and institutions of their own conjuring. These may be forms and ways which we would not choose for ourselves. But it is not ourselves for whom we are choosing. Imitation may be flattery, but in politics it may also be foolish. We must neither impose our forms and methods nor expect others to imitate us in every respect. We cannot afford the folly of believing that our way is the only way, for the multiple world of nations.

I do not imply by this that our way of life has nothing to commend it to others. There are great masses in the world groping for direction, churning with ideas, surveying our style, sampling our ideals, searching for new allegiances. To these people, we have much to show and to say. We would help elevate their crushing way of existence into a more bountiful society. We offer no panaceas and no final solutions. But we would offer our experience and our energies for a partnership in the quest for greater human excellence.

In their searching for new avenues of approach, we would suggest that what differentiates us from the Communists is worth their careful examination. Basic to our system of man and state is the fact of man himself.

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We in this land inhabit a democratic republic conceived in the ingenious idea that man and his freedom are more important than the state in which he lives. We enshrine this in a system of laws, laws dedicated to the service not of the state but of man. And the function of that law is so to orient our society that individual rights protected by law are above impeachment or impairment.

It was this which Jefferson held to be a truth self evident, and it was this to which he and his companions pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors.

But in our cauldron of seething idealism let us mix a potion of the practical. We must admit that in competition with the Soviets we are at a disadvantage. To an emerging society shopping for a ready-made philosophy in the market place of ideas, democracy appears difficult to operate. And indeed it is. Diversity is its virtue, dissent is its hallmark. It is complex and confusing, it is often slow to act, its respect for the individual may restrain government, its multi-varied character defies labels and categories. In the left-wing Democratic Party there are as many right-wing Democrats as the right-wing Republican Party has left-wing Republicans. If this is confusing to you who inhabit this political polyglot, you can savor that hesitancy which may give new foreign leaders some cause to pause.

Arrayed at the other end of the spectrum of choice is the way of the Red Horde. In lieu of complexity, they offer simplicity. Instead of diversity, they offer singleness of purpose. The Communists submit their way as the quick way. And you will recall I suggested that speed was the first ingredient

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of the world's newborn political explosion.

In these decades of desire a land teeming with people may as well teem with dreams. But the drawback of the dream may well be the very multitude of millions who dare to tempt history with their desire.

To a country burdened today with more peasants than principles, progress at the expense of humanity has strong appeal. But short-run favors may be offset by long-run fallacies. A man, unlike a pound of ore, is not an expendable raw material. It is not only possible but, according to Communist doctrine, logical that Communist China will industrialize their country at the expense of millions of lives, even as the Russians did before them. It is an argument answerable only by example, and by demonstrating that there are other ways to move mountains and mould men than by muscle alone.

There is a sense in which our interests abroad impose a burden at home. We are by nature a pragmatic people. Ours is the way of action and results. Our impatience is liable to demand solutions when nothing is ready to be solved. There are some among us who, to achieve results rapidly, would counsel that in the heat of struggle we abandon our traditional concepts and meet the enemy on his own level. But the smoke of battle blinds their eyes to the truth of circumstances. It does us little good to overcome the beast, if in so doing we become beasts ourselves. Adolf Hilter bespoke the hope of tyranny when he said that democracy in its own defense would begin to imitate the very tyranny it opposed. This fight for freedoms could be lost by forfeit.

Ours is a generation under pressure. We are engaged in an implacable

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struggle upon which we did not choose to embark. Ours is a leadership we did not seek. We live in a world we did not make. But history and nationhood are boon companions. If in the beginning we did not ask for the weight of our circumstances, in the end we can do no better than respond to our challenges. The burdens of life are never distributed by choice.

This is true not only for ourselves. It is equally true in this divided world where for many lands the grindstone of poverty will remain the lodestone of policy. When we deal with these lands in impatience, we must realize that our own democracy is as yet unfinished. There are problems of our own mass industrial society awaiting solution.

I would in conclusion leave a final thought with you young leaders of democracy. There is in the Communist countries what I can best describe as a type of willingness to serve the state -- however unwilling it may be in its origin. Perhaps in this land we could use a slight infusion of concern. Perhaps today we are a little short of fanatics -- the kind of fanaticism that sustained our courage when we were amid, as Tom Paine said, the times that tried men's souls. I have in recent months read much of a great searching for a national purpose, as though by some curious intellectual process we would find a new definition of purpose. Perhaps the old was good enough. Perhaps the dignity of our task can only be matched by the sincerity of our effort.

A curious contradiction suggests itself. The Communists are said to have the most materialistic philosophy in the world, whereas this country is reputed to follow the most materialistic life in our world. May I suggest that perhaps we might do something to bring our practice more in line with

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our principles. There is a rare distinction and satisfaction to work for one's country instead of for dollars, to pursue principle in lieu of profit. The career of no man comes more readily to mind than that of Milton Eisenhower.

To those of you already committed to other paths, let me leave this additional thought. There is much to be said for the "in-and-out" approach to government service. The man experienced in private pursuits brings that much more to a temporary sojourn in government later in life. The opportunity to serve is never foreclosed by a single decision at any single time. Whether it be now or later. Please remember that the nation has need of the services of those who desire to serve.

No graduate of any college, nor any set of parents, has ever paid for an education entirely. Society and the people have contributed a goodly measure. Candor compels me to observe that there is implicit in this a sense of obligation and a debt to be discharged. I commend these words to your consciences in days to come. If the primary purpose of a college graduate is personal profit at the expense of the society that made possible the education, if there be no effort to discharge that debt, then history will be the collector.

I am not the first prophet, nor will I be the last chronicler, of grim tidings about the times in which we live. You people today advance from the world of books into the world of men. But there are others who march beside you. Their graduation is perhaps less formal than yours. Their school has been the education of grim serfdom. Their diplomas are of sheepskin as well. But it is the skins used to clothe a huddling body, and it is the sheep used to feed a swollen belly. Their eyes shine not quite so brightly as your own,

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for these are eyes blinded by the dust of poverty, brains dulled by the struggle for existence. It is from this they would graduate. And their minds are as eager as yours, for this is a time of change for them as well as you.

If they have their way, as I think in time they will, they would decree that this will be the last of the generations of agony. I suggest that together we must make this the first of the generations of opportunity.

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Testimony of
Edward R. Murrow
Director, U. S. Information Agency
before the Committee on Science and Astronautics
of House of Representatives, July 14, 1961, 10 a.m.

Mr. Chairman, Madam, and Gentlemen: Let me thank you for the invitation to appear before your committee this morning.

I am here to speak of the interest of the United States Information Agency in space satellite communications. You are as well aware as I am of how deeply this could affect our operations. Our Agency is in many businesses -- we broadcast radio and television, we make movies, we are in the press and photopicture trade. Any or all of these could and will be affected by what we discuss here this morning.

I must at the outset pay tribute to what space communication research has accomplished. Our explorations have unravelled much of the tangled knot of ignorance that was our status a bare decade ago. And the reputation that we now have abroad is based not on the gimmicks of our schemes but on the gains of our sciences.

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I share with you an excitement about the future. Communication systems in space will one day revolutionize communications systems on earth. This may revolutionize our Agency. It may even help transform our world. It is this excitement of the unknown, this inquiry into tomorrow that gives our age so much of its vitality and our problems so much of their urgency. Space communications will not solve these earthbound problems of people and politics. There will still be a bellicose dragon on the Chinese mainland, and underfed bellies in underdeveloped countries around the world will still be hungry. But the road to the future lies along many routes, and one of them most assuredly is a space age means of communications.

Our Agency approaches this road to the future with two concerns in mind. The first is the psychological impact abroad of what we as a nation do in this field: the second is the potential use which we as an Agency might make of such a system.

The psychological impact abroad of what this country does is the area of our Agency responsibility. Our function is to make the policy of this nation everywhere intelligible and wherever possible palatable. I suggest that for communication satellites this area is crucially important, for the very premise of communicating by satellites must involve other nations. What reason is there to the system if it be not for sending-receiving with other lands? This means that abroad we must both gain cooperation as well as earn confidence.

This nation has much to gain from space communications. I do not view national policy as based solely on the premise that we must outdo the

Soviet. We do what we must do not because it is politic but because it is right. To those who view our performance as a race against the Russians, space communications will carry much weight in their scales of judgment. It will advance this nation's prestige overseas to be the first to span the oceans with live and immediate television programming. This excitement of instant television cannot help but have an impact abroad. It will also be a challenge to our adversary and his closed society. For in effect we will be saying to the curious world, "We are open and you are at liberty to observe us, 'warts and all,' as the expression goes." The comparison cannot help but be drawn that Mr. Churchill's "Iron Curtain" over the Russian satellite empire is as impenetrable as it is enduring.

But let us be frank with ourselves. We postulate this as a global system. We desire mutual cooperation and international operation. This project must not become so monopolized by a United States interest that the world forgets this is to be a world system.

But let us not gild the lily so that we overlook the problems of gardening. There are difficulties to be weeded out. Even more, the world will observe how we do our weeding. What I imply is that the way we solve these problems may in the long run be as important as the solutions themselves.

This implies international cooperation on an unprecedented communications scale.

There is, for example, the problem of differing international standards of broadcasting -- difficult, but not insoluble. Television in the United States.

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is different from television in Britain, in France, and in Russia. It does us little good to reach a country with a telecast that cannot be received there due to different standards.

Further, there is the needling problem of frequency allocation. There must be agreement on frequencies on which to broadcast. There is no such thing as a television or radio party line. It must be one program, to one channel, at one time.

But this is not easy around the world. Frequencies unused in this country may be used in Europe. Some channels may be easily moved; others may be more difficult to move as they are involved in foreign military and defense frequencies. Frequency allocation must meet the issue of what is here available may be there unavailable.

As you yourself said, Mr. Chairman, in a speech delivered in California in April of last year, "we can see a coming war of the radio frequency spectrum."

There has as yet been no international allocation of frequencies in space. I am advised that a conference to deal with this will be held in 1965, with a preparatory conference set for 1963. I am sure there will be a US delegation for this conference. But I am also advised that this country has not as yet ratified the international convention under which this conference will be held.

Assuming a US delegation to the conference in no way guarantees that we will have our own way regarding allocation. We are only one voice -- albeit a prominent one -- among many. We must make our policy not in a

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vacuum but in concert with others. With the best technical reasons in the world our point of view might fail. But agreement is essential if we are to broadcast internationally via space.

And it is axiomatic that we must examine with other countries the best role that can be played by the United Nations and the International Telecommunications Union.

One brief caveat. I do not advocate surrender of this project to an as yet vaguely conceived international body. But the system by its very nature must have international cooperation. Unless other nations are convinced by plans and negotiations with this country that they too will benefit, we will encounter more than the usual difficulties in making our plans flourish. The world should, and will, be reminded that this is a system fostered and founded by this nation, but it is a system that we freely choose to dedicate to more than our own national interest.

The second concern I mentioned to you is the potential use which U. S. I. A. might make of such a system.

It is here that I make an important emphasis for our Information Agency. It is clear that the instantaneous telecasting of such events as the Alan Shepard flight would have great impact abroad. But it is equally clear that a system of communications satellites will be useable by our Agency only if we can afford it. Our Agency cannot squander millions for the novelty of using a new satellite system. On our budget we must staff and maintain over 200 posts in nearly 100 countries around the world and carry on a range of highly diversified activities. Broadcasting is only one of those activities.

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And the cost of that broadcast service is a prime concern of this Agency.

I can illustrate this by mentioning the Atlantic cable. It is an existing means of communication which this Agency would use more frequently if its cost were cheaper. People have inquired why we do not use the cable, and invariably our answer for the cable is, as it may be for the satellite, a question of dollars and cents. We would if we could -- but we can't -- so we don't.

USIA wants to use a space communications system, and will, if the cost is reasonable. May I therefore propose that you gentlemen consider a personal suggestion?

I suggest that in repayment of the national investment in development of the system, there be an exemption from cost by government agencies using the system. Having contributed to developing the system, government should not be put on a parity of payment with other customers. We are, in business parlance, giving up a type of patent, and in return should receive some royalty for so doing. Cost exemption may state the matter too strongly, but there should at least be a preferred position for government agencies to afford the system. One can phrase this as a reservation of a public domain for public use, an extension of the public service concept into the system. This is, I am told, a departure from telecommunications tradition, but it is a departure worth your eminent consideration.

Cost is not our only problem. USIA is further concerned with the strength and quality of its signal. How does one send the best signal to a satellite and then back to earth? We must be competitive in our broadcasting.

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People will not listen/watch a signal if that signal is weak or distorted. There must be good transmission, consistently every day of the week, every week of the year. To be useful to us, the satellite system must offer this.

If, as I have mentioned, the cost is much greater to us, and the signal is much poorer to them, you cannot expect USIA to make great use of the space satellite.

I propose to take no sides in the argument over whether the system should be publicly or privately run. This country has a long history of worthy private efforts that have resulted in much public good. I am in agreement with those who say that to throw away the national asset of private talent and participation would be folly. There is much to be done, and there is room for all of us to work.

But while the jury is still out over who should own the system, there are certain matters which this Agency feels constrained to bring to the committee's attention:

The first, as I just mentioned, is that private enterprise must participate to the limit of its talent and capability.

Second, this is to be a global system. That means no less than global participation. Any system that does not have due regard for the national interests of other countries will not engender their cooperation. Without that cooperation, we jeopardize the creation of the system itself.

I now venture another personal suggestion. We can best satisfy the national interests of other lands by bringing them into a partnership

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regarding the system. There is much technology to learn, minds to train, and men to organize. We cannot alone staff the world's communication systems. Why not bring these men here now to start that training, to prepare for the day when we will need qualified men from Conakry to Calcutta to help operate the satellite system. Much as we had an International Geophysical Year, let us commence an International Space Communication Year. Small nations of the world found the IGY of benefit; they made some contribution, but primarily they learned, they gained stature and status and confidence, and we presumably forged bonds of contact with a growing international community of scientists and intellectuals. Let us hope the same would happen with a Space Communication Year or even Years. Foreign delegations would come to our shores and, in concert with them, we would exercise our leadership in mastering the complex art of broadcasting from the region of the heavens.

I have not broached this idea to my colleagues in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. It would be primarily their burden to bear, and must needs be done with their enthusiasm. But the national policy as iterated by the President is that advances that we make we offer to the world. The satellite system cannot be made to work without world cooperation. What better way to harness their efforts than to invite them to follow our lead into an international space communications year.

Third, as international cooperation must be attained, and this means negotiating with foreign governments, agencies of this government must participate in those negotiations. Let me be explicit. My concern is that

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private corporations with profit as their aim should not be in a position to bind our government. The aims of government and industry may not be identical. Industry may have little interest in communications with Upper Volta, as there may be no profit forthcoming for years. Yet it is right that Upper Volta have as much potential use of the system as the United States. And if it is not the aim of private industry to serve the lean as well as the lucrative, then it must be the aim of government.

Fourth, the principle of "ACCESS" must be paramount. Every nation must be guaranteed this right of access to the system. Smaller countries must be assured that while the system is within the technological control of the United States, we will not turn the system on or off at will, limit or bar them from its use, or operate it in any way for capricious national advantage.

This point of access has another aspect that needs mention. If the principle of "access" opens the system to all users without exclusion, it is axiomatic that use of the system will not be determined by where we can best make a profit. As I have just mentioned, this system is not meant for linkage only between North America and Europe, but is rather to be a dialogue between our consciences and the world.

The implication of this is clear. We must service the emerging lands. We must NOT use this system to confirm the backward condition of backward countries. Private industry should be in our deliberations. But if they assume with us any responsibility for the system, it must be a responsibility for public "access" and not just private profit. The national interest must at the same time be served, and it is for this reason that the government must

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guide our communications effort.

Fifth, there are domestic concerns of the government that must be considered. Without elaborating them because they concern this Agency only indirectly, I mention such matters as strategic considerations of national defense, the compliance with anti-trust legislation and the regulation of rates, licenses, and frequencies, the encouragement of further research and development.

There is another matter of import which should be brought to the Committee's attention. The matter can be stated as simply as this: What are we to say?

We shall orbit our rockets and transmit our broadcasts, but in the end we shall still deal with the basic elements of human communication: words and pictures. Space satellites will not make it any better. It will simply diffuse it over a wider area -- and more quickly.

I am aware, of course, that there are gains as well as drawbacks from satellite telecasting. If the world could have witnessed Alan Shepard's flight as an exercise in the science of a democracy, the psychological impact would have been enormous. The immediacy of seeing excitement as it unfolds is unparalleled. But remember that the human drama of our land as tears as well as laughter, that there will be as much exposure to our vices as there is to our virtues.

On a basis of policy, politics, and content, the space satellite will not solve the fundamental problem of communications that has haunted man since time immemorial: What is he to say, and how is he to say it? A system of

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communications is totally neutral. Power sources, transmitters, and microphones have no vocabulary. Communication systems have no conscience, only a history. They will transmit both filth and inspiration with equal facility. Distortions and duplicity broadcast via satellite will still be propagated by humans.

What I am suggesting, gentlemen, is that space satellites will neither solve our dilemmas nor salve our consciences. Television and radio are still television and radio, whether transmitted from a tower 500 yards away or a satellite 500 miles above.

Let me summarize. Our Agency is concerned with the psychological impact abroad of what this nation does. Space communication will enhance our prestige. But we must have international cooperation on an unparalleled communications scale. Only this way can we scale the barriers to our hopes, and how we do it may be as vital as what we do. USIA will make use of such a system, provided the cost is economical enough and the signal good enough. It is immaterial to this Agency whether the system is publicly or privately owned so long as it runs and national interests are safeguarded. After all, it is not what it is, but how it works.

I state the case for satellite communications with caution, for it is important that we do not oversell our enthusiasm. Much of what we discuss will not be realized for the next several years, and some of it not until the next decade. Our current status is one of experimentation and development. It is well that we all remember that. We do ourselves and our hopes little good if we build up expectations abroad which we cannot satisfy for a long

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time to come.

Over much of this globe there are unfed bellies and tired bodies that will turn to our satellite system with but marginal interest. In many areas of this planet, the grindstone of poverty will still remain the lodestone of policy.

A system of communication satellites is a dream worth the trying. But history will record there were more people than nations, and more dreams than people. It may be that the history of our day will be decided by what dreams we choose to deliver. The issue, gentlemen, is not only how we deliver it; it is equally what our delivery has to say.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
Poor Richard Club, Philadelphia, Pa.
Thursday, September 14, 1961

IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am, indeed, in your debt. You have done me great honor.

Your club and our Agency have a strong bond in common -- the person of Benjamin Franklin. For you, he is a patron saint. For us, he is the man who was probably the first information or propaganda specialist that this country had. When the British brought Hessian mercenaries to help subdue the colonies 185 years ago, Franklin, along with Thomas Jefferson, distributed handbills and leaflets among the troops. The results were startling. Of the 30,000 Hessians, 5,000 of them defected. They settled here to become stalwart citizens of a new young country.

Franklin's success -- one out of six of his target audience -- is a goal for both of us to admire -- you as users of advertising, we as purveyors of information.

I read by your citation that I have been singled out for "imaginative thinking, unshakeable courage, fertile ideas and dedicated leadership." I

pause here, and the words come softly to mind of a North Carolina minister who responded to the praise of his introduction: "My heavens. I can hardly wait to see what I'm going to say."

As you of course know, I have traded in my private cudgels for a public mace. I am a bureaucrat, and I carry with me the knowledge that a much talking bureaucrat is an ill tuned instrument. Talking bureaucrats sometimes do not get the word. So it was that Captain Pearson of His Majesty's Navy posed the question amid the heat of battle: "Sir, do you give quarter?" John Paul Jones retorted with the now immortal, "I have not yet begun to fight." But I am reliably informed that upon that bloody deck in back of John Paul Jones there lay a crewman who, when he heard the remark, lifted himself on one elbow and cried out in anguish, "Always somebody don't get the word!"

I trust that I shall always as a bureaucrat be able to look back to get the word.. And I say this in full knowledge that it was Satchel Paige who sagely admonished one and all: "Never look back. Something may be gaining on you."

In asking me to speak today you imply that I must ignore that advice and look back on some 25 centuries of history and its lesson that speech-making is basic to man and a free society cannot exist without it. Or to put it in terms of any recent morning's headlines, we can either shoot it out or talk it out.

Communication -- and any understanding that comes from it -- is basic to humanity. It had its beginnings far back in the early dawn of pre-history when manlike animals first huddled together against the cold and the danger of a primitive world. Language itself came before history. Then followed an

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alphabet. And somewhere between the starting of language and the inventing of an alphabet came the vital steps of storing information and transmitting knowledge. Some ingenious mind discovered the sounds that could be made by beating a hollow container. Someone else noticed that fires could be seen from distant hill tops. Those first drum beats and smoke signals became the first broadcasts. Stone carved tablets became the first books. And the march of communications was on.

The Romans published a type of wall newspaper. To this day every newspaperman and agency head is in the debt of the first century Chinese who began making paper and ink. During the Middle Ages short documents were printed from wood blocks. On the eastern edge of Asia they began printing with metal type, and 15th Century Europe lay fascinated before that first Gutenberg Bible.

As David Reisman points out, the Western world would not be what it is without the printed word. We could not have fought World War II without the telephone. Gigantic high speed presses mass produce printed matter in almost unlimited volume at infinitesimally low unit cost. Plastic disc, wire, and magnetic tape give new dimension to communicating sound. With film we move into the higher dimension of moving visual imagery -- and embellish it with color. We have girdled our globe with cables and wires. With the electromagnetic spectrum we could, if we chose, take this voice to which you now listen and reflect it to any place on the globe where man may desire to hear it. Soon orbiting communication satellites will enable us to beam television in every direction and place save underground. And any and all of these signals can be captured on film or magnetic tape for countless replays. And with

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simultaneous or delayed translation we even surmount language barriers. There has been literally an explosion in communications. For a race of animals desiring to communicate with his brethren, we have, in the vernacular of my North Carolina forbears, come a purty fur piece.

We sometimes overlook how much communications control our very lives. Walter Lippmann speaks of an island where Englishmen and Germans lived together. The year was 1914, no cables reached the island, and the packet steamer came every 60 days. When last it called news was of an approaching murder trial on the Continent. When next it called the contented island of Englishmen and Germans learned their countries had been at war for six weeks, and that people who had been behaving as friends were in fact enemies. The island was never the same again. Communications, it seems, cannot only tell us whom to hate but, in the name of nationalism and the sanctity of treaties, whom to kill.

Thus did Robespierre tell the French Revolutionaries: "He who can phrase it can lead it." Joseph Conrad said: "If you give me the right word and the right accent in which to speak it, I can move the world." Ralph Waldo Emerson declared "there is no art more necessary to human kind than the art of putting things." Or as the thing was put by that perspicacious German, Thomas Mann: "Speech IS civilization."

It is in this calling of "phrasing it," of "putting it" that I have spent my own life. It is in many respects a noble calling. Nobility is a virtue with its own reward. All too often communications, which could be an art, is but big business. By its nature it seems destined to be controlled by the few, and therein lies its great danger.

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For what they control is our right to know. What man does not know, he can neither fear nor act upon. What man does know will largely control his behavior. If you tell him the world is flat, he will sail his ships to a point and no further. If you tell him that in a far country men have discovered yellow sand, he will drop his way of life and rush to search for gold. And if you tell him that one people are friends and another are enemies, he will like and dislike accordingly, and he will even in the surety of his knowledge drop his work and march to do battle. The way the world is imagined will determine what men will do.

So it is that this observer views with sadness what he can only describe as the "attack on truth." Truth and right are under seige. The marketplace of knowledge has been attacked by the adversary, and he will pervert any and every fact to gain his advantage.

Both our world and the Communist use many of the same words. We both speak of "peace." We both desire "freedom." We both proclaim "democracy." But the same words could never have more different meanings. Their "democracy" is the yoke of communism. Their "freedom" is the dictate of the police state. Their "peace" is the aggressive surge of their greed. As Clausewitz said: "Every aggressor wants peace. He would prefer to march in unopposed."

What better example than Berlin, 1961 -- a city divided by the wall. We say it makes captive part of a people. They say it is protection against saboteurs and spies. Our U. S. Information Agency in Berlin runs a broadcasting station called RIAS -- Radio in the American Sector. Basically it

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broadcasts news. It reports the truth, it makes commentaries upon that truth, but its dedication to the factual is undeviating. But our truth is their provocation. RIAS is villified as lies, spies, and packrats. This station was never designed as a provocation to the Soviet. That they find it so is not only a tribute to the power of truth but also a measure of the gulf that divides our two ways of life.

The preservation of our way of life is probably going to require an unprecedented act of self-discipline on the part of this nation. This is not a Berlin crisis. No one spoke of the crisis of 1938 as the Czechoslovakian crisis or the 1939 crisis as the Polish crisis. They were both created by one man. The so-called Berlin crisis was created by Khrushchev. In this crisis we have no cushion either in terms of time or distance. There is no opportunity for "those who are half asleep to become half ready." Each generation must pay its installment price for freedom. It is never purchased in perpetuity and it is not to be had in the bargain basement. At some point in time we face a rendezvous with those of our friends and ancestors who paid the earlier installments and I doubt that they paid the price in order that we may have a second outboard motor, color television or cigarettes that light themselves.

We are discovering that the price of leadership is high indeed, that our desire for easy and quick solutions is frequently frustrated, that we confront an adversary both cynical and ruthless, prepared and willing to keep his own people in ignorance while dealing in broken promises and raw terror.

What is at stake is not Berlin but the world and the manner in which its people shall live, whether fear will cause them to flinch or falter when the next payment for freedom falls due.

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What is one man's truth is another man's treason. Communicating our truth around the world is what currently occupies my days -- and of late, my evenings and weekends as well. The business of my agency is to make the policy of this country as designed by the President everywhere intelligible and wherever possible, palatable.

Our Agency operates in a difficult, not too well defined area. We embrace a multitude of disciplines and professions. For a quarter century I devoted my career to expression in a single medium of communication. USIA employs not one but seven: radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits, and the arts. We are involved in an entire range of problems: from a press run in Beirut, an exhibition in Turin, a stage performance in Munich and radio relays in Colombo. From a news telecast in Bogota to a sound tracked film strip in Paris to a book typeset in Manila -- upon all the myriad of details we initiate, we create, we facilitate.

But this is only half our problem. We deal not only in communications but in policy. We articulate and distribute not advertising for cigarettes or soap but clarifications of government policy and deeds. And we speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing levels of comprehension.

Information is our job. We endeavor to reflect with fidelity to our allies, to the uncommitted nations, as well as to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals.

I recognize, as I know you will too, that the role of our Agency has limits. We are but one arm of the U. S. Government. As such, we must respond to the policy of that government. To put it more bluntly, USIA can be no better than

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the policies it supports and explains. Yet within that limitation there are obviously practices and principles to which we are committed.

It is fundamental that we operate on a basis of truth. Ours is, and must be, a dedication to the factual.

But this itself poses difficulties. We operate abroad; our audience is foreign. And in this world there are no absolute standards of truth. One man's fact is another man's fiction. Our objective is, and must be credibility. It is easy to assume that because we tell the truth as we see it, others will believe us. But statements that are true are not always believed. It is a measure of our difficulty that in this relentless half-war, truth and credibility are not co-equal.

Candor and openness have their merits -- as the successful Alan Shepard flight demonstrated. They also have their demerits -- as the abortive Cuban episode demonstrated.

But if truth must be our guide, then dreams must be our goal. To the hunger of those masses yearning to be free, to this sleeping giant now stirring over so much that is our world, we shall say: "We share your dreams."

As a nation we have never been allergic to change. Ours was the first of the great revolutions. It is a birthright we do not intend to let go by default. Our responsibilities of nationhood are predicated on a helping hand to others who would elevate their crushing way of existence by change into a more bountiful society. We offer no panaceas, no final solutions. We offer to join in the search of human betterment. We offer our experience and our energies

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in partnership in the quest for greater human excellence. This we not only endorse. This we sponsor, and promote and provoke. A tradition of government by the governed, of revolution by consent -- all of these are among the greater virtues that we have to demonstrate to a world sorely in need of great virtues.

But to be effective, great virtues must first be communicated. We have come a long way since that day in the 1840's when a German named Paul Joseph Reuter decided that he would supplant palace scullery gossip in London with news flown from the continent by carrier pigeon. But there is still a barrier of untold enormity for the world of communicators. That barrier is the state of the world. At the outset I referred to the dawn of early communications. The centuries that have trod the dusty bye-ways of history have not brought us all to the same point in time. There are parts of this minor planet where the best communications are still the signal fire on the hill, the drum beat in the forest, or as in first days of Reuter's, the pigeon in the air.

The United Nations has inquired into the state of world communications. Their conclusion: nearly 70 per cent of the world's peoples lack even the barest means of being informed about developments at home, let alone in other countries.

But this statistic is optimistic. Standards set up by UNESCO for the inquiry were minimal and rudimentary. Even many countries above the 70 per cent line have communications systems far from adequate. The distribution of facilities is highly unbalanced. What facilities there are concentrate in urban areas. People who live in rural regions -- the dominant condition of this globe -- have virtually no communication contact at all.

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In Africa, for example, with a population of over 236 million peoples, newspapers reach less than 3 million. Not a single country on that continent possesses the UNESCO minimum requirements -- rudimentary as they are -- for communications and information. Fifteen countries have not a single daily paper.

In the Middle East, over 50 per cent of the newspaper circulation, 40 per cent of the radio receivers, and 42 per cent of the cinema capacity are concentrated in one small country. Of the 13 other countries, 6 of them have no daily press whatsoever.

In the Far East, with one out of every four persons on earth -- a population of 767 million -- newspapers reach but one and one/third per cent of the people. That leaves about 760 million unaccounted for. Films, commonplace to you in this room, have yet to be seen for the first time by millions of Asians.

These pose communication problems of staggering dimensions. And they resist ease of solution. Literacy is limited. There is no purchasing power to support the advertising or transmission rates which would support communications. There is no capital for communication development. Even with today's limited coverage there is a shortage of trained and technical staffing. There is inadequate electrification. Even present frequencies seriously overlap one another. There are no effective distribution systems. Newsprint and paper are in short supply. Languages abound; the one country of India has over 500 tongues and dialects. World-wide, the problem seems almost insoluble, as some tongues are not alphabetic but ideographic, and some have yet to be reduced to any written form.

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It would indeed be good to have "Improved Communication for Better Understanding." But sometimes the dimensions of our difficulties seem to conspire against us.

The corollary of this is, of course, that we must improve communications systems around the world. I agree. So do we all. But may I suggest another difficulty -- much overlooked in concern for improving communications?

I testified this summer before the House Science and Astronautics Committee. The subject was space communications satellites, and what it will mean to our country to project instant television around the globe. The difficulty can be stated in these 5 words: What are we to say?

We shall expand our communications, we shall orbit our satellites, we shall transmit our message to the world. But in the end we shall still deal with the basic elements of human communications: words and pictures. Space satellites and wider world communications will not make it any better. They will simply diffuse it over a wider area -- and more quickly.

On a basis of policy, politics, and content, improved communications will not solve the fundamental problem of communications that has haunted man since time immemorial: What is he to say, and how is he to say it?

A communications system is totally neutral. Power sources, transmitters and microphones have no vocabulary. Communication systems have no conscience, only a history. They will transmit both filth and inspiration with equal facility. Distortions and duplicity over new and improved communications will still be propagated by humans.

Television and radio are still television and radio, whether transmitted

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from a tower 500 yards away or from a satellite 500 miles above. Over much of this globe there are unfed bellies and tired bodies that will turn to progress in communications with but marginal interest. What I am suggesting, gentlemen, is that communications advancement will neither solve our dilemmas nor salve our consciences.

May I continue this subject but change our focus, and talk of "Improved Communication for Better Understanding" not in the world but in this country.

I have spent most of my life in the public arena of private broadcasting. There are aspects of other media that disturb me: I note with concern, for example, that in the last 30 years over a thousand newspapers have perished in the United States, that for the last half century the number of newspapers in this country has been contracting, and that today almost 95 per cent of American communities are one paper towns with no competing news view. It is further a pity that national newspaper criticism is virtually non-existent. I make no pretense of imposing on the sanctity of the free press.

But as broadcasting was my past, let me share with you the thoughts and concerns of a former TV-communicator still concerned with communicating.

In a country of 180 million people, there are now 50 million television sets. There are TV sets in four out of 5 U.S. homes; the reception range of TV covers 97 per cent of America's populated areas.

Exposure to television will increase. More and more people are spending less and less time at work. A century ago the average work week was 70 hours. By 1960, it was below 40 hours. And since the American worker for

every hour on the job now has two hours to spend at his discretion, and labor-saving devices make chores and tasks easier, more leisure time will undoubtedly be spent with television.

But this improved tool of communication will not necessarily lead to better understanding. No large segment of the public demands more information, or better presentation of it. Public affairs, and better understanding that might come of them, are not recreation. The public wants its fun. By the time most people turn on the television set the work of the day is over. After working hours, most people prefer to be called away from reality, not made to face it. Television by itself does not usher in the democratic millenium, and its inability to do so is not its own peculiar failure. It is due to the unwillingness of men and women, even in as highly developed a democracy as our own, to take more trouble to govern themselves better.

From this arises a problem which I suggest that, as communicators, we might all ponder with some concern. In a totalitarian state the role of television will not be to teach self government. Its main purpose will be to make the governed content not to govern themselves. It will be to distract, and even to entertain. It appears that what we now ask from television is precisely what totalitarian dictators will order when their countries have as much television as we have. For an oppressed people will surely need to be distracted if they are to be ruled by a despot.

Is it not, then, ironic, that we in the United States who ask so much entertainment from television, so much escapism, so much insulation from reality, are not having such programs imposed upon us by force. We adopt the

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choice freely. But it is a choice made without any awareness of the nature, the intensity, and the inevitability of the contest between the democracies and totalitarianism.

It is the duty of those who control television to use it as a sound mirror to reflect conditions as they are. If what is reflected on the end of that tube is bigotry, poverty, discrimination, or prejudice, that is wholesome so long as the picture is true. Where there is controversy, it must be reflected. We have no alternative so long as we are dedicated to the proposition that the "X" on the ballot is the most important letter in the political alphabet.

The real function of television -- indeed, of modern communications -- is to operate a market place where ideas may compete on equal footing.

There is no way to guarantee that television will prevent the voter from being as wrong as he has so often been in the past. Television offers no guarantee that demagogues can be kept from political power. It merely provides them with wider and more intimate, more immediate circulation. I doubt that with today's communications a Lincoln or a Jefferson could be either nominated or elected. According to reports, Jefferson had an abrasive voice, and did not suffer fools gladly. While being interviewed on some panel program he might have told an obnoxious questioner what he thought of him, and that would have been fatal. As for Lincoln, he did not move gracefully, he was not a handsome man, had a wife who was no political asset, and was a solitary man. He would probably at an early age have been sent to a school counselor, received a

negative report, told that his attitude of "togetherness" was all wrong, and advised to enter a trade school if he could find one to admit him.

Television must find a little more time to remind us of our inheritance, and it must find more than a little time for the dissenters, the heretics, the minority spokesmen who may be tomorrow's majority.

The camera and all communications must follow politicians in their public guise to the very limits of privacy and decency. When politicians complain that this turns their proceedings into a circus, it should be made clear that the circus was already there and that television merely demonstrated that not all the performers are well trained.

Television itself is a limited medium. It can amuse, entertain, and it can sell goods. It can arouse curiosity, and it can stimulate interest. But it cannot reason, and it is no substitute for reading.

Television and all modern communications won't save us, and probably it won't destroy us. It will, however, play an increasingly large role in our lives, and it may come to influence us greatly. The issue, I would suggest, it not so much what television does to us; it is rather what we do with television.

There is dishearteningly small indication that the great mass of the public senses its ability to influence what it is asked to see and hear. It accepts what it is given. It does little to force change or improvement.

Well phrased then was this epigram of advice from George Bernard Shaw: "We must get what we want, or we will come to want what we get."

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Release No. 42

Office of Public Information
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FOR RELEASE AT 9 P. M. EDT. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1961

MURROW URGES STEADINESS IN TIME OF GREAT TENSION

"We are approaching a time when the steadiness and the fortitude of this country will be tested as never before," Edward R. Murrow told several hundred members of the Radio Television News Directors Association convention in Washington tonight.

"Our nerves are going to be twisted and tortured, and we shall at some point be required to reach a collective conclusion as to whether we are prepared to pay another installment in the unending and escalating price of freedom," he said.

The Director of the United States Information Agency, addressing the closing session of the convention in the Statler-Hilton Hotel, offered his audience "a few general observations regarding the awesome responsibilities that confront you as I see them.

"If you are to discharge your responsibilities to your listeners, to your country and your conscience, you must have more information about government policy and purpose, not less, for the responsibility that now rests upon you is greater than that which has burdened communicators at any time in the long history of communications. The speed of the instruments you use represent a hazard and put a premium upon restraint, coolness and mature judgment. Your audience, in varying degrees, believes in you, trusts you. They probably think you know more than you do. Your credibility, your integrity, represent your only real asset.

"This country is now in a position where decisions must be made in an arena that is illuminated by the bright lights of television, where there is little time for hesitation. We have no cushion, as we have had in the past, in terms of time or distance. There will be no opportunity for those who are half asleep to become half ready. That is part of the price of leadership, part of the burden we bear as a result of the speed and power of modern weapons.

"Let me illustrate the change that has occurred by revealing a small footnote to the history of recent communications. Shortly after the outbreak of war in 1939, the majority of United States radio networks and certain government officials decided to terminate all news broadcasts from Europe. They were fearful lest emotional strain or physical danger would cause reporters to violate neutrality, agitate for action, or otherwise compromise the isolation, the detachment which we were determined to defend. That decision did not stand for more than 48 hours but it was taken.

"Now, as we face squarely the prospect of another and more terrible war, that question at least will not arise. But the old question that has troubled thoughtful men since speech began remains: what to say and how to say it, and the 'how' can be as important as the 'what.'

"We are, I think, approaching a time when the steadiness, the fortitude, of this country will be tested as never before. Our nerves are going to be twisted and tortured and we shall at some point be required to reach a collective conclusion as to whether we are prepared to pay another installment in the unending and escalating price of freedom. It is going to require, as I have said, an act of national self-discipline that is without precedent, and this appraisal, this estimate, of the worth of what we have must be carried out with a freedom of expression and reporting that is known in no other country. That is our way of doing things, and the way it is done is very largely your responsibility.

"You represent relatively new instruments of communication, but I have occasionally felt that you all too frequently have made your youth your oldest excuse for your shortcomings. You have the power and therefore you have the responsibility. Maturity is not measured by age but by performance.

"I would not like to be misunderstood. This is no plea for conformity or uncritical acceptance and support of the policies of this Administration. I hope that seven months or seven years as a bureaucrat will not change life-long convictions, but I do suggest that there isn't going to be any need in the coming months for anyone to hot-up his copy or to exaggerate the importance of events.

"There are and there will be disagreements between this government and its allies. I am not suggesting they should not be reported but rather put in perspective, with full recognition that the primary and consistent pattern of Russian policy for more than a decade has been to sunder the Western Allies.

"Honorable and dedicated men in this country will differ regarding the policies we should pursue. I am not suggesting that these differences should be ignored or glossed over. I am saying that our enemies and our Allies will be watching us, the way we talk, the manner in which we conduct ourselves, as never before. In the coming months, you will be writing and speaking not only a footnote to history but what could be the final chapter.

"I have worked intimately with many of you, know the manner of man you are, and have some knowledge of the power and influence you possess. So far as news is concerned, most of you will continue to try to get it first but first get it right, but I think the times require a recognition of a new responsibility. The responsibility rests uniquely upon you because you are so few and because you are in fact the eyes and ears of your fellow countrymen. I am not suggesting that you all become somber sentinels, intoning events and pronouncements of a magnitude beyond the grasp of most men. A little gaiety goes well with grimness and in the past, sane men have been able to tinge adversity with humor.

"Perhaps I could have said what I am trying to say with greater brevity by merely telling you a story, but I am reluctant to admit that I have reached an age when my own reminiscences fascinate me. However, it was all summed up early one morning at the end of the worst night of the London blitz. I had been driving around all night in an open car with an old and cynical friend, wise in the ways of reporting, and when we got back to our typewriters I confessed the obvious -- that I didn't know how to write the piece. He said: 'It is very simple, my boy. Just sit down and write it as thought it were your last one because you know it might be.'"

In describing the work of the U. S. Information Agency, Mr. Murrow said:

"What we endeavor is to reflect, with fidelity to our Allies, to the uncommitted nations, and even indeed to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals. We not only seek to show people who we are and how we live; we must also engage others in the delicate, difficult art of human persuasion, to explain why we do what we do.

"To accomplish this, we use many media of communication: radio, television, movies, newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, exhibits, trade fairs, the arts, teaching and education, personal contact, face-to-face conversation.

"The range of expertise that we need in a foreign service officer is enought to make an educated man long for illiteracy. But note that communications are only half our job. We deal as well in policy. We must make the policy of this government everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. We must speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures and styles, of vastly differing levels of comprehension.

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For we speak not to a receiving-set saturated audience of one culture in one country speaking one language -- as you gentlemen do. Our media must talk to both peons and professors, to the illiterates of Central America, to the natives of Ghana, to the Muslim shopkeeper, to the Indian Hindu, to the Japanese scholar.

"This means we must approach them in their own country, whatever its climate or terrain -- in their own language, whatever its dialect -- on their own level, whatever its depth. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes of the product we promote: the hopes and actions of the United States government.

"This means that our work is endless and varied. Much of what we do is unglamorous, much of it thankless. In many areas apathy and suspicion are the enemies of understanding. Preconceptions about this country abound abroad. Much of what people think is distorted, unfavorable. Often our success is measured in good-will gained, or simply in the removal of ill-will. Much of the best work of USIA is long term, quiet, unsensational.

"Our hours are long. Our work product is well-nigh staggering. Our radio, the Voice of America, broadcasts live over 95 hours a day in 36 languages -- on occasion, up to 62 languages. The Communists spend six times as much money trying to jam us as we spend broadcasting; and they use 2,000 jamming transmitters against our 87 broadcasting transmitters. But the Voice does get through. Our wireless file puts out up to 8 - 10,000 words a day to each of five major world areas. Then our 219 posts in 99 countries translate it into countless local languages for local press. We turn out over 50 magazines in 23 languages. Last year we printed over 12 million pamphlets. We publish some 25 small newspapers, wall posters, and other periodicals. Over three-quarters of a million photo prints went out last year, and if syndication is your interest, we run cartoon continuity features in more than 2,700 newspapers, including the world's most widely read cartoon.

"We distributed 6 million books last year. We run 176 libraries and 85 reading rooms in 80 countries and 128 bi-national centers in 35 countries. Almost a quarter million people studied English with USIA last year, we ran 87 seminars for 5,000 teachers abroad, 150 exhibits and expositions made their way around the world, and we shipped out 11,000 musical scores and 25,000 records.

"In television our market is rapidly expanding. We air ship tapes and kines to stations in 57 countries. In movies we play films overseas to an audience weekly of about 150 million people."

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U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
American Council on Education, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.
Thursday, October 5, 1961

AMERICA'S INTELLECTUAL IMAGE ABROAD

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Distinguished Presidents of the Universities of America, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let me thank you, Dr. Wilson, for your kind invitation to address you gentlemen today. I cannot help but smile at this opportunity, as I gaze around a roomful of college and university professors. When I look back upon my own college days, I recall that the sight of just One president would have been enough to frighten me, but the thought of a whole roomful would have been petrifying. At the time I had nothing against college presidents. I suspect there might have been a basic dichotomy in educational philosophies because I agreed with Robert Lynd that there is something wrong in an educational system which does not recognize that some human beings are born with an incapacity to spell. Of course my only exposure to presidents occurred when they came to speak to us. Their rhetoric was sobering indeed, and the only balm to my troubled young conscience came from the comforting lines of an African proverb that runs:

"The lion that roars is not the lion that kills."

I trust that this afternoon you will hear no roaring. There is no play on words intended when I comment that in this room today rests a lion's share of the responsibility for our country's future. But it has always been so with educators. From the days of those early universities in Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, responsibility for the future has always weighed heavily on the shoulders of educators. There is a story told of the famed Boston conductor, Serge Koussevitzky. Three centuries of musical genius were oft-times too much for the fabled Koussevitzky to bear. It was after one halcyon performance that an impassioned fan fell on her knees before the conductor and grasping him by the legs cried out, "Oh, Master, you conducted

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like you were God today." Koussevitzky is reported to have burst into tears and cried back: "Yes, and think of the awful responsibility, too!"

These are sobering times for all of us, and all of us bear a portion of the heavy responsibility that is now ours. It is the bane of an educator's existence that no matter how you discharge your responsibility you will be subject to criticism. Perhaps we at least share that in common, for it is the same as well with the duties I daily discharge. Even worse, we must realize that with the forces of malignity daily pressing in on our way of life, there is the frightful realization that how we now conduct ourselves may do more than just determine human history. It may even end it.

I approached the thought of my remarks today with great trepidation. I was reluctant to come bearing pearls of wisdom to an assemblage of such overt erudition. I felt somehow very close to those words of Will Rogers, who said: "Any man that knows enough to say nothing always wins the admiration of those of us who feel that we can do the talking much better than he can anyway."

I would have much preferred being a listener today, and let you gentlemen do the talking.

But it was Will Rogers who also gave me my cue as to how I might overcome my trepidation. This cracker barrel philosopher once remarked: "There is nothing so foolish as an educated man if you get off the thing he was educated in."

I have been summoned here as a public servant, and it occurs to me that if I speak to you about some of my public duties we will be "off the thing you was educated in," and I can then speak with a greater degree of confidence.

You have asked me to address myself to the subject of "America's Intellectual Image Abroad." To do so requires that I share with you some of the experiences that daily concern me in my work.

Most people, I find, are rather ignorant about just what the U. S. Information Agency is and does. This is understandable. Our product is invisible. Its goals are intangible. By Congressional mandate we operate from the shores of this country outward. Thus whatever we do is for export only.

This ignorance is reflected in our mail. Letter-writers have sent us requests to "send me all your information on counterfeiting," and "please rush me all the facts on bullet wounds, fast." Others have inquired "what percentage of your people are juveniles, how can I figure out which TV

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newcasters are Republicans, and why are most auctioneers called Colonel?" Do-it-yourself fans have written for information on how to bottle peanut butter, refinish driftwood, operate bongo drums and make low-calorie soft drinks.

Well, we do deal in information, but of slightly different import. We are engaged in that vague, ill defined area of telling America's story abroad and turning politics into understanding. What we endeavor is to reflect with fidelity to our Allies, to uncommitted nations, and even to our enemies not only our policy but our ideals. We not only seek to show people who we are and how we live; we must also engage others in the delicate, difficult area of human persuasion, to explain why we do what we do.

To accomplish this we use many media of communication: radio, television, movies, newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, exhibits, trade fairs, the arts, teaching and education, personal contact, face-to-face conversation.

We must speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures. Our media must be able to talk to both peons and professors, to Brazilian illiterates and Israeli intellectuals, to Congolese natives, to Muslim shopkeepers and to Indian Hindus, to the Filipino merchant and the Japanese scholar.

This means we approach them in their own country, whatever its climate or terrain -- in their own language, whatever its dialect or difficulty -- in their own style of comprehension, whatever its level. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes of the product we promote: the hopes and actions of the United States government.

Much of our work is unglamorous, much of it thankless. For in many areas, apathy and suspicion are the enemies of understanding. Often our success is measured in terms of good-will gained, or sometimes simply in the removal of ill-will.

I shall not burden you with details of most of our operations. Our radio broadcasts over 90 hours a day in up to 62 different languages. Our television services stations in 57 countries. Our movies can reach a weekly film audience of about 150 million people. Our newspaper wireless file sends out some 10,000 words a day to each of five major world areas. We turn out over 50 magazines in 23 languages. We print over 12 million pamphlets, and publish some 25 small newspapers, wall posters, and periodicals.

All of this, of course, does bear on America's intellectual image abroad. But the President of your Council, Dr. Wilson, has informed me that in August

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of this year you numbered well over a thousand educational institutions in your membership. I would rather concentrate on what our Agency does in education and learning.

There is abroad in the world a great hunger for knowledge and information about this country and its people. It was the Englishman Sir Sidney Smith who wrote in the Edinburgh Review in 1820: "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book, or goes to an American play, or looks at an American picture or statue?" Our globe is physically about the same as when Sir Sidney knew it, but the change in its intellectual temper has been staggering. In our generation the Atlantic civilization is literally exploding upon the rest of the world. Satisfying this great hunger for knowledge and information about this land and the people who live here is part of the job of my Agency.

Apart from where foreign politics and the Cold War confine our operations, the core of our operations on the intellectual front is our libraries. To call them simply libraries is misleading. They do stock over 2 and a quarter million volumes that reached about 26 million persons last year; that's a lot of circulation for books, magazines, newspapers, other periodicals. But these locales of ours do so much more than lend books that they can only be described by a catch-all phrase, "Cultural Center." They show documentary films, display exhibits, stage concerts and lectures, organize seminars and study groups, provide special activities for children and youth groups, place programs on local radio and television.

A former Mexican Foreign Minister is reported to have said to an American diplomat: "The United States has done many fine things for Mexico. You spent fifty million dollars helping us eradicate hoof-and-mouth disease. You have constructed sewage systems in each of our towns along the border. You have helped us build health clinics and other public works throughout the country. But the finest single thing you have ever done for us, in my opinion, was the establishment of the Benjamin Franklin Library."

One must agree with the foreign minister that our USIS libraries are one of the finest things we have done in many countries. We have 176 of them, along with 85 reading rooms, in 80 Free World countries.

It is perhaps a paradoxical comment upon our success that USIS centers and libraries are usually the first objects of rioting mobs and demonstrators. Our libraries have been pillaged in Bogota, Baghdad, Athens, Beirut, Algiers, Calcutta, Taipei, Cyprus and, to a lesser degree, in half a dozen other places. Yet often the rioters themselves return to use our facilities; our attendance does not slacken after such demonstrations. Local citizenry quite often pitch in to help with the clean-up and repair. Once in Athens the cadets in the Greek

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Naval Academy began a campaign to raise funds for repairs, and even carried the campaign into the public schools.

Attackers assail our libraries for many reasons. Some are nationalist outbursts; others are admittedly Communist fomented. But their very concentration upon our posts shows the enhanced position of the United States in world affairs and the potency of the ideas and ideals we have to offer.

I find it equally interesting to note that when we have decided to close a library or cultural center -- for budgetary or other reasons -- local townspeople almost invariably petition us to keep it open. In Germany some cities have even built new buildings and offered them free of charge to keep libraries from closing.

In lands with few cities but many people we take our culture and books to the people. By truck and caravan we plumb the depths of the jungle and the foothills of the Andes. By raft and riverboat we navigate the Indus and the Amazon to take the culture of our country wherever men have eyes to see and ears to hear.

I dare say that everyone in my organization had cause to smile, save the officer involved in the episode, when word came from an African post that one of our travelling bookmobiles had been put out of commission by a three-way collision with a caribou cart and a pepsi-cola truck.

In many countries, locally sponsored institutions are also serving in the cause of our country's culture. We call them Binational Centers. They are locally formed by the people of the area in cooperation with the United States. Their purpose is to promote the ties that bind the host country and the United States. Each center is indigenous, non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian. We supply services, top personnel, facilities and books. But their very strength is in their local autonomy, their local roots, their local participation. There are 128 of these binational centers today, many of them in South America.

We participate quite heavily in the pioneering spade work of building education in lands emerging from illiteracy. These lands have an urgent desire to absorb as much as they can as fast as they can. Carbon copies of educational systems and practices in this country are of little avail. But our experience is of great use, and this we parcel out with an abundant hand for the local people to adapt to their own needs.

For example, we gave the Nepal Government College of Education a collection of 250 books on education to use both for present training and as models for developing texts for Nepal schools. In Pakistan, the Ministry of

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Education is using a set of our textbooks to guide it in the writing of history texts for secondary schools in Pakistan.

We also have had an active role in encouraging the establishment of American studies courses in overseas universities. In India, for example, by judicious placement of book presentations American studies programs are underway in universities in Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, and Madras. The trend is spreading to Japan and Brazil, and has its greatest momentum in Western Europe -- England, Germany and Italy.

Just as much of the world would share our knowledge and emulate our machine age productivity, so would they speak our language. Teaching the English tongue is high on our list of activities. Last year almost a quarter of a million people in 55 countries took instruction in English. We ran some 87 seminars for over 5,000 local teachers of English who will in turn reach over a million students.

I could amaze you with tales of the impact of English in foreign lands. There is a man in Latin America who rides all day and all night on horseback to get to his English lesson, then returns home the same distance. In Africa a group of chieftains was told that English lessons would have to be postponed because there were no chairs in the newly-built USIA building. So they showed up anyway -- each carrying his own chair. In Central America a small boy barely large enough to reach the counter came to pay tuition for English lessons. He asked shyly if it was all right for him to come bare-footed. He was told yes, and it was only much later that we discovered he had sold his only pair of shoes to pay for the lessons. In Mexico City the announcement of English lessons drew such a crowd a day in advance that special police were called to stand guard through the night. And the next morning when USIA opened who were the first ones through the doors to register? The special police.

In Africa we number among our English pupils several Prime Ministers, plus Cabinet ministers and high officials too numerous to catalogue. In one country we even laid on special English lessons for the entire Cabinet -- at the special request of the country's Chief Executive.

But most astonishing of all is this story from Cairo -- completely true. The Russians built a cultural center, and sat back to wait for the business that did not come. They sent agents to observe what kept drawing crowds to our USIS Library-cultural center which was doing a booming business. They reported back that the most observable popular difference was that English was taught. So the Russians did the obvious -- when you can't beat 'em, you join 'em. At the Soviet cultural center they began teaching English.

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Parallelling this interest in speaking in our tongue is the passion for reading of our knowledge. And so USIA promotes the publication of books -- 7-1/2 million of them published overseas last year, in English and in other languages. By assisting foreign publishers and encouraging translations of American books, the average output has been around 6,000,000 books a year over the last decade -- and this in 50 languages. We last year also distributed some 3-1/2 million books and magazines contributed by American voluntary collections. And we have specialty programs as well -- low price paperback editions that sell for the equivalent of 10 to 15 cents, special Ladder editions of books for those with limited English facility, done in vocabularies of 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 words.

One of the more encouraging aspects of our book program is the use of our textbooks in foreign educational systems. Burma, Indonesia, India, Israel, Pakistan, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the United Arab Republic are all training part of their youth with educational texts obtained through this country.

Let me speak frankly about another aspect of this unremitting war we wage for the wits of men. On the publishing front we are out-gunned by the competition. Last year alone, Russian books distributed to non-Communist countries rose by 30% to a high of 40 million volumes. It will come as no surprise when I add that the greatest increase came in under-developed countries. Furthermore, the Communists added 7 new languages last year, all of them South Asian.

It is obvious that what they peddle is not ideas but ideology. There is not near so much Tolstoy, Dostoevski, and Turgenev as there is Marx, Engels, and Lenin. And it is equally well to note that my figure of 40 million was for books produced in Russia alone; there is perhaps twice this amount of publishing done outside the USSR and Red China. For example, only last week Radio Peking reported nearly half a million copies of Spanish language publications sold in Cuba alone, the bulk of this being translations of the works of Mao Tse-Tung.

It was inevitable, I suppose, than any discussion of America's intellectual image abroad would drift onto the shoals of the present great political confrontation. But let me also share with you an interesting bit of intelligence handed me by some of my colleagues at the Agency. In terms of politics, policies, and constitutions, we have discovered that a good many of the newly established nations of Africa have adopted elements and ideas from the United States Constitution. Written guarantees of human rights similar to our own are written into the constitutions of Guinea, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Tunisia, the Republic of the Congo, Libya, Cameroun, and Senegal. The separation of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial branches is differentiated in the constitutions of Somalia, Senegal, Guinea and

Cameroun. And going beyond Africa, there are similarities in language, structure, or concept in the constitutions of Argentina, Australia, Burma, India, Japan, Italy, Liberia, Switzerland, West Germany, and the Philippines.

There is in this, I would suggest, a clue as to part of our intellectual image abroad. Ours was the first of the great world revolutions. In Henry Steele Commager's happy phrase, we are the oldest of the "new" nations -- the first to be made out of an old world colony, the oldest written constitution, the oldest continuous federal system, and the oldest practice of self-government of any nation. It is as a great revolutionary power that much of the world has looked upon us. One of our libraries in Africa, for example, reported a greater demand for the Federalist Papers in four weeks time that the New York Public Library -- one of the largest in this hemisphere -- reported in a year.

It is obvious, however, that people abroad judge us by more than just the standards of Jefferson, Franklin, and Washington. This is because this country has lived a century and a half of experience since the early days of liberty unleashed.

Today, from Norway to Nyasaland, from Rio to Rangoon, the face of America goes out in movies, television, magazines, and the press. Our military, with fighters and their families, number one million abroad. Four million other Americans travel overseas each year as tourists. Another half million Americans live overseas for reasons embracing both business and pleasure. Foundations, educational exchanges, and international scholarships send our young intellectuals and their studious professors swarming to foreign universities.

If you therefore ask me to define America's intellectual image abroad, I must reply that in large measure it mirrors the externals of our life at home.

Italy has built its first drive-in movie. Davy Crockett coonskins hunt Indians in the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe. England, heaven bless its warm draught lager, has turned to drinking cold beer in cans. American blue jeans and slacks vie with the kimono in Japan. Popcorn and potato chips are rampant in Taipei. Nairobi has its parking meters, there are skyscrapers in Johannesburg and supermarkets in Leopoldville. Air conditioning has engulfed Santiago. And even Moscow has succumbed not only to jazz and Louis Armstrong but also -- heaven help the Kremlin -- to American installment buying. Khrushchev and his minions may say they represent the wave of the future, but the whitecaps of that wave are spewing up peanut shells and hot dog wrappers which, like pollen on the breeze, spread over the continents.

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This means that the American intellectual image is not isolated nor easily defineable. It is a frame of mind. It may be based on personal tastes or individual prejudices. It may be real or fancied. It may come from what each person has read, the movies he has seen, the stories he has heard, the people he has met. Quite obviously, an intellectual with his wider range of communication resources will have one type of image, the man in the street with more limited exposure another type.

And we find as well that the image of America changes with the passage of time. There was a generation of men for whom this country was only a frontier land with whatever culture it had imported from Europe. Yet I note as obvious commentary on the change of world regard for American letters that when Ernest Hemingway died in July of this year a single American literary magazine featured comment by de Madariaga of Spain, Moraes of India, Carlo Levi of Italy, Pryce-Jones of England, and Ehrenburg of Russia.

Some have long regarded us as the land of the mass, of the big numbers. What lover of music, for example, could adore a land that boasted not about its gifted performers but about 1,177 symphony orchestras from Boston to San Diego? Van Cliburn may not yet be another Paderewski, but he has contributed much to altering our image overseas as a land of quality as well as quantity -- as, indeed, have countless other artists and performers that we have sent abroad.

Perhaps this means that what others think of us is confusing and contradictory. We are both damned and praised, and often for the same thing. I recall James Michener's remark that he found the intellectuals of other countries airily dismissing American writing, drama, dance, and music as derivative and second rate, but at the same time admitting that much of the best art in the world today comes from New York City.

I could put this another way by saying that the image and opinion people abroad have of us is directly commensurate with what we here do and say. The press, the movies, the television, the radio -- all these blare abroad what we bare at home. This means there are no more domestic issues. The speech of a single Senator to a hometown audience can have more impact abroad than months of our Agency's informational activities. The picture of a burning bus in Birmingham may only illustrate the rapidity of electronic journalism to you here at home, but to those of us who operate abroad it means black letter headlines and abject explanations, for the story will be emblazoned on the front page of every newspaper East of the Atlantic and West of the Pacific.

Nor do our explanations avail us much comfort. Our post in Khartoum reported in June, for example, that the coverage of freedom riders rivalled the story of the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in Vienna. But when our officers offered material on the other side of the coin, the Sudanese editors shrugged their shoulders. "The positive side just isn't news," said one newsman.

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We have lost the luxury of living in Fortress America. What we say and what we feel, what we do and what we don't do is absorbed, debated, and pondered on all shores of every nation. Never in history has any nation been so much in the eye of so many who knew so little about us.

And it may be equally as true that we ourselves may know too little about our own land. Foreigners quite naturally tend to believe what they see and hear with their own eyes and ears. If the multitude of Americans who go abroad -- for government, for business, or for pleasure -- cannot adequately represent our country, then who can? Who can best speak for America if not Americans themselves?

And to educators who go overseas, I can add this further bit of advice: the most effective academicians abroad are those who carry in their baggage a healthy curiosity outside their own discipline.

I have resisted the temptation to burden you with educational homilies of my own. It would be presumptious for me to read you a lecture on how American universities should be run. We would, again in Will Rogers' words, be getting back "into the thing you was educated in." But there are a few thoughts I would share with you as long as you are a captive audience.

I have two concerns in the fore of my thoughts.

First is youth itself. I am told by European friends who have seen and wandered about U.S. colleges that we are raising a new generation of disciples who tend to shun controversy. They will not ask the tough or the embarrassing question. In this land of political heretics like Jefferson and Tom Paine there seems today an absence of intellectual heretics. I wonder if this be true. Not only would you know better than I, but you might be in a position to turn reflection into motion if you find this true.

I wonder further if there is not also a preoccupation by youth with security. It would indeed be tragic if the coming generation were to be rooted not in ideals or action but in its own security, occuring as this does in the least secure world that man has known.

There is, further, a disinclination to the service of man, a preoccupation with the gainful pursuit of money, position, and status.

Let me confess that this conjures up a most curious contradiction. The Communists are said to have the most materialistic philosophy in the world, whereas this country is reputed to follow the most materialistic life in the world. May I suggest that perhaps we might do more to bring our practices in line with our principles?

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No graduate of any college, nor any set of parents, has ever paid for an education entirely. Society and the past have contributed a goodly measure. Candor compels me to observe that there is implicit in this a sense of obligation and a debt to be discharged. It is here that I choose my words most carefully: if the primary purpose of a college student is merely technical training for personal gain, then we are all of us losers in the bargain. If the primary purpose of college education is personal profit at the expense of the society that made possible the education, if there be no effort to discharge that debt, then history will be the collector.

Second, I have some concern with science, not with science itself but with what it is we do with science.

The output of laboratory and research has been truly astounding. From penicillin to supersonic flight, from personality control to space exploration to painless childbirth, the revolutionary advances of recent decades have been staggering. So revolutionary, in fact, that some scientists suggest that we are at the stage where virtually any problem of human existence can be solved if only it is properly formulated and its solution diligently pursued for a long enough period of time.

And yet to the challenge of our desires, the world around us holds what kind of promise? There are overpopulated continents jammed with starving populations. There is polluted air from both the exploding bomb and the exploding metropolis. There is the galloping regimentation of mechanized life. And poised over all, Damocletian-like, is the hint of nuclear catastrophe.

I have few talents as a historian, but I seem to recall that since the dawn of science men have believed that the problems of our species could be solved through science. I have not yet foresworn so optimistic a prognosis, but in these anxious days I sometimes pause, and doubts begin to assail me.

If I do not mistake the mood of men among whom I am privileged to live, I would confess to observing a certain disenchantment. Science, it is true, has improved our comfort and increased our command. But the further man moves from his early origins the less contentment will he find in merely removing discomfort and increasing command over nature.

The Englishman Ritchie Calder stated that scientists leave their discoveries like foundlings on the doorstep of society; the step-parents do not know how to bring them up. And it is here, then, that education receives its most imperative, almost terrible, burden to fulfill. In an age when we can achieve almost anything we want, the issue for society becomes WHAT it is that we choose to do. Science can determine the fate of humanity -- and it will unless it be directed.

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It is for society to decide what goals it wishes to reach and how it is that we are to reach them. In this endeavor scientists will surely take part. But they cannot make this determination alone. They must be accompanied by others. It is only the educated society, the principled society, the human society, that can make such decisions. And it is to gentlemen such as you in this room upon whom the burden falls so to educate our society.

It was the Englishman Benjamin Disraeli who said: "Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends." Gentlemen of education, it is largely in your power that this fate is so consigned. May you use your power with talents, and with wisdom.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Release No. 43

Office of Public Information
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FOR RELEASE AT 1:00 P.M., EDT, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1961

MURROW HAILS
BERLIN COURAGE

Following is the text of remarks made today by Edward R. Murrow, Director of the United States Information Agency, in presenting the annual Freedom Award to Willy Brandt, Lord Mayor of Free Berlin. The ceremony, held on the twentieth anniversary of Freedom House, took place at a luncheon at the Hotel Commodore in New York.

"We gather here on the 20th anniversary of Freedom House in whose honor we are assembled. And this Assemblage has as well a more purposeful aim -- paying honor to the recipient of this year's Annual Freedom Award.

"I have looked at the roll of your predecessors of this Award, Herr Brandt. I find thereon names that are distinguished and names that I am privileged to count among my own good acquaintances. I note also the names of Sumner Welles, George Marshall, Arthur Vandenberg: these men were giants of their day, and the society of free men, among whom they trod, is now the less for the fact that they are no longer with us.

"But it would indeed be churlish of me to dwell upon the merits of past recipients. You were gracious enough to honor me with such a presentation in 1954. I note with a pang of pleasure mixed with heartache that the previous year you gave your award for the first time to men of a country other than our own -- the United Nations Soldier in Korea. And the man who accepted that award is the man whose bereavement weighs heavily upon the hearts and hopes of us all -- the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold.

"I am no man for trends or statistics, but I deem it a token of our times that of your last 6 awards 5 have gone to men who come from beyond our shores -- Sir Winston Churchill, President Ramon Magsaysay, Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Dr. Paul-Henri Spaak, and Alan Paton. As one of the minor lights in a constellation of bright eminences, let me welcome you, Herr Brandt, to the fellowship of a distinguished company. It is a mantle you will wear, I am sure, with an air of unadorned grace.

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"For by so recognizing you we give currency to our concern over your fate and the fate of those who live in your city. Theirs is the residence of the brave, for they dwell in the shadow of tyranny.

"Your city is a city that has known tyranny. It is a city once destroyed by tyranny. And it now stands as a sentinel beacon against the gutted shell of life that contaminates the land around it. Berlin has demonstrated its will to be free. It has maintained its freedom behind the Iron Curtain where no other spot of freedom exists. But it is a locale today burdened by a cruel fate. A wall divides this place. Khrushchev's vicious vivisection of the city condemns it to live in the shadow of a wall -- erected to prevent men,women and children from coming into a land of freedom and dignity.

"Yours is not the first wall of Europe. The Roman Empire built a wall -- a wall to keep out the barbarians. Unlike the wall of Berlin built to keep its own people captive, this Roman wall took nearly 150 years to build -- with wooden towers, connecting massive forts of masonry, crenalated walls of mortar, ditches and ramparts around its base. From the reign of Hadrian through Caracalla, they built this frontier stretching from the Danube to the upper Rhine. This defensive wall against barbarian attack lasted but a pitiful handful of years. Then the tribes from the north swept over it, and in the third century it was abandoned. Its only use was to supply peasants and farmers with stones for their farms and roadways and homes.

"To you and your people of Free Berlin, Herr Mayor, I feel it worth predicting that the wall of Ulbricht will be no more enduring.

"But I find still another text of classicial history worth the mention here. In the last chapter of Edward Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," he describes the liveried inscriptions of the most conspicuous knights who fought in the Roman games. These three stand out in recollection: 'Though sad, I am strong. Strong as I am great. If I fall -- addressing himself to the spectators -- you fall with me.'

"Edward Gibbon could as well have been writing about you, Willy Brandt, and your Berliners. Though saddened by the wall, you are strong. You are strong as you are great. And if you fall -- addressed perhaps to us as spectators -- we fall with you.

"And so it is that Freedom House has chosen to bestow its Annual Freedom Award upon the shoulders of Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin. It was in 1950 when the Freedom Bell was brought to West Berlin that freedom scrolls came from millions of Americans bearing these words:

"'I believe in the sacredness and dignity of the individual;

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" 'I believe that all men derive the right to freedom equal from God;

" 'I pledge to resist aggression and tyranny wherever they appear on earth;'

"These are times of stress for free men everywhere. A great struggle is wracking the peoples of this minor planet, testing whether our company of free men has the will to remain free. From 1945 to the present there has been unremitting pressure upon our way of life. From 1945 to the present Berlin has known the scourge of the Soviet Army, the privations of the blockade, and the unrelenting malignity of the Communist intent. As a predecessor of Mayor Brandt's, Ernst Reuter, once said, 'more than ever we must not slacken in our courage so that we may stand up to the great struggle that has not yet come to an end. The ebb-tide is passed, and now the flood-tide has set in.'

"The city of Mayor Brandt, West Berlin, is a city under siege. We shall all of us share in its ultimate destiny. There is a great act of courage afoot in the world today, and it is committed daily by the more than two million people who continue to reside in West Berlin. It is to them through you, Mayor Brandt, that we now mutually address ourselves to this common proposition: where men have the will to be free, they will be free. And, as is inscribed on the Freedom Bell of Berlin in 10 tons of bronze: 'That this world, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom.'

"So it is with a respect for the past and a hope for the future that the Freedom House plaque, in bronze, is presented this year with this inscription:

Annual Freedom Award

To Mayor Willy Brandt

In the Shadow of Tyranny

Your Integrity and Courage

Sustain the Spirit of Liberty

Freedom House 1961 "

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

Release No. 48

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 4:30 p.m. E.S.T. SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1961

Following is an address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director of the U.S. Information Agency
at a forum-dinner with representatives of
the film industry in Hollywood, November 5, 1961

It is not often that I come to dine and speak among friends. There are faces here that I know well. We all of us share in common the fact that we are the step-children of modern communications. We have supped together, and it is with the pleasant taste of cuisine still on my palate that I recall Ambrose Bierce's definition of the word, "Abdomen: The temple of the God Stomach, in whose worship, with sacrificial rights, all true men engage."

And we men, true and now well-fed, are also known as connoisseurs of the fine art of taste and entertainment. I can never forget that tale of the ultimate in the art of "connoisseur-manship." An old wine bibber had been smashed in a railway collision. Some wine was poured upon his lips to revive him. He opened his eyes, murmured "Chateau Margaux, 1937" and then died.

I can already imagine in that sometime year of nineteen-never-sixty a connoisseur of films, in sheer ecstasy at the delight before his eyes on the screen, keeling over with the words on his lips, "Sam Goldwyn, 1957." and then passing out never to be revived.

It was also Ambrose Bierce who described a connoisseur as a specialist who knows everything about something and nothing about anything else.

I appear here as a "smatterer." One who has spent most of his life as a reporter and editor and who is now privileged to participate in certain decisions regarding U.S. foreign policy and then to attempt the explanation and exposition of those policies abroad.

It will come, I am sure, as no surprise to you gentlemen to learn that you and your product are well known abroad. Half or more of the adult population of, for example, Britain, France, and Italy and a third in West

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Germany have seen American movies. Outside this country 150,000,000 tickets are bought each week to see Hollywood films. The bulk of screen time throughout the world is devoted to showing American films, for better or for worse, and in some areas it runs as high as 90 per cent.

I am not here to tell you how to run your business, what pictures to make or how to make them. It is dangerous to give advice -- fatal to give good advice -- and so I suggest that we might usefully talk together as to how we may together enlist our talents and our toil in the service of our country.

You control or greatly influence an instrument of communication of great power and versatility. You operate and you export without control or coercion except insofar as foreign governments impose quotas. You compete for the attention of the world with all others who make pictures that move. You ask no subsidy from the government and the government seeks to exercise no control over you.

That is as it should be. However, all men who communicate, regardless of the instruments they use, now share a common problem. That problem is the survival of free men. I bandy no words when I say these are testing times, and in the times ahead there may be even greater tests of our will to survive. What I am suggesting is that this problem concerns you in Hollywood as much as it does us in Washington.

It is important that you understand this. My purpose is not to pillory an industry at fault with its function. Quite the contrary, much of the image of America around the world is due to the American film. You have in your product communicated our sense of generosity, our large-heartedness, our capacity for change, our egalitarian ideal that here a man is a man, our horizon of opportunity, our sense of growth and concern.

I myself have not yet reached the age where my own reminiscences fascinate me. But I have seen certain crises and conflicts and have at times been moderately well paid for observing how men and women conduct themselves under such conditions. There was Vienna at the time of the Anschluss -- the betrayal of Czechoslovakia -- Dunkirk -- the British Expedition to Norway -- the Blitz in London -- and that year when Britain fought alone. There was North Africa, Normandy, Buchenwald and Dachau, the first months of the war in Korea, too many international conferences to count. The brief periods of tranquility are lost in the memory of turmoil.

And yet I am persuaded that new crises of greater magnitude impend. Decisions of great complexity and greater consequence are just over the horizon. Our oceans have become rivers, our dreams have become doubts and the very atmosphere is harsh.

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We live in an age of terror. No man can see the end of it. This state of perpetual crisis will inevitably produce a certain sense of frustration in a people accustomed to seek and find with few exceptions easy and quick solutions to our national problems. The times require an act of national self-discipline that is wholly unprecedented in our history. We must avoid the peaks of optimism and the valleys of despair and must recognize that we have no cushion in terms of time or distance.

It is long since this country has suffered or sacrificed. It is long since our ability to stand steady in our shoes in time of adversity has been tested. I suggest that the testing time approaches. If we are to meet that test -- and all previous crises must be regarded as prelude to it -- then we must combine patience with fortitude. We must recognize that there are no easy answers and that difficulty is an excuse history never accepts.

The immediate flash point is Berlin. It is a crisis of world wide dimensions and the result will determine whether the hypothesis upon which this country was created will survive.

As we are nibbled at in Berlin, in Laos, Vietnam and elsewhere, there will be those who look about for domestic scapegoats, those who say let us imitate the Communists. Let us resort to threat and terror, rely only on force, forget about world opinion, silence dissent and argument in this country. In the very process of protecting liberty we could lose that which we are preparing to defend.

It was, I believe, Adolf Hitler who said that the great strength of the totalitarian state was that it would force those who feared it to imitate it.

There are those who demand a restatement of our national purpose. I suggest it is not needed. The basic papers are still there -- the Bill of Rights might evoke debate, but in the end it would still pass the present Congress.

The present danger is that men who have known freedom, who have been nourished on it, and those who are experiencing it for the first time may be tempted to make peace with their fears. They may be terrorized into terminating their responsibility for making the tough individual decisions. They may conclude that material things are in the saddle, that the individual is helpless and his influence unfelt.

In this climate, what my Agency USIA does or what Hollywood does will not determine the course of world history. But a contribution can be made. I am fully aware of the contribution made by Hollywood in the late great war and in Korea. You were generous and unstinting of your time and your talent. The Republic is in greater danger now than even during those wars.

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For then mistakes could be retrieved. Only battles hung in the balance. But now the balance weighs civilization itself. The foe we face is skillful and implacable. He is able to operate on the world scene with every device of deceit, terror, and bribery. He is able to operate ventures for political purposes at an economic loss. He is able to deny his own people knowledge of his own acts or the reaction to them. And we must compete in cold blood and in freedom.

I can add that the political competition thinks rather highly of what you do. It was Joseph Stalin who said: "The cinema is the greatest means of mass agitation. The task is to take it into our hands." It was a man by the name of Lenin who said earlier: "Of all the arts, for us the most important one is the cinema." And Joseph Stalin also is reported once to have remarked about the people who sit in this room: "If I could control the medium of the American motion pictures I would need nothing else in order to convert the entire world to Communism."

If you come so well regarded by the opposition, you are an asset too valuable to lose.

It was a little more than a week ago tonight that Carl Sandburg came to Washington at the request of the President's Cabinet and Mrs. Kennedy. He sat with us, he read to us, and he sang to us. With a heart still young in a breast not yet aged this 82 year old son of the hills of America had something to say that I think worth mentioning to you gentlemen and ladies. I give you his exact words:

> "I meet people occasionally who think that motion pictures, the product that Hollywood makes, is merely entertainment, has nothing to do with education. That's one of the darndest fool fallacies that is current. When I was a motion picture editor on the Chicago Daily News we used to report what was a four handkerchief picture as distinguished from the two handkerchief picture. Anything that brings you to tears by way of drama does something to the deepest roots of your personality. All movies good or bad are educational and Hollywood is the foremost educational institution on earth, an audience that runs into an estimated 800 million to a billion. What, Hollywood, more important than Harvard? The answer is, not as clean as Harvard, but nevertheless, farther reaching."

Movies can and do have an extraordinary impact upon peoples in the emerging lands. Film potential for accomplishment is as limitless as the human imagination for which it serves as fuel.

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Going even further, the impact of movies on illiterate societies can be profound. If a man cannot read or write, seeing and experiencing are his only paths to knowledge. Many an African owes his present level of general knowledge to foreign films. For example, in four West African cities among those who cannot read almost 40 per cent are regular moviegoers. These people learn what they never knew before, and they also learn to advance what they already know.

But doesn't this disturb you? Pause a moment, and consider the proposition that whatever these people know of the United States they have largely learned from Hollywood's product. Are you satisfied with the way you have pictured America as a place to live? I shall resist the temptation of adopting the critic's garb and reciting an indictment of alleged movieland ills. But I shall make one comment. There are many people abroad who think that Chicago is still wracked by gang warfare, that the West is still wild, that beyond the Mississippi lie badlands still perilled by warring Indians, that all other Americans live in penthouse apartments, drive limousine-dimension convertibles, wear tailored furs, and that any woman without a 40 inch bust and 20 inch waist and any man not gilded with the golden head of Adonis must not be an American. How do they know all this? They say they saw it in the movies.

Going even further, many Africans regard Hollywood films as portraying an African Adam and Eve living in an American conceived Garden of Evil. Many Hollywood films paint Africa as being only untracked jungle, ferocious tribesmen, savagery and ignorance dominating an existence of squalor by people rooted in their own primitiveness.

One American film company, for an African epic, flew animals from New York City to Africa for its picture. The message implied: wild animals are at home among Africans, and they should be pictured together. African tribesmen in gaudy dress and warpaint carry spears and shields and dance in a background of shouts and warwhoops. The message: Africans are an unintelligent menial lot obsessed with a bloodthirsty lust. In another film an African is savagely clubbed to death by a member of a rival tribe. The message: bestiality is the sole prerogative of Africans. Still another film showed an American hunter who left his young son in the care of a "trusted" African servant but when he returned he found his son slain by a gang led by the same African. The message: when Africans work under white men, they are good and peaceful; when the white men leave, violence erupts and they kill.

This last film, incidentally, concluded its story-line with this American revolting from any control by local British administration, tracking the assailant through the jungle, killing in the course of his search a lion, a buffalo, crocodiles, and assorted animals, and finding time between killings for a passion-provoked love affair. Quite a lesson, you must agree, for this country to be exporting to Africa.

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This may appear to you to be a caricature. But I have caricatured your pictures, and what they do, no more than some of your pictures have caricatured the way of life they purport to present.

I try to view this not only through my eyes but through the eyes of Africans I have met. I need hardly add that when Africans view such films about their lands and their lives they hardly stand up and cheer with delight.

But this goes further. Africans remember their "colonial" past, but African eyes are trained on the present and how it moulds the future. In an ear when they struggle to gain independence to join the family of nations, they regard such films as propaganda used by accomplices of the "colonizers" to support the argument that Africans are too immature to rule themselves. Africans do not appreciate the implicit message of many films that no African society is capable of independent intelligent leadership without white advice.

One final thought about Africa and Hollywood movies. Africa today is neither Communist nor capitalist. Africa is ambitious. Its people would, either with or without our help, seek relief from a crushing way of existence. They observe in the produce of Hollywood the progress that has been the hallmark of this wide and capacious land: huge factories, endless highways, innumerable automobiles, massive skyscrapers, countless machines, a land, in fact, so abundant that units of measure sometimes give way to adjectives in the superlative degree: the biggest, largest, longest, widest, hugest, in one word, the most.

Africa,too, is a wide land, and if preliminary estimates are an indication, it is,like our country, capaciously endowed. Having seen our abundance, they would seek our assistance in their struggle to emancipate peoples from poverty. If we join them, Hollywood and this land must learn a lesson. We must not divide men into primitive and civilized, superior and inferior. Those labels only justify the cult of injustice, self aggrandizement, the exercise of power. This minor planet on which we live is inhabited by men. There is no primitive or civilized man. Some men live in primitive conditions, others in civilized conditions. But there is only one species of man on the earth.

Much of your output is probably beyond the realm of our discussion tonight. You are engaged essentially in the business of entertainment, and this is no unsavory undertaking. To give relief for a few small coins from the tedium and toil that is life on so much of our globe is a worthy goal. As one of our USIA posts reported in a despatch: "This country's theater-goers prefer light entertainment to thought provoking themes."

But in seeking to entertain I wonder if on occasion you do not permit acceptability to outweigh desirability. I wonder how much truth there is if we compare the celluloid world of America with the real world of America. I can also quote another despatch from a USIA post abroad: "The picture of a grasping, materialistic U.S. society is everywhere to be seen by the lower classes for about 10 to 20 cents a ticket."

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The box office proves that your basic product appeals to people. Let me share with you this despatch from Latin America: "Films dealing with crime, violence, horror and sex usually give unfavorable impressions of life in the United States. However, regardless of the impressions received, moviegoers seem to enjoy American films thoroughly."

But let me be blunt about this. Films may provide a high level of audience enjoyment and at the same time convey an equally high level of negative impressions about the United States. Because audiences like the extremities of story-telling is no reason to feed them that to the exclusion of all else. Children like candy. They will eat it to excess if fed only that. But no man in his right mind would prescribe a diet of chocolate bars and ice cream. Self restraint and control make a healthy child. I suggest that the image conveyed abroad of our land is not always a healthy one, and self restraint may nowdays be a good prescription.

If we were to postulate, and I submit that this is true, that we are engaged in a great competition for the minds of the struggling peoples of the globe, what we present to those minds may be more than important. It may be vital. In many corners of the globe the major source of impressions about this country are in the movies they meet. Would we want a future-day Gibbon or Macaulay recounting the saga of America with movies as his prime source of knowledge? Yet for much of the globe, Hollywood is just that -- a prime, if not sole, source of knowledge. If a man totally ignorant of America were to judge our land and its civilization based on Hollywood alone, what conclusions do you think he might come to? Opinions may differ. I for one am not optimistic about the result.

Preposterous, you say. It is entertainment. People see it, accept it and judge it on the basis of light fiction alone. They must know that the West is not wild, that we do not live with horror, that terror, sex, sin, and violence is not the daily way of American life, that there is another side to our land than all this celluloid make-believe.

I suggest they do not know the contrary.

Come look over my shoulder again at some of the papers on my desk about the impact of Hollywood abroad.

From Thailand a study of several thousands of the well-educated Thailand citizens -- the "elite" of that country. They had seen American pictures, and 40 per cent of them believed that they were given a true picture of our country. Another 8 per cent said they though the picture of America was "partly true." Do you realize this means half the educated people of that pivotal Southeast Asian country believe that the film America is the real America?

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From Indonesia: "The majority of the Indonesian population is still illiterate... The masses learn of America and of our American way of life from moving pictures. They are to a large extent pictures of crime and violence... pictures cruelly distorting our way of life... This is a deplorable argument against us that we ourselves furnish to our Communist enemies; an argument vivid, strong, hardly forgettable."

Forty-six visitors from 18 countries -- foreign leaders brought to this country -- were asked about American movies. Note this interesting figure: four out of five of them said that movies were the source of images about this country held by their countrymen and that the masses of people in their homeland believed what they saw.

To personalize it a bit more, sample these comments from individual foreign leaders speaking of U.S. movies in their lands:

From India -- "Movies are doing a lot of harm to America. They convey the notion that America is a country of millionaires and crooks."

From Latin America: "Movies are a terrible influence... South Americans take the American movies seriously. They think everything they see is true."

From Southeast Asia: "Movies misrepresent... we think of American housewives as useless drones always smoking and drinking cocktails."

Those are extreme opinions, some naive. But the important thing is not what we think about their thoughts, but the fact that they think as they do about our land.

My concern about their opinions arises from a deep conviction that what others believe about us is important, indeed may be decisive. It is currently fashionable to discount "world opinion." If we come to hold world opinion in contempt then we may conclude that the opinion of the individual in our own country is of no account. It is true that our arsenal of nuclear weapons is adequate to any demands that may be made upon it. If it comes to a killing match, those of us who are left in this generous and capacious land will have won it. Meanwhile, we must persuade lest we and millions elsewhere perish. Those who communicate are responsible for what is communicated.

You have already played a large role. I want you now to suggest an even greater role. In times like these everyone has more responsibility than makes him comfortable. But as these are uncomfortable times so must we shoulder uncomfortable burdens.

Ours is the burden of world leadership. I will be candid and observe that the deep concern -- even the passion -- with which American movies are

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regarded is but a tribute both to you and to the United States. A movie by any other name from any other country would still be a movie, but not subject to near so rigorous an inspection. But people around the world feel that their fates will largely be determined by what we here do or do not do.

Having here introduced the verb form, "to do," let me mention some of my own ideas about what can be done in this relentless world of ours.

First, let me puncture an objectionable balloon before it is inflated. That's the subject of censorship.

I have talked with many foreigners and some Americans abroad and from their comments arises more than just a passing appetite to censor. They firmly insist that somebody should control the export of Hollywood.

I have always countered this appetite to censor with a few simple questions. Who is to do the censoring? Once you begin, where do you stop? Why not apply it to books, to magazines, television and radio, as well as films? Why not in the end of the day apply it to human beings, the best communicators of all? Censorship is no answer. It has no terminal point. It would be a denial of the hypothesis upon which this country was created and it would destroy the very human institutions which we now defend. But it is in our tradition and I think entirely permissible in this type of discourse for a government official to suggest that those who export films should recognize that in the kind of implacable savage competition in which we are now engaged, celluloid represents a strategic commodity. Weapons of discredit and distortion should not be placed in the hands of our enemies or before the eyes of our friends.

I trust this will not be regarded as in any way a plea for a great outpouring of films of social significance designed to improve the image of the United States abroad. Merely to entertain is to create a favorable climate of opinion. But it is not a totally entertaining world in which we reside. You have the overwhelming power both to entertain and to inform.

I would be bold enough to suggest that the history of this land, done as only your skills could do it, could reap great benefits abroad and solidify the purpose of our own people. We are in a period of great crisis and in time of crisis modern nations go back to their rootholds and examine the very essence from which they came. It was not accident that during the battle of Britain, the posters carried a quote from Elizabeth the First, that the BBC's theme came from Cromwell's great marching song, General de Gaulle reached for the Cross of Lorraine as his symbol with the sure instinct of a man who knew his history and his people. Even the Russians in the dark days, when German armor cut like a scythe through their country, forgot about orthodox Communist doctrine and went back to Peter the Great and Suvorov. In desperate days people are

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what they have been. They desire to be worthy of their ancestors who suffered, sacrificed and achieved the degree of dignity and independence they now enjoy.

A type of cavalcade of America would help immeasurably abroad. An intense curiosity around the world raises more questions about this country than we can ever answer. We answer them in words. You can answer them in pictures. What I have in mind is an epic on America, a travelogue to end all travelogue, the trip that any reasonably intelligent man would take, showing what we are like, how we live, and what we do.

Parenthetically, I might add that commercial films made by Pan American and Greyhound some years back are still important weapons in any film arsenal that translates America abroad.

Further, there is going on around the periphery of Communism a centrifugal type of action with people spilling out at all corners. Refugees flow from Cuba, from Tibet, from Berlin and Hungary. I have talked with some of these people. If there is drama among human beings, there is drama here. Must we wait for an event to become history to turn to it?

What more dramatic excitement could one wish than the vicious vivisection of a city by the Ulbricht wall in Berlin? Or ranging back a few years, the Hungarian revolution in 1956, the Poznan riots in Poland, the East Berlin uprising in '53, or for that matter, the Berlin Airlift in 1948. If you want to be on the front lines of the War of Confrontation between our way of life and the Soviet, the subjects are as numerous as there are people to live them. And there are literally millions of people living them every week of the year.

Is there a reason not to have films on the Allied Alliance in the last war, showing the efficacy of alliances and the agreements the Russians solemnly swore to and just as solemnly broke?

American politics itself could bear explaining. Illustrate, for example, the drama of a citizen protest bringing about a political result. This is democracy in the raw, and it is democracy in the United States.

The world is inordinately cautious about our scientific achievements. My agency provides all the information it can, and it is still not enough. Hollywood could dramatically turn its lights to American superiority in science, and all of us would share the gain.

I have yet to see a picture where anyone ever pays taxes. We are asking people abroad, most immediately in Latin America, to make sacrifices for the good of us all. They conceive of these requests as coming from America, the land of the plush, where everyone is so rich no sacrifices are needed. A little bright white light on this would help as well.

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There have been cables from posts abroad commenting on the exquisitely inept fare offered by this country at some of the smaller film festivals. I venture to suggest that in these days there are no small jobs or small festivals, but only small people. Hollywood could well pay more attention to our representation at international events.

I am not here to tell you what picture to make or not make, export or not export. I am here mainly to suggest that you take into account another dimension not normally present in the movie making process. That dimension is simply this: In a time when pressure is paramount and our way of life is in peril, how can I best serve my country and my people?

We are not asking you to surrender the prerogatives of the free press to cover any aspect of America that you choose. We are not asking you to load your guns in favor of this Administration. But we are asking you to deal in truth with yourselves and your country's future, and to realize that what you do will be seen, absorbed, and felt by millions of people the world over.

You people have chosen to work in Hollywood. By the nature of what you do, this makes you citizens of not only the United States but of the world.

It is this peculiar combination of history, destiny, and scrutiny that imposes these unusual burdens upon us -- upon you and your colleagues as well as upon me and my agency. To you in the private sector of endeavor, it may be unfair. But it is also inescapable.

We live in a world we did not make. We are beset with burdens we did not seek. We all of us have an obligation to pay our debts to humanity and to our heritage. If we choose not to meet those obligations, then history will be the collector.

The issue, I suggest, is not if we can afford to make the effort. The issue is how do we go about it.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Public Relations Society of America, Houston, Texas
Monday, November 13, 1961

Thank you for your kind words. I know that I am among friends this morning. For the U.S. Information Agency and the Public Relations Society, like the Colonel's Lady and Judy O'Grady, are sisters under the skin. We both work for others -- you for clients and firms; my Agency for 180 million Americans. We both are in the business of persuasion -- for you, the American public; for us, peoples everywhere abroad.

I have, as many of you no doubt know, recently returned from a trip to Latin America. It was indeed sobering to witness people across a continent chained to the rack of reality, their very dreams purloined from the bounty which you and I daily share. But amid the tedium of this turmoil I cannot forget one episode of humanity, particularly because it dealt with public relations.

A boy from a small village was describing to an old friend life in the big city. He told of his apartment and his money, bright lights, cafes, night spots, and the inevitable conquests over ladies demure in their demurrals. He then mentioned his job: he had gone into public relations. The friend was aghast. With mind harking back to those episodes with the ladies of the evening, his old friend stammered: "Public I can understand. Relations I can understand. But my boy, relations in public!"

I had not so intended it, but there may be a moral in this story. These are unsteady times, and nearly everything we do is public. Time has lost its intimacy. We all of us in this country share the hot white light of world attention. It is more with humility than courage that I suggest that what we now do or do not do may more than influence the course of mankind. It may end it as well.

There is for us all an adequate portion of responsibility. If memory serves me well, few men bore responsibility so well as the late great conductor of the

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Boston Symphony, the fabled Serge Koussevitsky. It was after one halcyon concert that an adoring fan ran to Koussevitsky and fell enraptured at his feet. Grasping his knees, she threw back her head and sighed: "Oh master, you conducted this evening like you were God!" Koussevitsky is said to have burst into tears and sobbed: "Yes. And think of the awful responsibility, too!"

There rests upon all of us today a sane sober sense of our "awful responsibility." Discharging our small portion of that responsibility is the task of the United States Information Agency. We are engaged in that difficult to define area of telling our tale abroad and putting our policy plainly but precisely in the primary terms of understandability. If this country believes that the end of the day will be carried not by force of arms but by force of persuasion, the job we do is a key to our very survival. I for one am persuaded that we have no alternative: we must persuade, or perish in the attempt.

And so it is that we undertake to explain the terms of our existence to the species of man inhabiting this minor planet. We broadcast radio. We make films. We produce television. We wire-service local papers, print magazines and newspapers, and circulate pamphlets. We distribute books. We run libraries and information centers. We teach English. We package traveling exhibits, sponsor exchanges, seminars, and cultural groups. We seek to persuade foreign editors. We consult foreign cabinet ministers. We talk to university students. In the process, we seek to convince that the goal we seek is a guide for enrichment and not a guise for enslavement.

It is this, I suggest, that makes this generation of Americans a rather unique strain of that unique animal called man. We seek not foreign dominion, not self-aggrandizement, but only the realization of those things in life that other peoples would have for themselves. Does anyone doubt for a moment that with the power this country can marshal and the pressure we can focus that we could command the destiny of man if we so chose? It is a tribute to our way of life that we have chosen to let man choose his own destiny.

And therein lies the nut of our difficulties. It is simple to impose one's own will by force. It is far more bedeviling to let those wills develop as others would will them.

Our adversary crushes freedom. We build it. Our adversary snuffs out the flickering fires of free choice. We seek to light them, then keep them glowing. Our adversary promulgates a premise of power. We postulate a precept of inviolate individuality.

It is this that sets us off from our opponents. And it is this transmission of our hopes and our dreams that engages my colleagues and me in the long execution of our many appointed tasks. We truly labor in the service of an ideal. Our days are long. I myself have never worked harder nor enjoyed

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anything more since the end of the war. I must needs proceed with rapidity to keep pace with my younger associates. And as we labor in the agony of our self-criticism and the perfection of our tasks, there is little doubt among us that this is truly the age of the "New Zeal."

But as you are Public Relations executives, let me move from platitudes to practices. Let me take a circumstance that concerns us all -- Berlin. Let's call it a living public relations laboratory of how the Berlin story was deliberated and then disseminated for all the world to see.

It was August 13th when Khrushchev's vicious vivisection began. I arrived in Berlin that Saturday night four hours before it all commenced. I was "privileged", if that be the right word, to witness the barbarous brutality of a way of life that clanged shut its Iron Curtain on its own people. It was a moving story. It was a story well worth the telling.

This is how we told it.

We began with priorities.

Films, , radio, television and newsreels, press and periodicals, exhibits, pamphlets, libraries and lecture programs -- all turned their immediate collective efforts to the Berlin theme. We spread the news of what occurred. The theme was a simple one. We simply told the truth.

We said there was no "Berlin crisis," only a "Khrushchev crisis", stampeded and started in Moscow. We told how the danger to Free Berlin was a danger to free peoples everywhere. It was and is but one erupted blister on the face of Communism's vaulting world-wide ambition. We prefer negotiations to fighting, but we and our Allies have given a solemn commitment to Free Berlin. We intend, even at high cost, to keep Free Berlin free.

The Voice of America, now on the air over 100 hours every day in 36 languages, concentrated on Berlin news coverage, commentaries and features. We did a one hour documentary, "Berlin, 1961," a three-part series, "The Manufactured Crisis," and another seven-part series, "The Berlin Story." These were placed worldwide on local stations.

President Kennedy's July 25 Berlin speech and his September 25 UN address went round the world live in English, and was re-broadcast at peak listening times in 35 other languages. Total estimated audience for each broadcast -- over 20 million.

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In motion pictures, we filmed the President's two addresses, and today upwards of 900 prints of each of them are circulating in 95 countries.

A 20 minute documentary, "Journey Across Berlin," was released world-wide in 30 languages. Bolivia's biggest newspaper called it "a sensational documentary." Rome's television showed it to to 5,000,000 viewers. Rio reported 1,400 theaters across the country carrying it, called for 15 additional prints, said "the demand is fantastic." The 2,000 seat Buyuk theater in Ankara held over the film 10 days despite customary changes of feature films in half that time.

Another documentary, "Promise to History," was seen by 70,000 in Turkey and caused a box office rush in Monrovia, Liberia. "Day of Denial" depicted the August 13 border closing in Berlin and went to 1,200 theaters in Brazil, another 1,000 in Argentina. We filmed the Vice President's visit and the arrival in Berlin of U.S. troops; it went to 80 theaters in Ceylon for an audience of 350 to 400,000 people.

"Ask Those Who Know," a 20-minute documentary on worldwide refugees from Communism pegged to Berlin; "Hour of Challenge," an adaptation with illustrative visuals of the President's UN address - these too joined our impressive distribution list to show the demoniacal demeanor of Communism.

In television, we utilized these films and made other products for the TV medium itself. "Anatomy of Aggression" was a half-hour documentary linking Communist pressure in Berlin to Communist aggression worldwide. It went to 67 posts in 51 countries. "Focus: Berlin, Barbed Wire World" was another TV effort that went to 54 posts in 38 countries.

News clips and features have repeatedly been placed in the popular monthly African film magazine, "Today" -- a show hitting 30 countries and an estimated annual audience of 30 million. Berlin portions went into the Latin American weekly television program, "Panorama Panamericano," going to 38 cities in 16 countries at peak viewing time to over 12 million people.

Our press and wire service has been filing heavy coverage -- features, hard news, side-bars, commentaries, backgrounders -- for placement in local newspapers and magazines by overseas posts - - 90 key USIS offices in the five major world areas.

The President's Berlin speeches had such rapid translation and transmission that several dozen leading newspapers, from Montevideo to Manila, were able to carry the texts in full, and hundreds of others carried

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extensive extracts, summaries, and highlights.

Our 65 overseas periodicals have regularly carried illustrated articles on Berlin; their aggregate circulation runs to nearly 3 million. We also boast the world's widest read cartoon continuity strip, and cartoon panels told the Berlin story for over 100 million readers of 1,246 newspapers in 56 countries.

We prepared an illustrated packet of 15 background articles on the postwar history of Berlin, the human aspects of refugees and Communist oppression. Posts reported very heavy local usage.

With posts around the world we have done much cross-reporting. Editorials, interviews, and eyewitness accounts by Asian, African, and Latin American visitors to Berlin are cross-reported from one continent to another in support of the U.S. position.

USIA Information Centers -- 261 of them in 80 countries -- have mounted special window displays, photos, charts, and texts on Berlin. They sponsored lectures, seminars, and forums on Berlin, and featured books and magazine articles on the subject in their libraries.

We pitched in with the Berlin city government to help bring more than 750 journalists from 80 countries to see for themselves the Ulbricht wall. A special Berlin photo pamphlet, in large size magazine format with dramatic photographs, is getting worldwide distribution in over 3 million copies in 11 languages.

As you can see, we have been indeed busy with a steady drumfire. One cannot revoke the past, but one can continue escalating the price the Soviets must pay for their action. We will continue the drumfire.

But I would be remiss in responsibility if I gave the impression that we only react while the Communists act. We have initiated some pretty good things ourselves. Some draw Communist fire. In other instances, the Communists have stubbed their toes, and badly.

The score-sheet will bear scrutiny continent by continent.

Take the Far East.

In Laos we beat the Communists to the draw by turning an ancient strolling troubador tradition into a potent weapon of warning against a Communist take-over. The minstrels are called Mohlam singers. They have put on morality plays about local happenings for centuries. They are literally the town criers, the TV, the newspapers of jungle Laos. Working with the Royal Lao Government we built into the Mohlam plays the modern

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story of Communism's plot against the peoples and culture of Southeast Asia. We multiply the audience by filming the plays for showing wherever USIS and Lao teams can navigate a river or a trail or drop in by helicopter with portable generator and movie projector.

In one part of Southeast Asia our magazine, Free World, has the status of money. Ferry operators accept it as fare in lieu of the local currency.

In the island area of the South Pacific - Indonesian Borneo - the Soviets lost prestige by bungling the construction of a major highway through virgin rain forests and swamps. Then an American oil company with American bulldozer operators laid down 84 miles of new highway. Indonesians extolled the job. Russian arguments that the highway was motivated by capitalistic greed get short shrift by Indonesians in those areas.

In the Middle East, when Turkey began drafting its new constitution, the USIS library at Ankara was asked for basic works on American democratic institutions. Elements of that Turkish Constitution are based on material in the American reference documents supplied by USIA.

The story is duplicated elsewhere. The same happened with Pakistan's Constitution Commission. Further, the Pakistani Minister of Education borrowed several dozens of textbooks for his committee which was writing history texts for Pakistan secondary schools.

Our USIS library in Calcutta with its 22,000 volumes does as much business as does the National Library with its over one million volumes. In New Delhi the reconvening of Parliament hits USIS with an extra workload because of the requests which come to our reference desk.

This may not satisfy your sense of drama. But all our work is not intended to be dramatic or glamorous. The moulding of national constitutions, the forming of national educational systems, the assisting of national parliaments -- out of such fabric, I suggest, comes more lasting long range good for this country than many of the dramatic headline events.

In Africa we attract a significant response to teaching English. Class enrollments read like a Who's Who of the country involved. In Somalia, one third the national legislature is studying English with USIS. When we started up in Togo this summer 40 out of the country's 51 members of Parliament were in the first class. In another country we number half a dozen cabinet members, and the President of still another country has urged us to teach English in his capital and has promised to be the first to enroll.

Or take our libraries. When we opened a new one in Blantyre,

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Nyasaland, 400 people were lined up on the street waiting for entry. Within 3 hours 600 of the library's 750 books were borrowed and gone; the shelves were soon bare. In Marrakech the response to our opening was so overwhelming that membership cards had to be limited to attendance one day a week, with a different color for each day.

Perhaps most delightful of all, one library patron happened to have the same name as the country's Prime Minister. He was sent a book overdue notice. Mail being what it is, the card was delivered by mistake to the Prime Minister. He picked up the phone, dispatched his driver, and in short time delivered both borrower and book to the USIS library. We kept the book, released the borrower, and returned the Prime Minister's car and chauffeur. Very few libraries can make that statement.

In Latin America we produce an anti-Communist type of soap opera for radio. You would not believe its popularity. In an important mining city in Bolivia, for example, the local radio station broadcasting the show received a petition from the managers of the local movie houses. They asked the station not to air the program at the time of the commercial film showings because movie attendance dropped appreciably when these programs were broadcast.

More delightful still is this tale out of Mexico City. The day before English lessons were to begin at the USIS center, crowds waiting to register became so large that local police were called out to control the mobs. The next morning when USIS opened for registration, who were the first ones through the doors? The local police.

An obvious question arises. Why not do more? Part of the answer lies in people, good people, to do the work. We have good people -- but not enough of them. Another lies in time to do the job properly. But the biggest part of it is in money to spend. Take Mexico as an example. Our budget for this fiscal year is about 750,000 dollars. Cuban-Soviet propaganda in the country is estimated at 7 million dollars. That comes to about 10 to 1 against us, and this is only one country in one continent.

Much, I suggest, remains to be done.

None of us is yet in the trenches, but we are all in the front line. Any man who deludes himself that this world struggle does not concern him personally and intimately deserves that dire destiny to which his indifference may consign us all.

To avert that decree and make for us the life which we all would lead is a task to which we are summoned.

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How, then, can you help?

There is, as I am sure you are aware, a Public Relations Panel on Policies and Techniques set up for the purpose of advising USIA. The original purpose of the Panel was not to meet as a corporate body but to serve as a resource pool from which individuals would be consulted on specific problems. I propose to return to this interpretation of the Panel's original charter.

Much more important, of course, is not what we ponder in my office or yours in this country. It is rather what we perform in our work and yours in countries abroad. It is here that our interests virtually coincide. I would submit a maxim of overseas operations that concerns us both -- we in the government of foreign affairs, you in the private sector of business abroad. The maxim is five words: We stand or fall together.

If our foreign policy is successful, American business abroad can thrive. If it is not, your business climate becomes stormy. In the final analysis the success of American business abroad rests on a premise of general American respect. It is going to be difficult for you to continue business abroad if our foreign policy objectives are not achieved. For if our foreign policy falters and fumbles, the world will begin to slip into the hands of regimes, if not outright pro-Communist, at least anti-American.

But the converse concerns me as well. I am involved with that foreign policy. It will be difficult, indeed impossible, for us to make that policy successful unless we have the support and assistance of all major segments of American society; specifically, I mean American business abroad.

A number concerns us here--- 35,000. There are today over 35,000 representatives of U.S. business abroad -- more people, in fact, than the combined totals of the Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency, and the foreign aid agency, A.I.D.

USIA has long since learned the value of personal contact overseas. One of our recent research efforts shows that a significant proportion of people among the leadership abroad has formed its impressions about this country from U.S. citizens in foreign lands.

These 35,000 people abroad have their own circles of associates, friends, acquaintances, and contacts. They are usually quite different from those of the official American community. Because of the nature of business abroad, these different associates are frequently people of very considerable influence and importance. An American businessman will commonly discuss world problems with his friends and contacts. What he says often has repercussions far broader than he often realizes.

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What I am saying is not that an American businessman abroad must speak with guarded tongue. Nor must he speak with a tongue parroting the government line. But he must, at the very least, know the facts about which he speaks. If he talks from ignorance and personal bias, he merely does injury to himself, to the country, to the way of life we seek to preserve. And it is sometimes a grave injury. Conversely, if he be informed and his knowledge accurate, he can be a very helpful influence on his foreign friends.

Our Agency has undertaken a project of working with American business -- the better to inform their representatives overseas. Berlin came first. We had a State Department background paper on the Berlin crisis. Over 150 firms have cooperated in sending to their representatives abroad information on Berlin. Next came the President's disarmament proposals unveiled at the United Nations recently. 104 firms are cooperating by sending this information to their overseas personnel.

This is just a beginning. In the weeks and months ahead, officers of my Agency -- specifically from the Office of Private Cooperation -- will be contacting your firms to work out cooperative projects. These will be adjusted to the twin criteria of our foreign policy objectives and the resources of your individual firm. I need no reassurance that I can count on your assistance.

But we need your help in areas other than just the informational. The goods your clients produce can often produce good overseas. We are faced frequently with programming needs abroad that either cannot -- or in some cases, should not -- be met by USIA.

An example will help. One of our posts in Africa saw a need to establish in its Information Center a typing center. This was important, for in this way the center became identified as part of the country's development and not merely a foreign propaganda center. The center had no typewriters for this purpose. Odd as it may sound, neither did we back here. So we turned to private cooperation to fill the bill. Through the aid of a typewriter manufacturer and an oil company transporting to this particular country, we met this program need. And who benefitted? The Agency and our center, that country and its ambitions, this country and its goals, and those firms and their business.

Instances like this occur daily. I need not tell you that many of them go as needs unrequited.. Where possible, of course, we give appropriate credit to the cooperating firms. Within the limits of your resources, I trust you will receive my representatives sympathetically when they call on you for future assistance.

There is naturally an area of growing cooperation between Embassies

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overseas and USIS posts and businesses overseas. This will continue. But I am certain you can appreciate that many matters can not be handled on a local level. It is very important that your representatives abroad know that the company back home wants them to cooperate with both the local Embassy and its USIS officer -- not only in terms of informing themselves on foreign policy but also in using company funds to support local projects in our mutual interest. This can only come from the home office.

By executive fiat the Soviet Union can marshal all its not inconsiderable resources behind its foreign policy goals. We cannot operate that way. Nor would we if we could. But we must propose a democratic alternative to such despotic command of resources. This alternative is, in part, the moulding of mutual interests whereby your firms can join with my agency to help further America's international goals.

May I here make a personal comment?

For many generations this land has treasured most highly a tradition of dissent. Of all the bright jewels in our political crown, the brightest by far was the privilege of every man to let his mind lead his tongue wherever his free thought would carry him.

I suspect that there are those who would now call this into question. If democracy be not dissent, then how can it be defined?

But there are those who would preach a new belief in politics. Under the banner of patriotism, they would exercise the very spirit of this land with the excuse of combatting Communism.

They would spy upon their very neighbors; they would impeach the judiciary; they would support the intrusion of politics into the military; they would abandon the United Nations; they would impose upon the land stifling uniformity falsely labelled as "loyalty"; they would deny dissent; they would impose patriotism from above by executive fiat.

I begrudge no man the right to speak his true mind. Subject only to the limits of common decency and statutes of slander, he may speak as he will.

The threat to this country from Communism can and will be met. For that threat which is internal, there is an agency to attend the task. We serve neither its cause nor our own by charging every dissenter with debasement of his loyalty. For that threat which is external, as it is in Laos and Vietnam, in Berlin and in big bombs, we poorly serve the cause of free men everywhere by dividing the people with false issues of mock patriotism.

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I suggest the world is too complex to be reduced to the simple formula of protecting fortress America from Communist encroachment within. To do so gives them much more than their due. I had not intended to come as a precursor of deep gloom. History, let us hope, will not end on the stroke of noon some day next month. But let us not be sanguine about our prosepects. Encouragement and optimism are functions of how one views the world. I am not encouraged about much of it. I am optimistic about even less of it. I share with others the seat of continual concern over our nation's fortune.

This generation of man has already been through one nightmare of history. Its memory haunts our very hopes. And any man who does not feel himself a part of that nightmare lives in a dream world of his own divination. We have become prisoners of our imagination, patrons of our own uncertainties, servants to our own fears. The anxieties of today serve as desperate handmaidens to our dreams of tomorrow. And the oracle of good hope has been all but banished from our company.

Amid the turmoil of these times, we must tell the world what manner of man lives here. We cannot convince others that we are what we are not. The inequities of this land, the inadequacies we share, the issues still unresolved -- these are as widely headlined in lands abroad as they are in cities at home. I am told by my colleagues that it is not easy to mingle with the African diplomatically when in this country we will not meet with the Negro socially.

When the next headline story bursts out of the southland to be emblazoned in papers from Rabat to Rangoon, do not turn to your Information Agency claiming that we have not told "our story" abroad. It is not within our means to contradict that which infact we are. The very trouble may be that part of "our story" has gone abroad. We are no longer isolated from the world around us, and we no longer have any cushion in either time or distance.

In the final reckoning it may well be that the example of this land and the life we live will be more important than our dollars or our words. In this generous and capacious land, if we can demonstrate increasing equality of opportunity, social justice, concern for the education, health and equality under the law of all our citizens, we will powerfully affect, and perhaps determine, the destiny of the free world.

I come as no metaphysician with secret credos to break the spell in which we are bound. Survival in our age may well depend on an act of self discipline unprecedented in this nation's past. We may yet be summoned to a rendezvous with our fate without parallel in the chronicles of man. We shall live or die because of what we are, and not what we pretend to be.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
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Release No. 10

FOR RELEASE AT 7 p.m., EST., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1962

Address by

Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the annual dinner of the Lincoln Group of D.C.
Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C.
Saturday, February 10, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Gratitude, we are often told, is that measure of appreciation a man expresses for favors or benefits received. I am indeed grateful for your invitation this evening. And yet gratitude alone seems inappropriate. For I have come not so much to share thoughts about Lincoln as to participate in the veneration of a legend. And legends, my friends, are not easily approached by mere mortals such as we.

I come as an interloper in the shrine of Lincolnesque recollection. There are, in this audience tonight, experts of Lincolnia with credentials far better than mine. I note that in times gone by your speakers have included such eminences as Alan Nevins, Bruce Catton, and Carl Sandburg. I know them all. They are scholars, historians, poets of the past. I am but a poor past broadcaster who was privileged to use his limited talent on an unlimited medium and who has chosen now to seek his daily bread in the public instead of the private arena. What novice new come to Lincoln could hope to improve on these phrases of Sandburg describing Lincoln as a man "...who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace unspeakable and perfect."

One century has passed and the paradox of storm and peace is still upon our land. Daily the communications pour in from around the globe, relating the difficulties and the doldrums of threatened interests. Not too different, perhaps, from the cables that poured in on Lincoln from the front, relating the dread and the disappointments of secession defended. I well recall one cable said to have arrived at the White House with the signature, "General Hooker. Headquarters, in the saddle." A day passed, and another came with the same signature: "General Hooker. Headquarters, in the saddle." It was on the third such cable's arrival

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that Lincoln is reported to have remarked wrily: "General Hooker has his headquarters where his hindquarters ought to be."

As you may know, I head an information agency with over 200 posts in 99 countries. Our headquarters are thus in the field where our 1,400 foreign service officers occupy our version of the front lines. The hindquarters are back here where I work in Washington.

I have just returned from a visit to part of those headquarters -- two weeks ago I was in Africa. For most of the month of January I saw the fulminations of freedom that are welling up in those lands, I saw the anxious faces and eager hands of black men reaching for their future, I heard the voices and sounds of a tomorrow being spawned in the toil of today. I felt the thrill of excitement filling the hearts of these new men of Africa. These lands will never see their past again.

Their voice and their dream is the ebb tide on which history flows. And as the sea's ebb tide is relentless and unceasing, so too is the ebb tide which carries their dream through these days in which we now live.

There is in this, I suggest, an intense relevancy for us who revere the memory of Abraham Lincoln. If there was any one man who could shape the destiny of a land and a people for generations to follow, surely it was Lincoln. Forging the bonds of insoluble national union, moulding the course of nation-building, leading his people into and out of chaotic struggle in which much was given, more was demanded, and all was committed, with blood strife their legacy but nationhood their future. This was Lincoln, gentlemen. But this, I suggest, is also Africa.

Here, then, is one full factor that puts this country in league with the "Revolution of Bright Hope" that is rising on our globe. We have a birthright on revolution. We are, in Henry Steele Commager's happy phrase, the oldest of the new nations, the first to be made out of an old world colony, ours the oldest written constitution, the oldest continuous federal system and ours the oldest practice of self-government of any nation. And it is as a great revolutionary power that much of the world regards us.

Our revolutionary documents are read and quoted worldwide. A small USIA library in Africa had more requests for the Federalist Papers in four weeks than the New York Public Library had in a full year. Demonstrators rioting in another African land quoted in explanation of their conduct a passage from Thomas Jefferson. When Libya convened its Constitutional Convention my Agency furnished on request a copy of the U.S. Constitution to every member of the Convention, all translated into Arabic. Without exaggeration, that shot fired "by the rude bridge that arched the flood" has been quite literally heard around the world. And its echoes continue to reverberate across lands like those I visited in Africa.

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Lincoln fits into this picture more aptly than most. He does so because of his highly personal "legend of the leader."

Though born amid revolution, America was governed by aristocrats. George Washington, John Adams, Tom Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams -- these were all educated men of letters, aristocrats of bearing and breeding. The southerners among them even held slaves. It was not until Andrew Jackson that a man "from the people" rose to the White House. But the most dramatized man of the people was surely Abe Lincoln. From log cabin to the Presidency, from rail splitter to nation builder, from common man to leader of men: this was the legendary route of Lincoln, and it is the legend of the leadership about this country that is popularized abroad.

"Lincoln," said Woodrow Wilson, "owed nothing to his birth and everything to his growth." This was the path of Lincoln. This, gentlemen, is also the path of Africa.

Lincoln is justly celebrated as the man who kept a nation from rending itself asunder. But if this was his canvas, his theme was larger. The effort was not only to preserve the union but to preserve for the world the most successful experiment in free government that history had yet seen. He said in his first message to Congress in July, 1861:

> "...it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men -- to lift artificial weights from all shoulders -- to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all -- to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

Free men everywhere, he insisted, had a stake in the preservation of the Union for that Union was "the last best hope of earth."

As early as the debates with Douglas, Lincoln propounded his doctrine of freedom for all. He declared that the men in Independence Hall were speaking to the whole world of men when they enunciated their principles.

> "They reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children...they established these great self-evident truths that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began."

Americans were, in Lincoln's words, "God's Almost chosen people." A civil war, then, engaged not for our land alone but for whatever land the fortunes

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of history might some day smile upon.

Of equal relevance for emerging nations today is the very time in which Lincoln lived. The milieu of Lincoln was the milieu of the frontier, of a nation on the move, of the growing pains that marked its evolution from a primitive to a developing society. Lincoln over a century ago lived amid circumstances ideally duplicated today in Africa.

Note these words: "New nations would be carved out of old empires, fabulous new lands would be explored and opened up for human settlement, and new struggles for human freedom would be won. The old slow-moving horse-drawn and windpropelled modes of travel would give way to the (new)." R. Gerald McMurtry wrote that. He was describing the America of Lincoln's day. He could as well be describing the Africa of our day.

Amid the difficulties of burgeoning nationhood and a pain-wracked Civil War that near prostrated the republic, Lincoln proved himself a man of mighty principle. Lincoln had every reason to postpone the elections of 1864 -- the bloody war was in its fourth year, he had no assurance of his own re-election. But hold the election he did. Listen to his words writ large on the pages of history a week after the election: "...the election was a necessity. We can not have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego, or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us... What has occurred in this case, must ever recur in similar cases...the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility."

But it was a possibility. And the world saw it proven so. There may lie in this a moral for the newly arrived brotherhood of nations in Africa.

We do not expect them to imitate our forms. On the contrary, contemplation of our Civil War should make us tolerant of the difficulties of other lands. Our own forms were roughhewn for us. Into them our people have poured their blood and their toil, their work and their worry. Those forms even today undergo change and adjustment. Why, then, should we feel that our way is the best way for other peoples as well? Discovering one's own path in one's own manner is part of the soil in which our rootholds have grown. As we would not deny it to ourselves, so should we not deny it to others.

But we do expect these other lands to be true to their own principles and practices. The lesson of Lincoln and the 1864 election amid the travail of Civil War is a lesson ignored by others only to their loss. It says that the way of the expedient and the easy is not the way of the strong. This, too, is part of the "legend of the leader" that is Lincoln.

We celebrate this year the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation

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Proclamation. In a time when local problems have become global concerns it seems prophetic that this epic pronunciamento on domestic freedom had foreign policy overtones as well. By making the extirpation of slavery one of the main objects of the war, Lincoln rallied the moral sense of England and France to his side. Britain and France could then only be unshakably for the Union. There was a tide of history running in the affairs of men even then.

One century later, the issue to which that proclamation was directed is still not at rest. The Negro has gained his freedom. He is still en route to gaining his equality.

The Proclamation resulted in political emancipation. Psychological emancipation has been longer coming. And the very nature of the Civil War has made its solution a difficult one. But because the War was severe, problems arising from it are severe. The south still has its bitter memories. Regional feeling and unity are still greater there than elsewhere in the country. And what more natural target for such lingering resentments than the very group which contributed a major issue to that fratricidal struggle, the Negro?

The most important aspect of slavery to impress itself on my mind is that it was NEGRO slavery. It was designed to regulate the relationships between black and white. The Civil War and the 13th amendment changed the status of the Negro, but the economic and social relationships of black and white were not greatly changed. Justifications of slavery before the war could be applied with equal force and relevance after the war to support continuation of the Negro as a subordinate. Indeed, in our southland today, there are phrases uttered that but for the accident of time could be relevant to issues bound up in the Civil War. This is not to say there is here a pro-slavery sentiment in the 20th century. Quite the contrary. But it does suggest that underlying the issues of slavery was a relationship of status between black and white. The nation one century later is still engrossed in realigning that relationship.

But the change of that relationship is inevitably stamped on the events of our day. Under Franklin Roosevelt Negro advisers were appointed to the Cabinet. Under Harry Truman the seal of the President's office was implanted upon the report of his Civil Rights Commission officially decrying the rights denied Negroes. In the 1950's there issued a Supreme Court decision that may well rank as the 20th century Emancipation Proclamation -- Brown vs. Board of Education, pronouncing separate facilities as inherently unequal. And only last month John F. Kennedy announced his intention of appointing the first Negro to sit in the President's Cabinet.

The Negro has come a long way in this land. He will go further. This country is indeed dedicated to the proposition that equality in the eyes of the law is not predicated upon color in the eyes of the beholder. This will take time because this land is equally dedicated to the rights and privileges of all its citizens. To change a majority, one respects a minority. And it will take place peacefully because this land is rooted in the soil of democracy and calm

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transition.

This I believe deeply: There is no land where changes so far reaching and so affecting the body politic could take place in an atmosphere so free of frenzy. It is a measure of the strength of a people that we do what we must do in a way that comforts the conscience of people with opposing points of view.

Saul Padover recently authored a book called "The Genius of America." His chapter headings list the moulders of the country as they seem to him best to be known: The American as Democrat -- Thomas Jefferson. The American as Conservative -- Alexander Hamilton. The American as Republican -- James Madison. The American as Federalist -- John Marshall. The American as Philosopher -- Ralph Waldo Emerson. I could not help but note this chapter with a simpler listing: The American -- Abraham Lincoln.

Perhaps that is how we best remember Lincoln -- simply, the American.

Padover again says that America's most original contribution to political theory has been to have no theory. If true this be, then surely the capstone of our nationhood has been its people. If the American dream were to be summed up in the figure of but one solitary person, surely that person would be the solemn Lincoln.

There was about him that most peculiar quality of manhood that history best calls destiny. In him was wrapped not the hope of one people but the dream of all peoples. The Civil War was fought not only to unify this nation or to free its slaves but for the freedom of men everywhere. Lincoln's life span of 56 years, 2 months, and 4 days is yet to end. And it may never, so long as men dare to tempt their dreams with the fervor of their hope.

His was an age new-born. He came into the world while Tom Jefferson was concluding his 8th year of the Presidency, that very winter that was the time of James Madison's inauguration and Bonaparte's invasion of Spain. A half century later he would be the first President born beyond the confines of the 13 original states, even as one century later John F. Kennedy would be the first President born in this century.

And in this land of ours -- born in revolution, tempered in struggle, united in blood, nurtured amid hope, and seasoned with responsibility -- the rising nations of Africa see more than just history alone. They would elevate their gaze to a horizon but dimly perceived by some but a horizon to which all of us are inevitably bound. To some it may seem they are caught in the pathological fervor of their nationalism. But I suggest that what we witness is but the fervent profile of what -- but for the grace of the past two centuries -- would be the early spawning of our own land of America.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
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Release No. 11

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 12:15 p.m. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Arthur S. Flemming luncheon and awards ceremony
at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C.
Thursday, February 15, 1962

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, you ten outstanding young men in the Federal Government who are still to be recognized, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me thank you for your invitation to make this Arthur S. Flemming Awards Address. We gather to honor others, yet I feel myself honored in being invited to sit among those to whom honor is being paid for excellence in government.

I am new to the Federal Service. I have many myriad impressions that weigh upon what will one day be nostalgic reminiscing. One of the deepest is an impression of the diligent and the dedicated who have given their labor and their life to the service and success of our common endeavor. It is fitting that we today give them their due, for of them it can be said: Theirs is the silence of the unrecognized.

It is to break that silence that we bestow today this accolade for accomplishment. It is, I think, equally important to note at the outset that none of you has sought this honor. The honor, on the contrary, has sought you.

Recognition is not always so passively gained. Performance and work, especially when it is well done, often goes unnoticed. I well recall an episode involving a colleague of mine several months back who found under the windshield wiper of his automobile this notice: "Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. From the boys at the garage." My friend was touched. He made a mental note to leave a gift of several dollars for "the boys at the garage." But his mental note was erased from his slate of memory. Several weeks passed. And two days before the holiday my friend found another note on his windshield: "Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. From the boys at the garage. Second notice."

You gentlemen here have no such need to advertise your talents. And this luncheon is not a second but a conclusive notice that you are appreciated

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and highly regarded.

Up to this moment there is a distinctive fact of this luncheon that I am sure has gone little noticed. This ceremony is to honor outstanding YOUNG men in the Federal Government. I look at them and acknowledge the blatant truth of their youth. It is thus all over this new Administration. And by inviting me here I trust you regard me as young enough to tread among the youthful. For this, Mr. Chairman and members of the Awards Commission, I am deeply grateful.

I was impressed by how thoroughly your selections have been made. You canvassed 87 Cabinet, Executive, and independent agencies, ranging from the Administrative Office of the United States Courts to the Washington Botanical Gardens. A decision was made to recognize half administrative and half technical persons. 67 nominees resulted. The final selection of these ten recipients was made from a screening process narrowing the field to 21 nominees -- 10 administrative, 10 technical. That 21st finalist was some poor chap described to me as an odd leftover technical administrator -- I do not know, but I hope he won.

And so we are here to honor you ten gentlemen -- or should I express it again, you 10 YOUNG men. This honor may bring you some small measure of fame. Of this be wary. Honor and fame are often regarded as interchangeable. They both involve an appraisal of the individual. They both evoke public commendation. Reflecting as they do the opinion of the community, any distinction between them tends to disappear.

But I suggest this difference. Fame is morally neutral. It is used by those who judge not men but the impression they make. What counts in fame is the magnificence of that impression, not its correspondence with either morality or reality. In Plutarch's Famous Lives are recorded biographies of the ancients. Plutarch does not regard these men of whom he writes as paragons of virtue. Some of them were perhaps even depraved. But they are all famous. And this we regard as a matter of historic fact.

If fame should come to you who gain honor, treat that fame cautiously. Fame may be lost as fortuitously as it is acquired. "Fame," said Thomas Aquinas, "has no stability. It is easily ruined by false report. And if it sometimes endures, This is by accident." Fame is naught but the jealous handmaiden of community approval. And note well, as some wit has remarked, that the final test of fame is to have a crazy person imagine he is you.

I have often wondered what it is that makes man respond to duty. No one compels you to remain in government. You could earn far better keep in private employ. Even if you stayed in government, no one compels you to pursue excellence. You could earn what keep you have with much less time and effort on your jobs. What, then, keeps you at it?

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A theologian might reply that God requires it. Thomas Hobbes would say the public requires it or else the Leviathan will invoke punishment. The Greeks would say to do otherwise would be dishonest and below the dignity of man.

Yet I think the answer may simply be this: it is that you require it. You do not work as you do out of duty to state or to God.or with reference to law either divine or human. This could be discharged without your last full measure of effort.

I think you perform as you perform because of a personal private virtue that lies in conscience. Some may say that such conscience is of private morality only. But to me the distinction between public and private morality is irrelevant to conscience.

It is a conscience perhaps best described by John Stuart Mill: "The ultimate sanction of all morality...is a subjective feeling in our own minds." And Mill went on to say that because we are social beings we each of us tend to feel that there should be harmony between our feelings and aims and those of our fellow-creatures.

To me this inner conscience is basic. It is the very stuff of which our way of life is made. It is others who have erected the state as a deity to worship. It is we who have enshrined in our way of life regard for the individual. To us the civic virtues are not exhausted by the virtues of citizenship. Man, too, has his place in our sun.

But we may take this matter of conscience a step further. Let us define that conscience as being a loyalty higher than the state alone. The welfare of the state is not the sole end of man. Man's common humanity takes precedence over membership in any state. More may be required of the good man than of the good citizen. Or,as I remember from my school days long ago: The virtues of a saint are of a higher order than those of a patriot.

Thus it was that Socrates appealed to a loyalty higher than the state. He disobeyed the state and chose death by the hemlock rather than foreswear his inner voice of conscience. And so it was that Marcus Aurelius could write: "My city and my country, so far as I am Antoninus, is Rome, but so far as I am a man it is the world."

And it is here that we are at base so very different from our adversaries. Their way of life can never allow pursuit of one's own conscience. We postulate that freedom as the base of our society: that higher than the state there is that personal morality of conscience. It is not so much that we resort to the higher morality as it is its availability in time of need. It is our tolerance of conscience that makes our way worth our living.

And to defend this we will give our all: our time and our temper, our

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future and our fortunes, and if need be, our very lives. To us this is sacred. Its compromise we shall not endure.

And there perhaps lies the reason you ten have so strived and struggled. Yours is the pursuit not of profit or of pleasure but of principle. Your purpose is yourselves and our tomorrows. Your desire is your very excellence. Your duty is the very success you have already achieved. You and your agonizing for perfection represent the very best that is this country. We are all in your eternal debt: this room, this government, this people, this land. Gentlemen of distinction, we commend you.

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Release No. 12

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 12:30 p.m., CST, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Annual Meeting of the American Management Association
at the Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois
Friday, February 16, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let me thank you for your invitation to be with you today. I come full tide on the wings of enthusiasm. I am recently returned from Africa. I saw there with my own eyes the excitement and exhiliration of peoples anxious to leap into the second half of the 20th century. As for themselves, theirs is the legacy of hope after decades of dormancy. As for us, ours is the legacy of challenge after decades of neglect.

You have convened for what I am told is your mid-winter personnel conference. May I commend your concern and relate to you that we are partners in our anxiety over personnel. In my wanderings around West Africa few things impressed me more than that sometimes happy coincidence of the right man in the right job. The equation of personnel ambition corresponding to work challenge is as delicate as the human chemistry upon which it depends. There are instances in Africa when we have had the good fortune to solve that equation, and it is then exciting indeed to see a man involved in his work who in his work involves the men whom he daily contacts.

It was in Ghana, near the capital city of Accra, that I had my first experience with a "Mammy Wagon." These converted buses and trucks are part of the major system of transport in Ghana -- jammed with men or animals, produce and goods, crates and cartons. Whatever men have to carry is usually carried in the "Mammy Wagon." They take their character and color from inscriptions and mottos writ large on their side boards -- legends adorning them such as "lonely boy," "farewell my soul," "never trust a woman," "love snakes and fear women," "leave all matters to God," "man proposes but God disposes." But the motto that most appealed is the one that came close to stating man's modern dilemma: "The Lord is my Shepherd -- I know not why."

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So that peoples abroad cannot make the same complaint of not knowing about the United States is the reason for being of my Agency. I am told you wish to hear about "The Worker in Other Countries," what he learns about this land and how we communicate with him. To understand this you must know what my Agency is up to.

We use all the media of communication know to man: we broadcast radio; we produce television; we make movies; we print newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and posters; we distribute a wire service, photographs, comic strips and cartoons; we help publish books; we run libraries and information centers; we teach English; we stage exhibits; we administer student and educational exchanges; and as important as all of this, we engage in the all important face-to-face personal contact work with foreign cabinet ministers and government leaders, newspaper editors and writers, educators, and what can best be described as foreign opinion moulders.

Our aim: to tell them why we do what we do. We are in pursuit of men's minds and opinions. It is an elusive goal. You do not win them quickly or easily. Once won, they give you no commitment that they will stay won. They are people like you and me. They will change their minds as capriciously or as often as we do. They will judge us more by what we do than by what we say. A Cuban invasion can defame the name of this country in Latin America, just as an Alliance for Progress can do much to honor it.

Let me take a subject and show you how my Agency responds. It is a subject, incidentally, designed to appeal to, among other audiences, foreign workers. It is the subject of the American economy. How do we explain capitalism abroad?

Our television service has been able to inject the concepts and values of free enterprise and private ownership into many overseas programs. Beginning in 1956 we distributed the "Industry on Parade" series world-wide, produced by the National Association of Manufacturers and describing the high productivity, versatility and technical know-how of American industry. World-wide distribution also went to "Americans at Work," produced by the AFL-CIO, illustrating the role played by free labor in our capitalistic system.

Individual programs in the world-wide "Assignment USA" series likewise treated American capitalism. A show called "Small Business" described the concept of private ownership, initiative and drive. "The Education of Johnny Schnell" illustrated private ownership and initiative by describing such incidents as a boy's paper route, and his father's job with the Telephone Company where, as one of its employees, he owned stock as well as receiving a salary.

Our "Report from America" series in many language versions has depicted topics such as leisure time, supermarkets, farming, home building, shopping centers, suburban families, public schools, small farms, household appliances,

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motels, and summer theatres -- all reflecting America's private enterprise system.

In radio the Voice of America weekly broadcasts programs on economics illustrating the work, the achievements, and the problems of the free enterprise system. There is a bi-weekly program featuring the national economics editor of the New York Herald Tribune. Problems of economic growth have been discussed on the air by the chief economist and the president of the American Chamber of Commerce, by Leon Keyserling, former head of Truman's Council of Economic Advisers and Arthur Burns, who held the same position under Dwight Eisenhower. Labor problems have been discussed by former Secretary of Labor James Mitchell and present Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg.

Our broadcasts have emphasized that peaceful cooperation between labor and management in this country has displaced class conflict. Representatives of the Voice of America regularly cover meetings of economists and businessmen, such as this meeting of the American Management Association. We've carried excellent series on the history of capitalism, on economic crises, on the role of the stock exchange, and on sources of economic growth.

We've done series on big American corporations such as the Dow Chemical Company, the DuPont Company, American Telephone and Telegraph, The Atlantic and Pacific, the Travellers Insurance Company, the Story of Oil, the Story of Coal, and others. Our latest program involved the operations of Armco International in 23 countries and the benefits derived by nations where this firm does business.

I am told that in Moscow people discuss this country and its economic accomplishment in terms of envy. There is a story told of a Muscovite proud of his 3 sons, one of whom is a people's doctor in Leningrad and the other an engineer in Stalingrad -- now Volgograd. But the son of whom the old man is proudest is in America in Detroit. "He's unemployed now," says the old Russian, "but he gets money from the government since he is out of work. If it were not for the few dollars he sends us every month we would starve."

Our press service turns out pamphlets, columns, and news articles that get printed the world around. Note this sampling of the type of material featured: an article emphasizing the vitality of our system through the nation's progress in space research and exploration and the promise of greater things to come, at the same time illustrating the essentially civilian character of American society; another notes the strength of the U. S. economy compared to that of the USSR, showing the basic differences in approach and philosophy and the growing ability of our system to meet the needs and aspirations of the people as against the Soviet system; another explains the pre-eminence of the consumer in the American economy, showing that most of the national income goes to the workers; still another portrays the agricultural abundance and productivity of this land, comparing our

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striking success with the failure of the Communist agricultural practice and explaining the difference between the two systems that make this possible.

Our press people have also distributed some interesting picture layouts -- like the one called "Lunchbox Capitalists," showing steelworkers reading the Wall Street Journal on their lunch hour to check on the stocks in their own company that they have bought, or a Negro steelworkers who received a letter from his company president offering him stock options under a bonus plan. Or another lay-out entitled "Meet an American Ditchdigger," the story of Bill McVey, a guy who owns his own tractor, revels in being his own boss, does excavating and ditch work for people around Aurora, Missouri, and then returns to the close-knit family life of his wife and four kids.

A big part of translating the economy for the American worker abroad lies in our 176 USIS libraries and 128 Binational Centers abroad. These make available books, pamphlets, periodicals, and federal documents showing how our system works, as well as publications of private corporations such as annual reports to the public and stockholders. From college texts to Commerce Department reports to the Wall Street Journal -- they are all available to foreign readers. We also cooperate in meeting unusual needs by locating special collections of books for long-term loans to foreign universities, government officials and professional groups.

Examples may suffice: we've recommended to all USIS posts a new revision of Colm and Geiger's THE ECONOMY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, PROGRESS, PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS, published by the National Planning Association.

In our overseas translation program, which has run to over 60,000,000 copies, the first and second all-time most published titles are two vigorous defenses of American capitalism: THE BIG CHANGE by Frederick Lewis Allen and CAPITALISM IN AMERICA by Frederick Stern. Another much demanded volume has been USA: THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION by the Editors of Fortune. Taken together, these three books alone account for 80 foreign language printings.

To nations unlike ourselves who have not been raised in the full flush of publishing prosperity, a book can have extraordinary impact. Perhaps this story will illustrate. An American businessman in Honduras saw at a USIS book exhibit a Spanish language translation of PRIVATE INVESTMENT: KEY TO INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT by James Daniel. After ordering copies for his company's foreign employees, he took a copy to read on the plane leaving Honduras. His seat companion, upon noticing the title of the book, stopped reading his own paperback detective novel and began reading over the American's shoulder. The American asked him if he would like to browse through the book for the rest of the flight. The stranger eagerly accepted. When the plane landed in Guatemala, the stranger expressed his sorrow at being unable to read the book more closely, whereupon the American offered to let him keep the volume. The stranger gratefully accepted and introduced himself: the Vice-Minister of Economy for

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Nicaragua, en route to a meeting of the Central American Commodity Market, where he felt this USIS book on private industrial development would be useful to him.

The American, of course, got another copy of "PRIVATE INVESTMENT."

A little more spectacular, perhaps, is this story of a class in special technical English oriented towards banking given by one of our Binational Centers in Brazil. During class discussion a bank sub-manager noted that Brazil had neither a national payments system nor a national clearing system. He was encouraged to do research on the subject. We supplied information from the Federal Reserve Board and other U.S. sources. Legal counsel was found. A study was written. The local Federation of Industries was so impressed with the study that it financed its publication and wide distribution. Rio Grande do Sul economists plan to take the idea to the National Congress and hope to incorporate it into legislation, thereby establishing a national payments and clearing system for the country. And all of this, mind you, stemming from a USIS sponsored technical English class.

We have over a dozen exhibits currently showing abroad on the subject of the U.S. Economic System. Note these examples: A New American Family -- showing the rapid adjustment of a Hungarian refugee family to life in our free enterprise society where the small wage earner can by hard work live in security and dignity. A Progressive Economy -- showing how Americans have achieved the highest standard of living in the world by means of a free enterprise system, disproving the Marxian prediction that under capitalism the rich would get richer and the poor poorer. How Americans Earn Their Living -- defining the content and characteristics of the U.S. labor force, showing methods and techniques that make it skilled and productive, showing results of this productivity and as a final aspect showing how Americans benefit from their labor.

All of this I have mentioned illustrates a phase of our Agency's work in the field of economics. Many of the examples, as you no doubt noted, are oriented to facets of life and labor in this country about which foreign working people would be curious. It is a trying task to describe something as enormously complex as the American economy to non-industrialized societies. Many of them have no remotely comparable experience and find it difficult to understand some of what is told them. Some of them do not even have a language capable of dealing with the subject. But it is a task in which I feel this Agency has had some degree of success.

If the "Worker In Other Countries" is your concern, then I must report to you a new direction my Agency is taking. It is a labor information program. Nine labor information specialists are being assigned in Latin America to Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru, Mexico, Uruguay, Colombia, Brazil, and Chile.

Their job in Latin America is a most important one. Labor is a vital

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objective, both for ourselves and the Communists. It is the Latin American worker, in farm and factory, who possesses, in President Kennedy's words, the "unsatisfied aspiration for economic progress and social justice." And it is to the worker that Communism, if it is to triumph in this hemisphere, must prove its case and gain its victory. That is why, if the Latin American worker is not to be lost to the cause of freedom, our response in Latin America must be as bold and as big as the challenge we confront.

These labor information officers will work closely with local workers and their groups. They will encourage democratic workers' organizations and improvement of workers' living standards. They will stress the advantage of cooperation with democratic parties rather than with Castro-Communist movements. They will inform the more advanced trade unions about the basics of free democratic trade unionism -- such as organization, collective bargaining, grievance procedures, community responsibility, etc.

They will strive to increase understanding of the United States, its mixed economy, its domestic and foreign policy, and they will show that the advances and progress of the American labor movement such as social security unemployment insurance, guaranteed collective bargaining, etc -- all highly desirable in Latin American eyes -- are fruits of the United States political system.

They will promote friendly relations between Latin American and United States labor and promote a sense of joint participation in solving this hemisphere's problems.

They will expose the false claim of Communism to champion the world's workers. They will show Communism in its true light as exploiter of the working class. They will combat Communist infiltration of free labor unions and demonstrate that Communism is an international conspiracy against personal and national freedom working through captive labor movements to impose Communist world domination.

To do this, they will use a variety of methods: labor newspapers, labor radio shows, labor pamphlet programs, labor films and movies, labor book presentations, labor education centers, labor educational seminars, labor exchange of persons programs, labor exhibit programs, and special labor press and picture releases. All of this, of course, only supplements the most important element of all: the individual labor specialist himself, engaging in vital face-to-face confrontation in those places and with those persons to whom his appeal is addressed.

I am not so naive as to suggest that with what my Agency does we can win the world. But I am honest enough to acknowledge that quite spectacular results can be achieved. In Pakistan, for example, a strike in a local factory threatened unemployment for the workers in the area. The strike was avoided, and local authorities give credit for this to a most non-economic factor: a USIS film,

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"Union Local." Despite pressures from leftist leaders of the union to go on strike, the majority of workers decided that if workers in the United States could settle grievances through negotiations, they should make the same attempt. They had seen it in a USIS movie. The strike failed.

If a single film could do this, imagine what one man full time with the resources of a program at his command might hope to accomplish.

This concerted effort on labor that I mentioned in Latin America is part of my Agency's role in the Alliance for Progress.

It is in this context of the kind of war we are in that American business firms responded to the overseas information program I spoke of last November in Houston, Texas. There I stated that we were cooperating with 150 firms to supply material on crucial issues to their overseas American representatives through home offices. In the thirteen weeks since then, more than 180 additional firms have offered their cooperation. We estimate some 4,500 American business representatives abroad have been asked by their companies to study material on foreign policy issues. Thus when our overseas businessman discusses world affairs, particularly those issues in which America has a major stake, he speaks from greater knowledge. His conversation, without parroting the government line, can be a very helpful influence on his foreign friends, frequently people of considerable import and influence. Frequently, too, these associates are quite different from those of the official American diplomatic community.

The business world's response indicates that most firms are convinced that the Alliance must succeed if Latin America is going to remain in the Free World. If your own firms have representatives in Latin America or elsewhere overseas, and we have not asked for your help, we would appreciate hearing from you.

I bandy no empty emphasis when I say you this solemn thought: we cannot allow the Alliance to fail. Announced almost a year ago by President Kennedy, it is free society's response to poverty and pestilence, to ignorance and indolence. Should these efforts of free men fail, the lusty shouting in the offstage wings to Latin America by Castro and his cohorts would herald the inevitability that their solutions will be tried. The history of our day has recorded part of the price for the Castro-type solution. It has also recorded, alas, how difficult it is to remove such factors from the stage.

It is in pursuit of common goals from common concerns that we ask you to join us -- the defense of free men everywhere. As one of my colleagues is wont to say: come on in. The Cold War water is fine.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

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Release No. 13

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 8 p.m. C.S.T. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois
Friday, February 16, 1962

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me thank you for your gracious invitation to leave the frigid temperatures of a freezing Washington to come for a day of repose in calmer cooler climes here by the windswept shores of Lake Michigan. I trust this will not open me to heckling as happened to one of my USIA officers in India who from an audience one evening received this question: "Why is it in a great and prosperous country like the United States mental hospitals are filled with patients?" This could be embarrassing: what does one tell the Indians, that the leader of the free world is a nation of sick minds? This USIA officer summoned the ingenuity that I like to think is typical of all my foreign service people. He replied that it is because we are prosperous that we can afford to care for our mentally ill, and he then asked if India might want technical assistance in this regard. To which the questioner responded: "This isn't necessary. All the crazy people are already in institutions -- universities and the legislature."

I know that all the crazy people in this country are not in universities -- they occasionally let you visit conventions such as this one here in Chicago. I have also met an occasional one rumbling around the bountiful hallways of Washington. And if you are crazy let me welcome you to the comfort of the similarly afflicted like myself. We are all of us a bit "crazy" with the idea of ideas, with the moulding of a man's mind into a more perfect instrument, and with the feeling of awe that how we today labor will form tomorrow's leaders. If this be craziness, may its infection spread.

I note the theme of your annual meeting is stated as "Foundations for Excellence." May I commend your choice of emphasis? These are times of trial. This land has gone through crisis before, but it has never been faced with the ace of trump in the suit of nuclear clubs. These times demand excellence. Excellence cannot be willed or wished out of the past. Excellence is, alas, a function of foresight and hard work. This nation can have intellectual excellence

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only at a price. Our educational system can be as competent or as incompetent as we choose to pay for.

You train teachers. I disparage not the need for building and facility when I say that the forge of our excellence lies in the job you do. A school building is important, but a teacher is indispensable. If the quality of teaching is high, if the marking is tough, if the students are disciplined, and the teachers motivated and sufficiently paid, then the fertility of excellence will have been sown. To my knowledge a bad teacher has never yet moulded a good pupil.

A large part of this problem is, I know, a question of money. In 1946 more babies were born than in any other year in our history; that record has been surpassed every year since. Compounding this is the fact that a larger percentage of our larger population is now seeking higher education. College applications will double in 10 years. And I am told that already colleges are suffering from an acute shortage of teachers. In that same 10 years the percentage of Ph. D.s teaching will be cut in half. The ominous corollary of lower standards is clear to all.

I am aware, of course, that the teacher shortage is not accidental. It is the result of a cause. That cause is too little pay in our well paid land. If there is not more money first to pay more teachers more salary, then to me the proposition is sound that perhaps we can do with less new building.

Money will not, I know, solve all problems. Standards of training and employing teachers should be raised. One does not command greater excellence with less effort. Teacher tenure, while important, must not protect the decreasingly competent. But there can be no reason for a teacher earning less than a secretary or a dress model or a store salesman -- unless that reason is a reflective collective national decision that excellence is not our country's concern and that in an increasingly perilous world we maximize our safety by minimizing our talents and our brains. The jury on education, my friends, is still out.

I am new returned from Africa. Just over a fortnight ago I was on that continent marked by new-born countries wrapped in the swaddling clothes of enthusiasm. Theirs is a view of a brighter tomorrow, and it is a view which they will not be denied.

Yours is the task of education. You are engaged in instructing men how to instruct other men. It will, I am sure, come as no surprise when I say that this, too, is the task of Africa. New lands, gingerly testing new-found prerogatives and principles, have a bottomless capacity to absorb assistance from others. But what they universally feel they most need more of is education.

To these new lands the secrets of learning will unlock the doors of mystery. In a revolutionary age nothing is more revolutionary than education.

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There is about these peoples an obsession to explode headfirst into the second half of the 20th century.

Education for them is a signpost on the road up from feudalism. Enlightenment is the fruit of freedom, and these people long-starved hunger for those fruits. Education for them is the badge of their own self-respect. It is the hope that more men will live into their 30's, the promise that fewer babies will die in infancy. Education is a one-way route to success, to a lifetime free from squalor, to a livelihood free of leprosy. Education is the way toward a medical doctor and away from a witch doctor. It is better crops and full stomachs, it is well fed children and happy lives. It is a vast host of all the great hopes that are born on the magical day of independence. It is, in short, a shorthand symbol of all that they dare to dream.

We in America may smile at the naivete of such enthusiasm, but there is no gainsaying its existence. We each of us realize that one needs more to build a nation than the value of an alphabet and logic. But before you mark this as mere childish enthusiasm you would, I suggest, do well to regard our own meager beginnings as a nation. We too were naive, ingenuous, enthusiastic. And as for men such as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Madison, who among us could say that education was not in the forefront of their minds?

One would be blind indeed if one did not see a parallel between this land and the emerging Africa.

It is a parallelism not lost on the African. This country has a birthright on revolution, and it is as a revolutionary power that we are best known. Our revolutionary documents are read and quoted world-wide. A small USIA library in Africa had more requests for the Federalist Papers in four weeks than the New York Public Library -- the nation's second largest -- had in a full year. Demonstrators rioting in another African land quoted in explanation of their conduct a passage from Thomas Jefferson. When Libya convened its Constitutional Convention every member of the convention received from my Agency on request a copy of the U.S. Constitution, each copy translated into Arabic. Without exaggeration, that shot fired "by the rude bridge that arched the flood" has been quite literally heard round the world. And its echoes continue to reverberate across lands like those I visited in Africa.

As you are educators, let me briefly tell you what my Agency does in the field of education. Apart from where politics and the Cold War dictate our policies, the core of our operations on the intellectual front is our libraries. Americans who regard libraries as quiet enclaves with musty shelves would be amazed at the vibrant activity that swarms around our overseas libraries and the extraordinary impact they can have.

Come with me, then, for a quick verbal tour of what goes on in USIS libraries overseas.

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In Hong Kong, for example, our library is asked: "Are public high schools free?"

In Teheran comes the query: "How many Americans follow Mohammed?"

From an eager youngster in Buenos Aires: "How big is Hollywood?"

And in Bombay from a village patriarch: "Do all old people in America get pensions?"

People, then, come to our libraries to ask questions, read, borrow books and periodicals, look at exhibits, listen to music, learn English, and participate in discussion and study groups. In short, they can learn about the United States, its policy and its plans, its principles and its practices, in a phrase -- what we stand for and what we are.

The Information Center and library service is the heart of our long-range cultural program in virtually all countries of the free world. They range from small units of one to two people at work to large units like the Amerika Haus in Berlin with some 2,000 people PER DAY using the building.

In this country we take the open shelf lending library for granted. Yet in many parts of the world our concept of a library as a place to drop in, browse, and check out books was unheard of until the USIA program was established.

The old idea of a library was of a few dark shelves in a building at the back of some university where scholars could go IF they could get in. The librarian was the conserver of the books. He was afraid some user of books would get to his volumes and tear them -- steal them -- soil them -- spoil them -- deface them. He did not want to let books out of his purvey of control. Letting ordinary people handle books, much less borrow them, was totally unthinkable. The difference this country stands for, in which we are unique artisans of ideas, is the public library system. We do everything possible to bring people and books together. Some countries are paying us the ultimate compliment -- they are converting their libraries to the American system: put the library in the most accessible spot, put in big window displays of attractive jackets and late books, promote the feeling of access, make it as easy as possible for people and books to come together.

The everyday activities in these libraries of ours are infinitely varied.

In Rangoon a school teacher came 18 miles -- partly on foot -- for a book on a subject her school class was studying. She saw related books on the subject and sighed aloud: if only she could stay for several days to read... She was told she could borrow them, and her incredulous stare of blank disbelief was broken only by the books being placed physically in her hands. In Burma, mark up one school teacher, an enthusiastic admirer of American education via books from the USIA library.

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In Pakistan a bookmobile climbs over near impassable roads to a village where its arrival is announced to all the countryside by the beat of heavy drums.

In Paris a listener for the first time to Walter Piston's 6th Symphony is so impressed that he requests a copy of the score to include the work in an upcoming concert. USIA services his request, as it did 36,000 others last year for musical material.

In Belgrade young Yugoslavs listen to a tape of "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" by Robert Sherwood, produced by our Voice of America in cooperation with the American National Theater Academy, starring Rod Steiger in the leading role of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. An effective medium, you will agree, to say a few things about this country's principles of democracy.

In Vietnam a newspaper makes a leading feature story out of an exhibit at the Information Center, observing that the exhibit reflects the beauty of free and independent livelihood.

In Indonesia a large crowd views one of our USIA films, this one on the atomic submarine NAUTILUS crossing under the polar ice cap and its 37 year old commander William Anderson returning for his Presidential citation.

In almost all of our libraries if you listen closely you can hear the chant of a class learning English, the teacher's solitary voice intoning: "Good morning today, how are you?" the throaty chorus of a hundred foreigners intoning back in a variety of their local accents: "Good morning today, how are you?" They learn as a language is taught from the very beginning -- by ear. And before you turn away you're liable to hear them burst into a chorus of "Oh my darlin', oh my darlin', oh my darlin' Clementine." For how better to learn a tongue than by playing your tongue over the tunes and rhythms of its folk songs?

There are exciting tales about our English teaching. In Latin America a boy registering for classes asked permission to attend barefooted. It was only much later that we learned he had sold his last pair of shoes to pay for the lessons. In Africa a group of tribal chieftains was told not to come for their first opening class as our furniture had not yet arrived. So they all showed up anyway -- each carrying his own chair. In Mexico City crowds for classes were so large that the night before registration police were called out to handle the throngs. The next morning when our doors opened who were the first ones in to register? The police themselves. This year we are teaching English in Mexico City to 7,500 people a day. In another African country the Prime Minister and most of his Cabinet are members of a USIA English class, and the chief executive of another has promised to be the first to enroll when we open English teaching there.

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Our libraries have become indeed the symbol of this free land abroad. When we open new ones, as we are now doing in Africa, the occasion becomes a ceremony of state with Cabinet level officials in attendance. Our first membership cards in recent locations have been to the Prime Ministers. And the former foreign minister of Mexico is reported to have said once: "The United States has done many fine things for Mexico. You spent fifty million dollars helping us eradicate hoof and mouth disease. You have constructed sewage systems in each of our towns along the border. You have helped us build health clinics and other public works throughout the country. But the finest single thing you have ever done for us, in my opinion, was the establishment of the Benjamin Franklin USIA Library."

One must agree: the USIS libraries are among the finest things we have done in many countries. We have 176 of them in 80 countries in the Free World, as well as 128 binational cultural centers in 35 countries.

Permit me now a transgression on my role as guest. I have spoken about my Agency. Let us speak briefly about you.

Our Agency has a big stake in education and cultural efforts abroad. In so doing, we only reflect the interests of not only the government but of you, its citizens. But as educators this should concern you even more directly. Ours is a joint task. What we do in the field of education is no better or no worse than the resources of education groups on whom we rely in this country. We shall thus reflect your excellence, or we shall as well be compelled to cope with your lack of it.

Let me mention a specific need: English teaching. I mentioned earlier that boy with no shoes, those policemen before the crowds in Mexico, the African chieftains with their chairs, the heads of state with their requests to teach their Cabinets. As the world would know of us, it would speak with us. We intend to train those tongues. Last year we taught over a quarter million people to speak English. We could double that number. The economist would say our demand is outracing our supply. I would say simply we need help. The tightest limitation we have on teaching foreigners to speak English is a lack of people to do the teaching, not simply teachers per se but teachers trained in the very special skill of teaching English to other peoples as a foreign or second language. This is a highly specialized technique of English instruction, unlike teaching English to native speakers of the language.

There are abundant opportunities in this country for such specialists. American universities have programs for teaching foreign students, there are adult education courses for the foreign born, and in some sections of the country regular school systems must teach English to students born of foreign language parents. American teacher training institutions could well encourage and promote teacher training in this specialized field of teaching.

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Knowing a little of my Agency, you can share with me the pleasure of a remark by this country's Ambassador to India. Kenneth Galbraith was talking of my Agency, USIA, when he said: "The United States maintains in India a rather substantial organization with the function among others of defending our society from its critics. The critics are mostly Americans."

Galbraith in jest has managed to anoint his subject with truth. We are a nation of critics -- as I have commented upon your weaknesses here today, so are you entitled to comment upon mine. This, after all, is the way of a democracy. The task, I submit, is not to silence the critics but to make better critics of us all, and perhaps even raise an occasional exceptional critic of our body politic.

The way of free choice is the way of promise, just as it is the way of danger. We are not compelled to our strength. We have equally the free choice of our weakness. Democracy in education does not mean equal treatment for all -- the bright as well as the dim -- but equal opportunity for all. We cannot let democracy stand for the levelling of everyone to the level of the average. That way we will make poor critics of us all. Education in a democracy, said Hyman Rickover, must not only be democratic. It must also be education.

Yours is the business of teaching the teachers to teach. Mine is the business of teaching the critics to think. We thus both march in the same ranks, in the same legions charged with the same tasks.

This generation stands naked with the spotlight of history focused on its deeds and misdeeds. Each generation is summoned to bear its own responsibilities. They may be frightening in dimension, awe-evoking in reflection. For our problems we have no one to blame but ourselves.

Each generation must win its own way and cannot rest on the progress of its ancestors. But as our blame is our own, so is our salvation.

If challenge be our charge, then let boldness be our epitaph. And let us all join together in creating for this minor planet a mode of living which, in the egoism of our hopes, may be the better for our having been here.

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Text of Remarks by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
at the VOA 20th Anniversary Ceremony in the
HEW Auditorium, February 26, 1962

Honored Guests, and the mighty chorus of voices called The Voice of America:

We are in assembly convened for a moment partaking of both nostalgia and promise. It is the nostalgia of hard work well done. It is the promise of great effort still to come. The Voice of America is 20 years old.

Some here were present at its beginning. Others of us have joined it since. But no man among us can ever forget the circumstances attending its birth -- the hope of life, the sadness of death, the tragedy and travail of 1942 that still stalk the memories of that Second World War.

And in the grim days that then carried the epitaph of struggle I recall the words of the revered patriot of Czechoslovakia. Jan Masaryk said his war aim was simply this: "I want to go home."

Twenty years have passed. Others have tried to go home, but their lands are closed to them. Others have sought to make for themselves a new home -- some in lands foreign to their birth, some in lands new-born to their hopes. Yet all of us share the common tie that binds, the common base of modern man best called "hope."

It is this that the Voice of America, and indeed the entire U.S. Information Agency, holds out to the world. For all mankind, it is the legacy of tomorrow. It is the hope of a day dawning unclouded by the shadow of great tensions. It is the hope of a high tide of accomplishment on the long washed shores of great challenge, the hope that speaks the epitaph of this generation of struggle -- where men have the will to be free, they will be free.

The Voice of America mirrors this land to the rest of man. It expresses the belief that the common denominator of mankind is surely man himself. Ours is a country born amid revolution. Ours was the first nation self-forged on the hearth of our own high hopes. Ours is a diverse land. There are near as many

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strains of men in our land as there are men to trod our earth. Yet from this great diversity we raise a symphony of great unity.

There is in this, I suggest, a meaning for all men. To the rest of the globe, we submit that our way of diversity is the way of free choice. One seeks one's own forms. We have no orthodoxy of belief, no one creed to which all must conform. And if other forms of nationhood be different from ours, such dissent does not banish them from our councils. Our land was built upon great dissent.

It is our adversary that imposes great conformity. There is no room in his system for another form, for another way. To share at all you must share in his orthodoxy. For your dissent you will be banished from the councils of good hope.

It is this land's air of dissent, this freedom to choose, this seeking of one's own forms that the Voice of America sends to a world anxious to learn and eager for its future.

There is only one war we wage -- it is a war against pestilence and poverty, suffering and suspicion, disappointment and distrust. Ours is the war not to capture the minds of men, but to free them.

We seek not to seduce bright hopes, but to inspire them. Ours is the hope both of greater gains for today and of grander goals for tomorrow -- not for ourselves alone, but for all men together.

To accomplish this the Voice of America stands upon this above all: the truth shall be the guide. Truth may help us. It may hurt us. But helping us or hurting us we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that man can know us for what we are and can at least believe what we say.

The truth may not alone make us free. But we shall never be free without knowing the truth.

And for this the Voice of America is known by many, loved by some, hated by others. This radio and what it says has never been designed as a provocation to anyone. That there are those who find it so is a tribute to you, the way you do your job, the truth for which you stand.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Release No. 18

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

FOR RELEASE AT 1:00 P.M., EST, FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Conference of the National Association of Broadcasters
Shoreham Hotel, Washington, March 2, 1962

I feel like an old friend returned to home. Broadcasting, I need not remind you, was once my daily bread. In a sense that is still true. But like many of you I now run an organization. And sometimes in the waning of those midmorning conferences I am wont to think back to the early days in broadcasting and the saga of that now immortal cub reporter sent to cover his first big story. It was the Johnstown flood. The height of the tragedy was fast approaching. The paper held out its lead beyond press time waiting for the cub's first reports, which finally arrived with the following cryptic message: "Chaos reigns. Nothing can be learned."

It is, I hope, true of my present work that chaos reigns rarely and there is much to be learned. It is this, in part, that gives chilling dimension to much of what my Agency does. The stake in our deliberations is not the success or failure of a good show but the rise or fall of a free world interest. You translate your efforts into ratings garnered or dollars lost. We translate ours into persons persuaded or diplomacy lost.

There are great challenges afoot on our globe today. The Soviet has chosen to engage us in a type of fateful competition, testing whether free men have the will to be free. There is a tendency in this country to drop the plumb line of measurement into our troubled diplomatic waters and calculate the extent of our success or failure: as of such a date, there are so many victories won, so many failures lost. Being a self-critical society, we chronicle the factors that some feel go against us:

- a lingering suspicion in some new countries of Western colonialism and capitalism;

- long-range intellectual leanings toward socialism;

- envy in some countries of the purported economic progress achieved under Communism, with little recognition of the

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fact that Western progress serves as the goal to which all aspire.

- a desire in some lands to maximize foreign aid from both camps;

- a basic naivete about the realities of Communism.

I suggest we misread the signs. Some matters we consider negative may not in fact be what they appear to be. The counsel of despair for the cause of democracy is the counsel of the ignorant. It may be that we are a nation poorly prepared for our global role. But if poorly cast are we, then higher striving must there be.

We are a pragmatic people. We test the validity of propositions by their practical results. This was a pioneer land built by a pioneer people. To physical challenge we responded with physical strength.

I suggest we are set in our ways of thinking, and it is a way ill-conceived for the complexities of this day. Consider this:

- From a history that has solved all problems we assume that if "problem" there be then "solution" we will find;

- From a history that has known no frustration we seek easy answers to difficult problems;

- From a history moulded on the rightness of our national virtue we seem self-assured that things will naturally go our way. We feel we are right and we are American and the world will surely see the right of our American way if it is simply explained to them; we are, in a sense, only an explanation away from total victory;

- From a history that has simplified our troubles into terms of "we" and "they" we assume there are only two sides to any question -- and not three or ten or 15 sides as there are in NATO, or 20 sides as there are in the Organization of American States, or 104 sides as there are in the United Nations;

- From a history that has taught us the values of "right" and "wrong" we leave no room for different descriptions of the same problem by different people. Thus Khrushchev calls Berlin a "bone in his throat" and a "cancer" while we term it a "showcase of freedom" and a "symbol of hope." Perhaps what is symbol to us is cancer to him, and that is exactly why it is a problem.

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Thus do some of the enthrallments of our nationhood poorly cast us for the role we must now play. We are a good people. We are loathe to use the whip and the gnout, the fist and its force. It may well be that while we grew up as a land,the world of our growth changed beyond all dimension. Difficult problems will only surrender to difficult solutions. Some problems may have no immediate solution at all. Our conception of right and wrong may not be right for the wrongs of others. The issues of the world are multi-sided and many-varied. They may not all be settled in our favor. As George Bernard Shaw said, "Do you think the laws of God will be suspended in favor of this country because you were born in it?"

It was the counsel of Abraham Lincoln that read: "We must disenthrall ourselves."

The fate of this land and this people will be decided by what we do on three fronts: the way we conduct ourselves here at home.... the way we conduct ourselves confronting the Communist foe....the way we conduct ourselves in the vast arena of marginal lands with multiplying people.

Our conduct at home is a matter of our common concern. Our conduct regarding the Soviets is a matter of our common defense. Our conduct regarding the new nations is a matter of our common effort. How we regard them all in concert is a matter of our common destiny. I, for one, would not wish to prejudge the issue in any arena.

But in this world of discomfiture where all of us live on the narrow margin between happiness and holocaust, it is well that we assess our position.

Communism came to power in Russia due to World War I. Communism came to power in China due to World War II. It has NEVER come to power in any nation not disrupted by war, by civil war, or by both. It has NEVER come to power but by the force of military might in being, in place, and without opposition. It has succeeded as a scavenger. It has failed as a leader.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is challenged both within and without its own world. These years have seen rebellion in Budapest, uprisings in Poland, revolts in East Germany, repression throughout the satellite empire. There is a wall in Berlin damming the flood tide of fleeing humanity. There is dissension in Peiping and Tirana to add to that of Belgrade. Communist parties in Europe have shrunk drastically.

The Soviet Union, as a nation, is permanent come to the councils of world concern. But for a decade its foreign policy has failed to expand its control. It relies on the weapons of subversion, propaganda, infiltration, brute terror and naked force. But it has conspicuously failed. It has been frustrated by the United States, by its Allies, by the United Nations, by nations of other passions, and perhaps most of all by the determination that

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where men have the will to be free they will be free.

The catalogue of Soviet difficulties is an impressive one:

Their unity with China is in question.

There is cancer in the satellites.

Communist parties are doing less business.

There has been little sale on the ideology.

Neutrals will not be bought with guns and dams.

Capitalism's amazing vigor runs counter to their dogma.

The Alliance has not groaned but has grown.

Western Europe rises to new union.

The United Nations is slowly acquiring a capacity for world responsibility.

And in the words of Harlan Cleveland, the hard line boys in the Kremlin should be muttering about people who are "soft on capitalism."

There are cards in our hand that the Soviet can never hope to trump.

This land can manage the difficult and demanding task of free alliance with other sovereign nations. This the Soviet cannot do.

This land can cooperate and accommodate and even compromise in handling global problems. This the Soviet seem unwilling to do.

This land can live with the Charter of the United Nations. This the Soviet cannot do.

This land can identify its legitimate national hopes with the national hopes of other nations. This the Soviet cannot do.

Theirs is the way of orthodoxy. Theirs is the way of the creed without deviation, the dogma without dissent, the conformity to which all must adhere. If theirs be the world of coercion, then ours is the world of free

choice. To a globe now fumbling with new found freedoms, to lands now groping for their own place in the constellations of nations, this land, this people has much to offer. A Communist, I suggest, cannot look upon the future with sanguine confidence.

But this struggle is now not near ended. It is not likely to be resolved quickly...easily...cleanly...or simply. If gains we have garnered there are still tasks to be tried.

You, gentlemen, can share in this endeavor. I have suggested the three arenas where our fortunes lie: at home, against the Soviet, and in the new lands.

We must all join in the unfinished task of finishing the moulding of our land. This country was founded upon belief in great ideals. It is to the zealots that we owe our heritage -- our belief in education, in social justice, in the living wage, in freedom of speech with the right of dissent and the critique of conformity, in the import of all men as equal and kindred souls. But these are subjects unknown in some places, unwanted in others.

There are abroad on this planet great masses of people totally insulated from this country and what it believes only by the pall of their ignorance. It is the job of my Agency to try and reach those people. Reach them we will. But the U.S. Information Agency can only be as effective in reaching men's minds as the society it serves. Desirable or not, we shall reflect what we are. If we would have the world think better of us, then we must better ourselves.

Let me share with you this trade secret. Without speaking of running my Agency, this has in fact been a speech of how my Agency runs.

For USIA is the new dimension of the new diplomacy. We occupy the only battle line that engages this entire land. We seek to explain this country and all it does. Our goal is the minds of men. But the war we wage is not the war to capture men's minds; it is a war to free them.

The way of free men is the way of difficulty. If all may think, then all must be explained. If each may dissent, then each must be convinced.

We must talk of full stomachs to those who have known only hunger. We must speak of comfortable lives to those who have known only toil. We must talk of the future and its dream to those who have known only the past and its despair. And we must speak of freedom to men who have known only subjection.

We must tell unfree men that freedom in some places may be a sometime thing. And to those newly free we must caution against having left one

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form of control only to deliver themselves to a new and heavier yoke. It is difficult, this concept of freedom. But it is priceless, this dream we offer to share.

Share it we must. Share it we will. And we shall know that in laboring for our children and ourselves we labor in fact for all mankind. And all mankind will be in our debt if we but realize that our heritage is the heritage of hope. For with our hopes go the fate of free men everywhere.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

Release No. 20

FOR RELEASE AT 12:30 P.M., EST, SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Columbia University Scholastic Press Association
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York
March 17, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, and you future young lords of the press:

There was a time, not too long ago, when I would have counted myself one of you. As you know, I was once a journalist. And I will share with you the confidence that I have some present critics who rapidly would return me to that once occupied status. Though no longer a student, I like to think that I have never stopped learning and that I refrain from studying only when I find the voice to which I most listen is the voice of my own conversation.

If you are students of journalism I am curious what it is that you daily learn. I trust it is not just journalism alone. Headlines and print are important to a paper. But they are important only in that they have something to tell. It is not so much how the words are fashioned on the page -- important as that is -- but what those words have to say. The power of print is the power of ideas. If you would train yourself well for journalism, I suggest you would do well to train yourself in ideas.

What better illustration than that now immortal saga of the young cub reporter sent to cover his first big story -- the Johnstown flood. Impatiently the city room waited for his cabled report, holding open the presses far beyond their deadline.

It was with eager hands awaiting the news that they received their first communique from the young reporter. It read: "Nothing can be learned. All is chaos."

There is about journalism that element of chaos that lends it excitement. But the most important thing a journalist can learn is to keep in proper dimension the product he turns out. A friend of long acquaintance was speaking with a man in Europe who opined that of papers from Moscow, Berlin, Geneva, Rome, and New York, he thought a certain New York paper was best. When my friend

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remarked on his reading so many papers in so many languages every day, the man paused and then replied: "The best newspapers... who reads them...I use those that are best for rolling cigarettes."

As you are students of journalism I would tell you something of my agency, for journalism is one of our many daily concerns. We are in business to tell the world what manner of man it is that inhabits these shores of America. To do this we maintain 219 posts in 99 foreign countries. We use all the media known to modern communications to make the policy of this land everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. We broadcast radio, make films, produce television, run a wire service, print newspapers, publish magazines, distribute books, operate information centers and libraries, teach English, sponsor exchanges, display exhibits, and assist educational institutions. We also seek out ministers and members of foreign governments, editors and educators, publishers and writers, foreign opinion leaders and policy makers. Our purpose is to engage them in the vital face-to-face confrontation where the purposes and ideals of this land can be spelled out in clear terms.

But let me be specific. Many of you, I am sure, were on hand to witness the orbiting of John Glenn. It was exciting and exhilirating. You saw and you knew it was history in the making. The art of the broadcast made you more than just an onlooker. To a degree you were participating with him; his success and his hopes were the success and the hopes of all of us. Each of us, as it were, was "present by proxy."

But we were not alone. Around this globe, in distant places and foreign climes, there were millions of other eyes and ears that clung to the fate of John Glenn. He was, in one sense, the figure of everyman. They, too, were "present by proxy."

Helping them to be present and to see what occurred was the role of my agency.

Let us then put John Glenn back in a capsule...Not the capsule of Friendship 7 in which he orbited, but the laboratory capsule of examination. We shall see, with John Glenn's flight as the focus, how USIA helped tell the world that America for the first time had sent a man spinning in flight around this minor planet.

In television we distributed through 67 USIA posts abroad a TV show "Focus Infinity" depicting Project Mercury. To make certain it was on hand in time it went out in January in multiple languages as well as in a blank version for local dubbing. Estimated audience: 125 million.

There were earlier TV background programs prepared. In December we did a show dealing with Glenn's training, and another spotlighting Glenn himself. There was also the program "Architects of Space" dealing with the

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Glenn shoot, as part of America's space achievements in general.

On the day of the event our TV cameras were busy. Footage of the actual event was air-expressed to 17 countries that do NOT normally receive commercial TV service. In Japan our Agency's bi-weekly TV program featured the Glenn shot to an estimated audience of 20 million. Our weekly Latin American program, Panorama Panamericano, showed the Glenn flight to 12 million viewers in 18 countries and the following week featured Glenn's reception in Washington.

Our press and publications people began their coverage with advance back-up material. A series of 12 articles by leading space authorities with 16 photos and 4 diagrams went to all USIA posts abroad. In late January a special kit went out of picture, feature and background stories. Heavy usage is reported world-wide on all these.

On the day of the flight our teletypes never stopped. A full running story went out across the globe. Receiving it were 22 of our stations in Latin America, 17 posts in Africa, 17 more in the Near East, 22 in Europe and 15 in the Far East.

But what did they receive? They got every detail of Glenn up, during, and down. They received 23,000 photographs, 75 color transparencies for use in local magazines, and special plastic plates for small papers without engraving facilities. They got special columns of comment and analysis. Our Mexico City plant turned out 30,000 pamphlets about Glenn in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America and within days our regional plant in Lebanon had 83,000 pamphlets in Arabic, Turkish and French moving throughout the Middle East.

Our press effort had, of course, speciality material. For Africa there were special stories on the Nigerian and Zanzibar tracking stations. From the BBC came a request about Glenn's ancestry. USIA reached the astronaut's parents through a neighbor's phone in West Concord and London got its answer: John Glenn is Scots-Irish. One of our officers in Canberra came upon the story of a BOAC pilot who reported actually seeing Friendship 7 in flight over Queensland.

And for upcoming publications, our Russian language magazine, AMERIKA ILLUSTRATED, will carry the story of John Glenn, with the same format going into our Polish language edition of the same magazine. Our Arabic magazine, AL HAYAT, will feature John Glenn. And he is now a star in some of our cartoon features, a few of which are the most widely read cartoons in the world.

USIA's world-wide radio, the Voice of America, went on the air at seven A.M. with the shot and stayed with it for the next nine hours. Millions of listeners throughout the world thus followed John Glenn from countdown to pick-up.

At the moment of launch the Voice of America's Spanish, Armenian and

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Chinese Mandarin services were on the air telling of the flight. Minutes after launch our Russian service started broadcasting with news of the successful take-off and orbit. Others of the 37 languages in which we daily broadcast spread the story of the Glenn shot in the peak listening times in their areas. Special programs were fed in German to Austria and Germany for use by their national networks. We did special documentary broadcasts to African countries in English, Swahili, and French. Foreign correspondents used our Voice of America facilities in New York for reporting to their home countries: Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Israel, and Tunisia.

There was one amusing sidelight. When John Glenn returned to Washington our Russian language service planned to broadcast the ceremonies live. In the Capitol building our Russian commentator assigned to cover the joint session of the Congress found he had been placed in a cloak room. Being a good reporter, he picked up his microphone, walked down a hallway and through a doorway into the chamber of the House of Representatives where be began speaking Russian softly into his microphone. He continued for 10 minutes before a guard asked him to leave. Not knowing the reporter, it didn't seem right to the guard to have Russian being broadcast from the floor of the House of Representatives.

Our motion picture people were equally busy. Within 72 hours film sequences for newsreels went to 30 countries. Newsreel sequences with Spanish soundtrack went to 18 countries in Latin America. Special sequences with Arabic, French, and English narration went to 30 countries in Africa. In addition, our Agency produces a monthly newsreel, TODAY, which displayed John Glenn in over 700 movie houses throughout Africa.

By the end of a week USIA had completed a documentary film that went to 106 countries -- more countries, I might add, than the membership of the United Nations. We did narrations in 32 languages, 11 more languages are planned in the field for a total of 43 soundtracks for this film. We've reproduced it in over 1,500 separate prints. It has been placed with 4 distribution organizations having 730 theatres in Japan. It is showing throughout Yugoslavia. It was shown in our post to a select audience of national leaders in Cairo. Indonesian President Sukarno viewed it.

Our Information Centers around the world were ready with exhibit and display material on the Glenn flight, including a 7 panel full-color NASA exhibit shipped months in advance of the flight. The display, for example, went up after the flight in every public school in Singapore with captions in English, Chinese, and Malay. And perhaps in Sao Paulo we set a Brazilian record in teamwork. 70 seconds after John Glenn was picked up the display was unveiled in the center of town. The secret of the speedy efficiency: moving into position in advance, and then listening to the Voice of America for news of Glenn's safe return.

Needless to say, this country reaped great gains from the flight in the

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political field. Publicity and coverage around the world reached astonishing proportions. From Syria and Hong Kong, to select two separated places, came reports of the heaviest coverage given any American story in years.

Most countries commented on the flight closing the "space gap" between this country and Russia. A few comments in Egypt, Greece, and Cyprus put the U.S. ahead because, unlike the Soviet astronauts, Glenn was in control of his craft.

In Europe and the Far East it was viewed as a triumph for free men. Many regarded the flight as a morale booster for the non-Communist world.

Colonel Glenn was universally hailed for his courage and his competency. Even the postponements turned out to be a bonus in some countries; they interpreted it accurately as evidencing our concern for human life.

We were also praised because we used the flight for scientific achievement and not for political purposes. There was no threat or intimidation arising from the Glenn success. My own favorite comment was that of a Scandinavian paper which pointed out that whereas Yuri Gagarin and Gherman Titov both praised their flights as a success of the Socialist system John Glenn had made not one reference to the success of either the Democratic or Republican Parties.

Perhaps most important, however, was the demonstration of this as the open society. Some lands saw this as symbolic of the ultimate triumph of free society. For the way we conducted ourselves was vital for the continuation of democratic institutions. On every continent the approach of the open society was lauded. Or as one foreign news service put it: "By opening the Cape Canaveral base to all comers...they prove they have nothing to hide and are not afraid of reverses. It is the prerogative of the strong to have faith in themselves."

And this is a political gain near as important as the flight itself. This nation stared failure in the face. And we turned away smiling. We shouldered the risk of humiliation before the eyes of all the world. Our response was as it can and, indeed, must be: boldness. U.S. frankness and openness stood in the white hot glare of world attention compared starkly with Soviet secrecy. Secrecy had come off a poor second.

I have more than just a passing regard for you people and the goals to which you aspire. Journalism is a career to be commended to all of you. I spend a quarter century of my own life laboring in the vineyards of ripe reportage. My tools were the microphone and the airwaves. Others used the typewriter and the printed page. But the raw stuff with which all of us worked was at base the same: words and events, places and peoples, and overriding all, our concern for truth.

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Journalism is an honorable calling. Indeed, in a democratic society it is even a crucial one.

I am not yet so old that my own reminiscences have begun to fascinate me. But I have witnessed an episode or two in this maelstrom of events we call "our times." And if there be would-be professional journalists among you, I have a few brief thoughts that I would share at least with your ears.

You shall march out into a world not quite overwhelmed with your coming. You shall be asked to prove yourselves. And that proof must come in that most difficult of all arenas to excel in -- day-to-day accomplishment. But you at least have the consolation -- or is a better word challenge? -- that how you prove yourself is in large measure a function of how good you are.

Excellence is a full time pursuit. It is that unremitting total of all your merit that at the end of your efforts will make men look back upon you and your time and say to themselves, "Here, here was a man worth the knowing."

Excellence is not a sometime thing. Some are born with it. Others aspire to it. Many strive for it. Most profess it. A few approach it. You, by hard work, might attain it.

I have dwelled at some length on the aftermath of John Glenn's flight. Therein, I suggest it, lie lessons for all who aspire to the noble trade of telling man about himself.

There is much for you to learn. A whole new world is growing up out there. Its dark mysteries pose challenge, its unplotted paths pose opportunity. To those young minds eager to study and willing to learn, challenge and opportunity will bring a day of your own dimension. And I suggest that the key for you is in your own education.

The value of knowing an important influence on your life before it ends is in turning it to more fruitful purpose. Education is such an influence. I have never known a man who said he had too good an education. I have never known a man who said he had gotten enough from education. But I have known many men who said that into their education they had put not enough of their own work and effort.

Journalism, and all else in this world, is being remoulded under the impact of man's greater knowledge. More and more does success come to the man who knows well the field into which he delves. But journalism delves into all fields. If journalism then be your choice, then all fields of man become the subject of your learning.

You may specialize. You may generalize. But most of all must you learn to value and to judge. Science and languages, geography and economics,

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psychology and law -- the whole span of knowledge of man is your province, and your place in the province of man will be determined by your knowledge.

Pursue that knowledge. Learn it well. And learn to treasure above all else that precious commodity we call ideas. A fact once overlooked may someday be returned to, but an idea lost is gone forever.

Take onto your own shoulders the burden of your own self improvement. Know that what today you take time to learn tomorrow you will take time to do.

One of the marvels of this wondrous land is the promise it holds for the people it bears. No generation on earth has ever had quite your opportunity. No generation in history has ever had quite your challenge.

The advice I advance is the counsel of confidence. Stand in awe of today. But do not shrink from tomorrow. And know that what you now learn, and the leadership that may flow from the learning, will someday influence the destinies of us all.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

Release No. 22

FOR RELEASE AT 11:30 A.M., EST, MONDAY, APRIL 2, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Fortieth Annual Convention, National Association of Broadcasters
Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago
April 2, 1962

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me say you my heartfelt thanks for these honors that you bestow upon me. I am not certain they are deserved. You can be certain they are appreciated.

I must confess to a considerable feeling of camaraderie with this audience. You are broadcasters. So, at one time, was I. We all of us labored to put good pictures on the end of the bright tube called television. We all shared that peril best described by impresario Sol Hurok who once said of audiences: "If the people don't want to come, you can't stop them."

It was an invitation between friends, a question of audiences, and wanting to come that resulted in that delightful exchange of notes between George Bernard Shaw and Winston Churchill -- both quick of wit and barbed of tongue. Shaw telegraphed: "Winston; new show, tickets for you, held at box office, my guest opening night, two seats for you and friend -- if you have one." Churchill wired back: "G.B.S.: Invitation received, courtesy appreciated, want to come, cannot make opening, will come second night -- if you have one."

Times change. The years go by. And still I carry memories of these two men and the way politics and the communication of it preoccupied both their lives. They were both masters of it. Yet changing times bring new modes of communication. I cannot help but express curiosity over what Shaw, the critic, would have said of television and how Churchill, the politician, would have fared with television. I am not certain the medium would have emerged unscathed.

It is the rapidity of change -- particularly in the art of communication -- that impresses itself on my mind. One hundred years ago we spanned the West with the Pony Express. Before the waves of radio, before the time of the talking

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wires, this land used running horses. And in the early 1860's that going concern could claim assets approximating 400 horses, 190 stations, and 80 riders.

With mail in their saddle bag and dusty sweat on their brow, the young men of the Pony Express wrought communications mile by torturous mile. If Sioux and Navaho were not on the rise, rivers were. If hijackers did not lurk beyond the next canyon, sandstorms did. The Pony Express sought men who were, quote, "young, skinny wiry fellows willing to risk death daily." Orphans were preferred. And they had more takers than they could handle.

Those tough young men tamed the 2,000 miles from Missouri to California. They tamed it daily. They tamed it well. Not a single message was lost.

But in the 1860's the tapping of a telegrapher's key slowly spelled the beginning of a new era of communication. In that decade it wrought the death of the once proud Pony Express.

In this decade one century later it will fashion communications via space satellites.

In the early 1960's this going concern of space exploration can claim assets not of horses but of rockets, not of stations but of launching pads, not of riders but of astronauts.

In a matter of bare weeks now there will fly from the launching pad at Cape Canaveral a missile carrying in its head a 34 inch near spherical capsule that will give us television in the heavens. We shall beam a signal from the State of Maine up to the satellite in orbit. That signal will return to earth in Europe. And a new era in communications between men will be underway.

My Agency is already deeply involved in this project. We have been charged by the Space Agency with the program responsibility for the content of that first broadcast. We have already met with the major networks to take the first steps in this exciting project. We are planning for its exploitation abroad by the combined use of all our media -- television, motion pictures, radio, press, magazines and pamphlets, exhibits, and books. We produce all of them, and in all of them we shall chronicle this major step forward in the peaceful use of outer space.

For the first time man will have conquered the barrier of distance in telecasting. An ocean, a mountain, a desert, a thousand miles or more -- these will be as nothing to the future of television. We shall switch lives from Baghdad to Bombay as easily as we now switch from Boston to Baltimore. It will mean television live from America to Africa, from Europe to the Far East -- all simultaneous and instantaneous.

Like the tapping of that telegraph key in the 1860's, the satellite of the

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1960's will similarly be the new era of communications. Instead of linking a continent with saddles and leather, we shall link it with satellites.

But let us indulge ourselves for a moment's reflection.

This new satellite will solve no problems. I can think of no one single issue today that will be more manageable due to satellite television. On the contrary, I can think of many issues that will be that much more difficult with global television.

A bus burning in Birmingham could be seen live throughout West Africa. A United Nations debate on the admission of Red China may be seen live throughout the Far East. A Geneva conference on disarmament and nuclear testing will go live to the country that has felt nuclear weapons, Japan. Fidel Castro may be seen as large as life from one end of Latin America to the other. And all of southeast Asia can be drowned under a torrent of instant Khrushchev direct from Moscow.

No, gentlemen, global television will not herald the coming of the millenium. And the reason for it is a fact too little acknowledged by many of the gentlemen in the business of communicating.

A communication system is totally neutral. It has no conscience, no principle, no morality. It has only a history. It will broadcast filth or inspiration with equal facility. It will speak the truth as loudly as it will speak the falsehood. It is, in sum, no more or no less than the men who use it.

And it is here that I suggest the future should give us cause for pause.

You gentlemen will share the burden of what this new communication system will have to say. Around this globe there are many people who seek only to lift their lives from a crushing way of existence. There will be many with starving bellies, diseased children, and squalid hovels who will turn but with marginal interest to your new television. What, gentlemen, will you have to say to them?

Satellite television will not solve the classic problem of communications since the beginning of time. What are we to say?

Global television will not bring more wisdom to our minds. It will only give wider dissemination to what our minds have to say. I suggest the problem of what we are to say is one to which the broadcast world might well turn its mind.

These issues have been much on my mind of late as, indeed, they have been for the past quarter century. My thoughts go back to Europe and 1936, those years when radio was first beginning to flex its wave lengths. The

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principal content of international radio to this country then consisted of such tranquilities as the Vatican Choir, Scandinavian folk songs, and the song of the nightingale from a Surrey wood. The development of regular and multiple radio pick-up for news broadcasting did not begin until 1938 and the time of the Anschluss in Austria. Sundry other colleagues and I were there for those early days of the then new creation called radio. If you will forgive a phrase that this reporter has used elsewhere, I can hear it now.

Our world and this country have travelled a long road since those days. There was Czechoslovakia and Poland, the low countries and Dunkirk, the fall of France, late night bombings and the Battle of Britain, war on the Eastern front, Pearl Harbor, Bataan and Corregidor, and then at long last the long road back.

There is much that comes to a broadcaster's mind. The hopes we held, the lives we lost, the dreams we deserted, the opportunities we were offered. Even the very memories are still harsh. And there is naught to claim them but our conscience.

But when those days were done a new world came slowly to being... and for this land a posture in life completely different from all that had gone before.

We shouldered the burden of helping distant men reassemble the shattered pieces of fragmented lives. We fed the hungry. We comforted the broken. We lifted the fallen.

We gave aid under a Marshall Plan. For the first time in our history we sought allies in peacetime under NATO. For the first time in our history we sought reason and rule over chaos and cacaphony under a United Nations.

For a country that had been raised on itself with gaze directed inward, this was a revolutionary new posture. We completely reversed the course of our ship of state. And we did it in the full light of free debate.

In a democracy one does not govern long unless one governs the way the governed wish to be governed. We were able to do what we did because the people believed it was right. They believed this because the issues were explained to them and the risk of our not doing was pointed out. It was here that the mass media fulfilled its obligation to democracy. America chose her radical new posture in the postwar world deliberately and out of deliberation. And this was the indispensable contribution of the communications media in an era when our policies became painful, and our dreams turned to dread.

And so it is with the world around us. These times are indeed less than tranquil. A sea of printer's ink headlining crises around the world has washed over the floodtide of placid recollection.

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In a world such as this the issues of life and death may not ultimately be determined by what people in the broadcast world say or do. But a contribution can at least be made. Without this, you live without license in a world of concern partly of your own making.

I am told that last year the export of television product ran to 40 to 45 millions of dollars. That portion of your product which goes abroad is, as it should be, a matter for your own judgment. No government agency should have authority to control, or even influence your product for export.

But I suggest you would do well to acknowledge that in the volatile world in which we live celluloid is a strategic commodity. Those who do export of it must show concern and consideration for its use.

I have doubt that what is being said abroad about the people of this land is in accord with what the people of this land would have spoken in their name.

There is an honorable tradition of examining our society. The tradition of muck-raking is still alive. In years gone by I have even ventured small portions of it myself. Its export to an audience abroad without knowledge of its circumstances results in its being seen in isolation, by and of itself alone. They may not understand that its function is to make the body politic itch. They cannot know that it is meant to criticize and improve, and to so prod the social conscience that the urge to change might in time corrode the misdeeds thus exposed.

What I am then suggesting is that when you put your tapes and your kines in your salesmen's bag you should have regard for what goes into it, as well as for what you hope it brings back. Not everything done abroad is necessarily perpetrated in the national interest. Those who export for profit should, on behalf of all of us, have as much regard for impact as they have for income.

Yours is the option of the free. The power of the instruments you control to influence opinion and attitude abroad is, I think, greater than you realize. I repeat that no government agency should be empowered to control what you produce for export and no government agency has the appetite so to do. Both the opportunity and the responsibility are yours.

The United States Information Agency is very considerably in debt to the broadcasting industry for program material made available to us. We should like to stand further in your debt. We have no desire to compete for the placement of programs in areas where normal commercial transactions are possible but we should like to be able to make available an increasing amount of your product both old and new to those countries where television is just beginning. We believe that such placement will further the national interest immediately and will, in the long run, contribute to the expansion of your markets.

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I realize that I have raised subjects not easily discussed and even less easily resolved. But they are matters disregarded only at our peril.

In the fever of the deep dread that must at times beset us all there is cooling consolation that the only thing that has kept pace with the instruments of mass destruction have been the instruments of mass communications. We have pitched man out into orbit. He may someday take with him weapons of destruction such as short years ago not even fantasy would have imagined. But that orbiting satellite may carry as well the mechanism of meshing our minds more closely together.

The more our respective peoples learn of each other, the less inclined they may be to become moved to states of high passion about each other in a time of crisis. Perhaps that is all we can do. Perhaps that is not much. Perhaps in the end of the day that will weigh but as a feather in the scales of history. But at least it is something.

This then could be history's last best charge to you. We are destined to live by our deeds. More than any of us dare to suspect, your contribution to the final reckoning could be the decisive one. That you may feel it less than decisive is no excuse for making it less than your best.

History will accept only your performance. The time of that performance, before the eyes and ears of near everyone on this minor planet, is close at hand.

Our communist bloc competition is able to operate in the field of political, psychological and indeed entertainment warfare at an economic loss. We in this country operate our communications system on the basis of free enterprise. It must remain free and I suggest it must be more enterprising.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

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Release No. 23

FOR RELEASE AT 8 P.M., EST, THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Annual Conference of the American Association of Industrial Editors
Hotel Summit, New York
April 5, 1962

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It is with pleasure that I rise to greet you fellow practitioners of the communications art. As your association advances toward its quarter-century anniversary, you can take justified pride in your growth and expansion. The "chatterbox" house organs of several decades ago have grown into a 100 million dollar a year industry. Only rarely today does one of your editors serve in the capacity of reporter, photographer, writer, proofreader, typographer, make-up man, production chief and circulation manager. It was a good way to learn the business, but it was hard on the metabolism.

But it is as press people that you can share the consternation of that young cub reporter being broken in by the famed editor, William Dean Howells. The lad had been sent to cover his first story, and having returned was busily engaged in assaulting his typewriter keyboard. Howells noted the growing pile of papers pouring from the machine and strolled over to inquire how the assignment was progressing. The lad's eyes shone as he replied excitedly, "Fine, Mr. Howells, just fine. I'm already on page 14." Howells smiled: "That's good, sonny, very good. Keep at it. And, oh yes, when you put in the next sheet, number it page 2."

If brevity was not its chief virtue, at least those 14 pages must have had variety. But it was communications and a lack of variety that we are told was once the bane of the existence of Abraham Lincoln during the war years. Daily the dispatches poured in from the commanders. Invariably one would be signed, "General Hooker, commanding, Headquarters in the saddle." The next day another communique would appear with the same legend: "General Hooker, commanding, Headquarters in the saddle." It was after an endless number of these that Lincoln one morning exploded with his classic epithet: "General Hooker has his headquarters where his hindquarters ought to be."

As we are all communicators, let me tell you something of what my Agency does, for communications is our daily bread. We are in the business of telling

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the world what manner of man it is that resides here. To do this we maintain 219 posts in 99 foreign countries. We use all the media known to modern communications to make the policy of this land everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. We broadcast radio, make films, produce television, run a wire service, print newspapers, publish magazines, distribute books, operate information centers and libraries, teach English, sponsor exchanges, display exhibits, and assist educational institutions. We also seek out ministers and members of foreign governments, editors and educators, publishers and writers, foreign opinion leaders and policy makers. Our purpose is to engage them in the vital face-to-face confrontation where the purposes and ideals of this land can be expounded.

I think you might enjoy an example. Many of you, I am sure, witnessed the orbiting of John Glenn. It was exciting and exhilarating. You saw and you knew it was history in the making. The art of the broadcast made you more than an onlooker. To a degree you participated with him; his success and his hopes were the success and the hopes of all of us. Each of us, as it were, was "present by proxy."

But we were not alone. Around this globe in distant places speaking many tongues there were millions of others whose eyes and ears clung to the fate of John Glenn. They, too, were "present by proxy."

Helping them to be present and to see what occurred was the role of my Agency. This is what we did.

In television we distributed through 67 USIA posts abroad a TV show "Focus Infinity" depicting Project Mercury. To make certain it was on hand in time it went out in January in multiple languages as well as in a blank version for local dubbing. Estimated audience: 125 million.

There were earlier TV background programs prepared. In December we did a show dealing with Glenn's training, and another interviewing Glenn himself. There was also the program "Architects of Space" dealing with the Glenn shoot, as part of America's space achievements in general.

On the day of the event out TV cameras were busy. Footage of the actual event was air-expressed to 17 countries that do not normally receive commercial TV service. In Japan our Agency's bi-weekly TV program featured the Glenn shot to an estimated audience of 20 million. Our weekly Latin American program, Panorama Panamericano, showed the Glenn flight to 12 million viewers in 18 countries and the following week featured Glenn's reception in Washington.

Our press and publications people began their coverage with advance back-up material. A series of 12 articles by leading space authorities with 16 photos and 4 diagrams went to all USIA posts abroad. In late January a special

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kit went out of picture, feature and background stories. Heavy usage is reported world-wide on all these.

On the day of the flight our teletypes never stopped. A full running story went out across the globe. Receiving it were 22 of our stations in Latin America, 17 posts in Africa, 17 more in the near East, 22 in Europe and 15 in the Far East.

But what did they receive? They got every detail of Glenn up, during, and down. They received 23,000 photographs, 75 color transparencies for use in local magazines, and special plastic plates for small papers without engraving facilities. They got special columns of comment and analysis. Our Mexico City plant turned out 30,000 pamphlets about Glenn in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America and within days our regional plant in Lebanon had 83,000 pamphlets in Arabic, Turkish and French moving throughout the Middle East.

Our press effort had, of course, speciality material. For Africa there were special stories on the Nigerian and Zanzibar tracking stations. From the BBC came a request about Glenn's ancestry. USIA reached the astronaut's parents through a neighbor's phone in West Concord and London got its answer: John Glenn is Scots-Irish. One of our officers in Canberra reported that a BOAC pilot, having been alerted by the Voice of America, actually saw Friendship 7 in flight over Queensland.

And for upcoming publications, our Russian language magazine, AMERIKA ILLUSTRATED, will carry the story of John Glenn, with the same material going into our Polish language edition of the same magazine. Our Arabic magazine, AL HAYAT, will feature John Glenn. And he is now a star in some of our cartoon features, one of which is among the most widely read cartoons in the world.

USIA's radio network, the Voice of America, began reporting the event world-wide in English, at seven A.M. and stayed with it for the next nine hours. Millions of listeners throughout the world thus followed John Glenn from countdown to pick-up.

At the moment of launch the Voice of America's Spanish, Armenian and Chinese Mandarin services were on the air telling of the flight. Minutes after launch our Russian service started broadcasting with news of the successful take-off and orbit. Others of the 37 languages in which we daily broadcast spread the story of the Glenn shot at peak listening times in their areas. Special programs were fed in German to Austria and Germany for use by their national networks. We did special documentary broadcasts to African countries in English, Swahili, and French. Foreign correspondents used our Voice of America facilities in New York for reporting to their home countries: Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Israel, and Tunisia.

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Our motion picture people were equally busy. Within 72 hours film sequences for newsreels went to 30 countries. Newsreel sequences with Spanish soundtrack went to 18 countries in Latin America. Special sequences with Arabic, French, and English narration went to 30 countries in Africa. In addition, our Agency produces a monthly newsreel, TODAY, which displayed John Glenn in over 700 movie houses throughout Africa.

By the end of a week USIA had completed a documentary film that went to 106 countries -- more countries, I might add, than the membership of the United Nations. We did narrations in 32 languages, 11 more languages are planned in the field for a total of 43 soundtracks for this film. We've reproduced it in over 1,500 separate prints. It has been placed with 4 distribution organizations having 730 theaters in Japan. It is showing throughout Yugoslavia. It was shown to a select audience of national leaders in Cairo. Indonesian President Sukarno viewed it.

Our Information Centers around the world were ready with exhibit and display material on the Glenn flight, including a 7-panel full-color NASA exhibit shipped months in advance of the flight. The display, for example, went up after the flight in every public school in Singapore with captions in English, Chinese, and Malay. And perhaps in Sao Paulo we set a Brazilian record in teamwork. Seventy seconds after John Glenn was picked up the display was unveiled in the center of town. The secret of the speedy efficiency: moving into position in advance, and then listening to the Voice of America for news of Glenn's safe return.

Needless to say, this country reaped great gains from the flight in the political field. Publicity and coverage around the world reached astonishing proportions. From Syria and Hong Kong, to select two separated places, came reports of the heaviest coverage given any American story in years.

Most countries commented on the flight closing the "space gap" between this country and Russia. A few comments in Egypt, Greece, and Cyprus put the U.S. ahead because, unlike the Soviet astronauts, Glenn was in control of his craft.

In Europe and the Far East it was viewed as a triumph for free men. Many regarded the flight as a morale booster for the non-Communists world.

Colonel Glenn was universally hailed for his courage and his competency. Even the postponements turned out to be a bonus in some countries; they interpreted it accurately as evidencing our concern for human life.

We were also praised because we used the flight for scientific achievement and not for political purposes. There was no threat or intimidation arising from the Glenn success. My own favorite comment was that of a Scandinavian paper which pointed out that whereas Yuri Gagarin and Gherman

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Titov both praised their flights as a success of the Socialist system, John Glenn had made not one reference to the success of either the Democratic or Republican Parties.

Perhaps most important, however, was the demonstration of this as the open society. Some lands saw this as symbolic of the ultimate triumph of free society. For the way we conducted ourselves was vital for the continuation of democratic institutions. On every continent the approach of the open society was lauded. Or as one foreign news service put it: "By opening the Cape Canaveral base to all comers...they prove they have nothing to hide and are not afraid of reverses. It is the pererogative of the strong to have faith in themselves."

And this is a political gain near as important as the flight itself. This nation stared failure in the face. And we turned away smiling. We shouldered the risk of humilitation before the eyes of all the world. Our response was as it can and, indeed, must be: boldness. U.S. frankness and openness stood in the white hot glare of world attention and was compared starkly with Soviet secrecy. Secrecy came off a poor second.

This, then, is a microcosm of what we in USIA do and the chilling dimension within which we work. We take the story of this land and this people wherever men have eyes to see and ears to hear. Our foreign service officers man posts in teeming jungles and bustling cities, in mountain country and in desert. We travel by mule-back and auto, by river raft and helicopter, by camel train and diesel train, all in pursuit of our objective of informing others who we are and what we believe.

You will have noted more than a casual resemblence between what both of us do. We both seek to inform, you in the world of industrial relations, my Agency in the world of foreign relations. There is a useful corollary in this. For the idea I suggest is the idea that both of us should meld our forces in communicating ideas abroad.

Let me be specific.

Many of you print industrial magazines. Without your necessarily being aware of it, some of those publications distributed in this country could be of great use abroad, particularly if you publish subject matter with scientific implications. Our posts overseas are in touch with important groups, leadership elements, opinion moulders, young scientists, and the like where some of the product you produce could be enlisted in the cause of this country.

Others of you publish magazines which already circulate overseas. I am thinking, to choose an example at random, of an auto parts manufacturer who produces a periodical in Spanish and Portuguese for distribution

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throughout Latin America. The purpose of the magazine is to carry service information to auto owners, garage managers, and mechanic users. But to insure the magazine being read, articles of a general nature are run. With this particular magazine we have a contact for carrying a series of articles about the Alliance for Progress in Latin America.

We wish more contact with you industrial editors who have overseas circulation. You have carved out audiences for yourself that may best be reached only through your publications. We can furnish you material which will add an additional dimension to your publications. You can help us to reach population groups which would otherwise be difficult of access. We would welcome the opportunity to work with you in our mutual interest.

Further, my Agency has its own media output which could usefully exploit information and knowledge about you and your companies. Let me take an example -- our Television service and a program called "Science Report." This show describes to the rest of the world what the United States and its industries are doing in technical and scientific research fields. The subjects run four to six minutes. They are tailored for lay audiences in non-technical language for use on a "man in the street" level.

The thread, of course, is how the peaceful use and application of science and technology can benefit all mankind. What new modes of transportation, for example, give new access to deserts, mountains, and swamps; new methods of agricultural techniques applied to common problems; new developments in communications, medicine, chemistry, and many other fields. Whatever you people are doing in your businesses that is new and exciting is probably new and exciting to others as well. My Agency, with your help, would tell what you do to a world curious about this land and how it works for a better life.

There is much that we can do in concert. I have brought with me a colleague who handles our Agency's cooperative efforts with private business. Mr. Sanford Marlowe will be contacting many of you in time to come. I hope you will give him your heartiest cooperation.

There is a great world growing up beyond the shores of this country. Huge masses of people long dormant and docile are becoming eager and enthusiastic. They who have dwelled in hovel and hut and grovelled in dirt and disease are at long last learning that life need not always be a burden. It can as well be a benefit.

The privileges of existence cannot be confined to the privileged few. It must as well be brought to the impatient many. It was the historian Arnold Toynbee who said: "The 20th Century will be remembered as the period when the benefits of civilization will have become available to the whole human race."

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Toynbee went on to draw a conclusion that is here highly relevant. "The idea of the common welfare for all people," he concluded, "has come initially from early America."

It is this about this country that sparks so much of the curiosity abroad about America. People would know of us. They would inquire about us. They would learn from us.

For this land is viewed in part as the repository of that knowledge for material progress that so much of our world seeks. Look at the roster of names that make up but a casual list of bright eminences: Eli Whitney and his pieces of wire and wood in a gin separating seed from cotton, Robert Fulton's steamboat, Samuel F. B. Morse's telegraph, Elias Howe's sewing machine, Richard Hoe's printing press, Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, Cyrus McCormick's reaper, Thomas Edison's phonograph and incandescent lamp, George Westinghouse's air brake, the Wright brothers' airplane, and if you will forgive what may seem like an excursion into the somewhat trivial, those utilitarian gems of creativity such as King Gillettes safety razor, Whitcomb Judson's zipper, and Walter Hunt's safety pin.

Each was in his own way a giant, because in an assault on a problem a sometimes great human need was satisfied. And that is the circumstance of so much of this globe -- problems and needs. It is this to which this land must address itself abroad. People must be placed in a position where they have confidence that tomorrow will be not quite so dismal as today, and that the day after may be even better still.

It is a large task. No government agency can hope to do it alone. It requires that degree of cooperation which is both the mystery and the secret of the success of our way of life.

You may regard yourselves as publishing only trade journals, but you are also communicating ideas. What is a trade journal to you may be a revolutionary thought abroad. You are exploiting not just appetites for goods and services but appetites for a way of life that makes it possible for people to share in freedom the benefits of industrial progress.

I suggest this imposes a new dimension of responsibility upon what you do. It is a responsibility that we shirk only at our peril. I suggest that we share this responsibility with collective efforts for our mutual betterment.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

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Anna Putterman Memorial Lecture by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Bucknell University
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania
April 23, 1962

I am indeed honored that you have invited me to inaugurate the Anna Putterman Memorial Lectures.

Bucknell is a University highly esteemed in the counsels of both my Agency and the Department of State. The reason, of course, is your extraordinary concern with the international dimension of education.

There is your Summer Institute for Asian Studies, the Bucknell Institute for Foreign Students now in its 15th year, and your Burma-Bucknell Weekend bringing together Burmese students in this country with officials of their country and student hosts from your university.

Yours, then, is a new-born tradition of international concern with education. But even the new has traces of the old. The very first Burmese student to study in the United States arrived 114 years ago here on the Bucknell campus, the great grandson of the King of Mayawaddy. He graduated from medical school and rejected a court post to practice as a physician. In 1929 he died, at the venerable age of 91.

Your university, then, symbolizes this country's educational tie with the people of Burma. The Fulbright exchange program is in its 15th year in Burma, making it the oldest continuous Fulbright program in the world. It is thus that I note with great regret the Burmese government's recent curtailment of educational exchange programs with the United States.

This is particularly regrettable in view of the past success of the programs to both countries. The executive officers of the Fulbright program have been outstanding Burmese educators who have established one of the smoothest running Fulbright programs in the world. The incumbent director, Dr. Hla Bu, has been most effective in his post and gained the wide respect of American scholarship with his eminent lectures in comparative theology at Union Theological Seminary in

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1959-60.

Our disappointment is heightened as the requests for Fulbright scholars came from Burmese institutions which had found the past services extremely useful, especially in English teaching. And this suspension in turn will reduce the number of American scholars who, on their return to this country, can serve as friendly interpreters of Burma and the Burmese people to the United States.

Conversely, Burmese scholars in this country can, we trust, learn professions and skills most needed in the development of Burma. At the same time, they provide our scholars and people with first hand knowledge of Burma that we can gain in no other way.

I recall with favor the recent remark of President Kennedy that Fulbright scholars give more to the United States than they take away. This is a measure of how much we value these ties. This is the reason we deplore any action which tends to limit such ties.

Such scholars from other lands provide a bridge between the past and the future. Theirs is a difficult task, but in fulfilling their responsibilities they do their countries a necessary service of essential patriotism.

And this need is common to much of this changing globe. We hope this and other programs of international education will be renewed. Education is indeed the wave of the future. And the United States even anticipates the time when Burma and other nations independent shortly after World War II will provide more educational assistance to the very new independent nations of Africa. This the Burmese can do in assuming their role in world leadership for attacking problems on an international scale. We trust that American-educated Burmese can help their land assume their rightful role in the councils of nations.

We do not deny the sovereign right of Burma to review foreign activities in its own land. But the ties between us in the past have been many and close. We hope the time will come when they will and, indeed, must be renewed.

I wish that we could be inaugurating this series of lectures in more tranquil times. It is the unfortunate destiny of this generation to live amid turmoil. We are engaged in a great competition with an implacable foe. Moves are daily made with political pawns everywhere on our global board. The gambits in many areas seem like established patterns of play. And everywhere harsh dilemmas and difficult decisions checkmate our hopes. The tower of our dreams seems destined to become the castle of our frustrations.

What I suggest is that these troubles are not alone the concern of troubled men in Washington. Government no longer lives in splendid isolation

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from its citizenry. If isolation there be, we are all of us isolated together in harsh company with our fears and our anxieties.

And this, I suggest, concerns you of the academic world as much as us of the political world. You who dwell in the towers of academia share with us all the towers of anxiety. The American university is caught in a rush of events that tests its traditions, that summons its scholarship, that questions its very ability to grow and adapt.

In the best of university traditions, yours is a contribution that no other institution can hope to make: to enlarge our horizons as a free society, to help educate our leaders, to help train our society for its role in the new world.

But in the world in which we live, your function inward takes on the duality of a function outward. You must as well help educate the leaders of foreign lands, help build the educational institutions of new countries, and aid in moulding the educational sinews of other peoples in order to create a free international society.

What I am articulating in the realm of education is the breadth of a new international dimension to what you do.

It begins with first principles and base values. Though I know the argument is rife in academic circles, let me assume the mantle of interloper and tell you what I think a university should be and do.

The university in American life has, I submit, a public purpose. That purpose in part is developing the spirit of free inquiry. The purpose in part is banishment of ignorance. The purpose in part is the advancement of human welfare through communicating what knowledge you possess.

In so doing you will of course free individual minds to pursue the higher life. You will widen the horizon of the nation's judgment. You will supply the skills essential to the nation's tasks. And in company with your colleagues of scholarship, there is the not unrealistic hope that by enlarging man's understanding of the world you will promote the welfare of that world in which man lives.

This, I am ready to admit, is an ideal. Ideals are that to which all of us perhaps aspire but only some of us probably attain. I am not certain American universities have as yet attained it. "The fault," as Cassius put it to Brutus, lies "not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings." It is not so much that universities have failed as it is that the world has changed. To respond to that change is the challenge of this generation of academicians.

American universities, in a modern age, tend to be somewhat parochial.

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They have been concerned with developing American civilization. The "American experiment" needed nurturing, and nurture it they did, and rightly so. Our civilization is far from finished, and American universities must concern themselves with its more perfect striving. But American universities must also turn to the new dimension of the international. American education has taken note of the new internationalism. You have had due regard for our Western heritage and European antecedents. We have all been aware of the international implications of science and learning and even of the universal scope of the principles of a free society. There are, as you yourselves bear witness, universities and colleges with strong international influences in programs and emphases. Nevertheless, the predominant nature of American education has been domestic in scope and character. You have been developing the American dream. Today, a solely domestic orientation is no longer enough. No University can afford to maintain so obsolescent a posture and still postulate itself as university.

The problems of this day demand a broader conception of education's role. Problems which an earlier generation conceived as local have today become global. The familiar landscapes of North America and Western Europe no longer suffice. We must as well view the other older cultures and newer nations.

Europe is our ancestor. Yet history teaches that the knowledge of Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries underwent great fulminations of change due to the great voyages of discovery. Their discovery of the so-called "new world" is paralleled today by our rediscovery of the rest of our world. I here note my commendation of words spoken by the President of the University of Rochester: "...To a degree we do not yet recognize, with an unparalleled speed, we are discovering a new world... Our educational habits and practices have of necessity been deeply influenced by Western Europe... Yet there must be room in general education...for the opportunity to bring into focus the new world..."

This, then, is the great new dimension confronting our universities: American affairs are now world affairs, and world affairs are now those of America.

I would make brief digression here to banish an objection before it gains currency. I am sensitive to the increasing role that government is coming to play in university life. There may be those who, feeling a sense of national urgency, would have government tell the university how it would best serve these new pressing needs in world affairs. It is true that the federal administration has come to rely on universities to help meet the nation's needs in world affairs. From this stems government support and participation in much that universities do. But the relations between government and universities must remain confined to the role appropriate for each. Government participation is justified and proper. But government must make careful determination as to how government itself participates. Universities cannot become mere agents

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of government. Universities must retain their autonomy. But universities themselves must acknowledge that the major educational resource upon which the nation depends is, in fact, the universities themselves.

That educational resource must, in turn, be resourceful. Universities will, of course, determine their own individual programs. But they in turn will need to consider nationwide needs and opportunities.

We are a pluralistic society. A healthy pluralism would dictate not only diversity within each individual university but diversity among universities as well. This means that some must assume tasks -- such as teaching little used exotic languages or special programs for foreigners -- which are genuinely educational but lie outside your own self-determined interests.

We could begin by saying that a first class education in this half of the 20th century cannot exist by definition without an effective international component. Some courses should be reorganized, others perhaps eliminated altogether or combined to give place to world affairs.

This, I suggest, is especially true in those heavy-traffic courses of the freshman and sophomore years. I deem it near indispensable that every student as an undergraduate should have at least introductory acquaintance with a culture other than his own.

This will come hard, for I know there is a reluctance to modify or give up traditional fields. But I think my friends in the humanities and social sciences might well learn from a concept well established in the physical sciences: the obsolescence of curriculum. I have heard this best described as the "phenomena of emergence." In time of profound change the physical sciences are not alone in their revolutionary growth. The humanities must deal with a chaotic body of new material instead of dealing mostly with a large body of material already well organized.

The development of Area Studies could serve our nation splendidly. Some universities have already undertaken such ventures, but they are in the minority. I have seen a report that there are only five area programs on the Near East, only five on the Soviet Union and East Europe, only three area programs each on South Asia and Africa, and but two on Southeast Asia. It is to the discredit of this country that, and I now quote a Ford Foundation Report, "Latin Americanists in the United States have not as yet generated area study centers of the quality and depth of, say, centers on East Asia and on Russia at Harvard and Columbia." Going further, specific countries themselves have been poorly dealt with: Korea, Southeast Asian nations, Pakistan, Afghanistan and North African countries, to mention several.

Area Study programs need encouragement, then, to consider areas receiving little or no attention presently. Area programs currently underway

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must round out their competence by including disciplines now under-represented --such as economics and sociology, law and psychology.

Problem-oriented programs in some universities can be a great benefit. Universities that bring several disciplines to focus on problem subjects such as population, economic development, social and political change, and foreign policy can gain rich insights not only into the problems themselves but into the nature of American and foreign societies.

Professional schools, too, should have international focus. Professional schools provide in some cases mere vocational training. They train students to practice a particular profession in our country, and frequently even only in a particular state. This has been dated by America's growing involvement with the world. Professional graduates in law, education, public administration, medicine, public health, engineering may find part of their careers in foreign areas. If their professional training lacks an international affairs aspect, it is due to the default of our own better judgment.

I cannot overlook the obvious and growing need for language training. The tourist phrase runs, "English is spoken everywhere." But the problems of Americans who have lived and worked abroad without knowing local tongues cannot blind us to the crucial inadequacy of American competence in foreign languages.

A generation ago we concentrated on the major tongues of West Europe. Even now we do not speak them either well enough or widely enough. But today our needs change. My Agency's radio arm, the Voice of America, broadcasts on regular schedule 37 languages daily, and for special events, up to 62 languages. Tongues that were once exotic have now become standard. Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Hindi -- these and others are becoming languages of modern discourse, and our land stands in need of those who can discourse in them.

Of large import is the need of the American university to cope with the foreign student -- particularly those from outside North America and Western Europe. Courses may need redesigning. Special preparation, both in English and their chosen fields, may be necessary. The principle paramount to me is that foreign students must not be isolated in either course work or extra-curricular life.

Foreign students may not be numerous -- 50,000 in this country make them only 1 1/2 percent of total college enrollment. But they are far more important than just their numbers alone. I recently visited nine countries in Africa -- two of the chief executives, Nkrumah of Ghana and Azikewe of Nigeria, were products of American universities.

Many foreign students are elite representatives of their societies. Many come from the most modern elements. Many will be called to positions of high responsibility in their native lands. For American universities to treat them poorly in the present places the burden of a heavy mortgage upon discharging our responsibilities in the future.

I have made but bare mention of education needs in the United States. Education needs abroad are staggering. In Africa and Asia, in Europe and the Americas, as never before in history, societies are awakening to the relevance of education to the realities of life.

There was a time when nationhood concerned itself with politics and armies. This century we have added economics, and this decade we have added education. For the councils of nationhood now concern themselves with all four: Politics, Armies, Economics, and Education. And it is not the education of individuals nor the discourse of scholars that concern them, important as that may be. It has risen now to a new level of dimension. It is now the education of entire nations.

As we have long suspected, and as they are fast learning, education is the catalyst for the success of nationhood. It will determine technological expansion, it will influence political development, it will even contribute to economic growth.

But for nations who as much lack scholars as they do skills, they cannot do it alone. They will turn to our land for our minds as much as for our machines. The education of a nation will depend today in large measure on what it can learn from educators of other countries. If they cannot learn from the universities of America, they will learn from others in our stead. And who can say but that the lessons they learn will return to haunt us.

I do not mean to propel universities into the midst of the Cold War. But I do mean to imply that the judgments of a nation are shaped as much by the scholar as by the statesman. In a time of tranquility the university is free to pursue its private aims in accord with the leisure of its tradition. But in time of stress, private aims become public concersn. In days of turbulence universities in a free society must meet their responsibilities and press forward into new knowledge and fresh concern. The universities do it not because they are commanded or directed. No man has yet found a way to command the unwilling mind. Universities do it because it is in their nature to pursue their principles. They do it because it is the best and the only way to protect the land they love and the life they lead.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "It is the eye which makes the horizon." In a free society, it is the university which makes the eye.

Modern man has been catapulted into times of great change. There is much to lead us to the belief that human welfare everywhere may possibly depend upon our peculiar combination of technological power and democratic freedom. Without that technology, men become slaves to nature; without that freedom, slaves to one another. Both, I suggest, depend upon the university. For neither technology nor freedom is possible without education.

"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

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Statement by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee
Subcommittee on Communications
April 24, 1962

Mr. Chairman:

Let me thank you for the invitation to appear before the learned members of your committee today.

There has been much recent discussion on complex issues relating to ultimate ownership of the first space satellite system. As you well know, those discussions are currently moving forward. I thought you would be interested today in NASA's planning for the first experiments in transoceanic communications by active repeater satellite, my Agency's involvement and responsibilities in those experiments and some comments on the operation of whatever the final satellite system may be.

Some of what I will tell you may sound familiar. But I think for the sake of completeness it is best to run the risk of redundancy.

As you have already been informed, NASA plans to launch several communication satellite projects starting about midyear. The first communications satellite that is scheduled is Project Telstar. This is the experiment undertaken with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Under a cooperative agreement, NASA will establish the environmental standards for the satellite, will provide the launch vehicle, will launch the satellite, and will obtain orbital data from tracking stations after launch. AT & T will reimburse NASA for the costs involved. AT & T has constructed and designed the satellite, and built the ground station facilities involved. Both organizations will share in the knowledge and data gleaned from the experiment.

Pursuant to this, AT & T is rapidly completing a very large installation in Andover, Maine, for use in this first Telstar experiment. Later this year the facility will be used for communications experiments with the NASA Relay satellite under a contractual agreement.

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But a televised satellite experiment, to be international, must by definition involve other countries. Therefore, NASA last year completed negotiations whereby England and France would provide ground stations for experimental purposes in connection with Projects Telstar and Relay. Similar arrangements were made with Germany and Brazil, and a later negotiation was undertaken with Italy. Facilities in all these countries are being built. We hope that the facility in England will be ready by mid-year for the first Telstar experiment. We fully anticipate that the end of this year will see completed facilities for testing communication satellites in England, France, and Brazil, and in 1963 facilities will be completed in Germany and Italy.

Project Telstar is planned for launching around mid-year. Immediately after launch a period of experimentation will ensue. Sometime during these early weeks of testing, AT & T and NASA hope it will be technically possible to demonstrate a live television experiment within the United States. If such a demonstration occurs, it will be a relay of a television signal from the AT & T sending station at Andover, Maine, to Telstar for relay to the Bell system station at Holmdel, New Jersey. If the satellite continues to operate successfully, it may be possible to conduct the following international experiments:

A. a live experimental television program from the United States to Europe;

B. a live experimental television program from Europe to the United States;

C. a telephone demonstration with conversations between cities in the United States and Europe;

D. a telephone demonstration with Brazil via the Relay satellite may be possible later, with transmission and reception by the International Telephone and Telegraph station at Nutley, New Jersey.

E. a speed mail facsimile, and photo demonstration.

Both of the television experiments will be 10 minutes only in duration. I am told that these experiments probably will occur in the order mentioned.

Some weeks ago NASA created a Government steering committee which would concern itself with administering the problems of these first public demonstration experiments with Projects Telstar and Relay. Represented on that committee are NASA, the U.S. Information Agency, the Department of State, and the Federal Communications Commission.

That committee and NASA itself delegated certain responsibilities to my Agency:

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A. Responsibility for developing and proposing to the committee program content of the first transatlantic experimental telecast demonstration, including responsibility for coordinating all arrangements with the domestic television industry of this country.

B. Responsibility for liaison with the program representatives of the European countries concerned regarding receipt of our experimental program in Europe and formation of their experimental program to come here.

C. Responsibility for coordinating telephone demonstrations both in Europe and Brazil.

D. Responsibility for contacts with other U.S. Government agencies regarding program matters.

E. Responsibility for exploitation and explanation worldwide by all the many media of USIA regarding this latest manifestation of a peaceful use of outer space.

To superintendthese Agency responsibilities I assigned the discharge of them to my Special Assistant, Robert Mayer Evans, working personally out of my office. He returned two weeks ago from a meeting of the European Broadcasting Union at Seville where the space demonstrations were discussed. He was in New York last week to discuss plans for the American program with the three networks.

Because much of this work is still in progress, I cannot make final report to you on all issues. But I am able to report to you how my Agency has discharged our responsibilities up to this moment.

Let me take the simplest first.

Regarding world-wide explanation by USIA media, projects and plans are underway for appropriate programming by television -- by motion pictures -- by press wire and photo services, magazines and newspapers -- by radio -- and by exhibits, displays and lectures.

Regarding other government agencies, they are of course kept informed and problems discussed when dictated by circumstances.

Regarding the first American program to be televised to Europe in the satellite experiment, our Agency early decided that on behalf of this country we must exploit the best creative minds available to render a 1962 version of Samuel F. B. Morse's century-old first historic message: "What hath God wrought?"

Several weeks ago I therefore met with representatives of the Columbia

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Broadcasting System, the National Broadcasting Company, and the American Broadcasting Company. The subject of that meeting was how we might best pool our mutual efforts to discharge the programming function that the steering committee had asked USIA to undertake. From our discussions emerged agreement that the networks would be voluntarily undertake this programming function in cooperation with us and that a network planning committee would be appointed to do so. The network committee is composed of Fred Friendly of C.B.S., Irving Gitlin of N.B.C., and Ted Fetter of A.B.C.

As I mentioned earlier, my Special Assistant was in New York last week to discuss program plans with the network planning committee. Those plans are still in their formative stage. It would not, however, be presumption or injustice to the networks to generalize on program plans with this sole comment:

The excitement of satellite television is the infinite increase it gives to the range of television. It gives us intercontinental linkage of ground terminals in a way not hitherto possible. It means the medium will no longer be restricted only to a line-of-sight signal from tower to horizon. It will mean television instantaneous and simultaneous from mountain to desert, from river to ocean, from one seacoast to the other, all across a huge land having not one but four time zones, and then relayed across the ocean by orbiting satellite. It will be the new communication, sub-divided only by our own imagination, and dramatizing a glimpse of our future across the dimension of geography and through the dimension of time.

The details of this, the sites and locales to be broadcast, and the settlement of arrangements and problems are currently under consideration, and will continue to be for the months ahead.

So much for the American aspect of the program.

What of the European program?

My office was represented at the recent meetings of the European Broadcasting Union in Seville. The General Post Office of England's representative on the Ground Station Committee has not as yet designated officially a programming organization for the European program. It is the general assumption on both sides of the Atlantic that the British Broadcasting Corporation will be that programming organization, and that they will in turn avail themselves of the facilities of the European Broadcasting Union. This meeting of the E.B.U. had as part of its agenda a discussion of their common problems of both sending and receiving a satellite program.

The BBC had drawn up a conception of a program format for the experimental telecast. I think it is fair to describe their initial program concept as similar to the comment I made above. They will attempt to set the limits of Europe from the Arctic Circle to the Mediterranean, they will include

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the mountains of Europe, the rivers of Europe, and some of the better known capital cities.

Their program, too, will span the dimension of geography through the dimension of time.

The European problems are of a different order from our own. There are, for example, 21 political entitles in the European Broadcasting Union. Obviously all of them cannot participate in a broadcast of 10 minutes.

On a technical level, there are problems of different European line standards and electrical systems that must go through conversion before transmission.

And on both sides there are mutual problems to be worked out. The day of the week for the broadcast is not yet known, nor is the hour of the day. A major problem is the difference of time. When it is evening in Paris and London, it is afternoon in New York. The six hour difference in time is a major obstacle in choosing the optimum time for broadcast.

For advance planning, we are limited to program preparation. All else must wait the launching and technical determination of whether the public demonstrations are, in fact, feasible. The decision must be made by technical experts of A T & T, NASA and the participating countries. The orbit achieved will determine the date, time and duration.

I should add the technical observation that this will be a relay of television signal between ground terminals. This satellite will not enable direct broadcast to be made to home receivers. Recent studies show that formidable technical problems remain to be solved before such direct broadcasting becomes feasible. I am informed such a development may not be possible in the foreseeable future.

As we are interested and involved in the programming experiment and its impact abroad, so are we interested and will, I hope, be involved in the long range use of the Space Communications System. In this connection I would like to make just a few comments on the legislation before your Committee:

Our Agency wants to use the System. We think the national interest demands that we do so. Suffice to reflect upon the impact around the world of simultaneous live television coverage of the Glenn orbital shot -- and of his reception in Washington, in New York and in New Concord, Ohio. We must inform your Committee of our deep concern that we may not be able to afford to use the System. May I cite the following example: Were we to have seven television circuits, one each to Latin America, the Near East, Far East, Southeast Asia, South Asia, West Europe and Africa, and use them each an average of 1 1/2 hours a day, the cost to us of relaying by means of the Space

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System at comparable current rates would be $900,000,000 a year. (Our complete budget for Salaries and Expenses in fiscal 1962 is $111,500,000 which covers television, radio, press, publications, personnel salaries, exhibits -- and all the other myriad activities in which we engage.)

I think we can agree that however the ownership question is ultimately resolved, the national investment in the System has been great. We believe and urge strongly that affordable rates for our Agency's usage is an appropriate partial repayment of that national investment. Under the Administration bill direct negotiation with the owning corporation is possible, thereby permitting some possible reduction in rate, subject of course to FCC regulation. If, however, as has been proposed, ground stations were not to be included in the System owned by the corporation, we would have to deal with the common carriers owning the ground stations as well as the corporation, or conceivably with the common carrier alone. Under that circumstance, assuming current practices are followed, no reduction in rate would be possible. Only in severe emergencies do we use existing submarine cables for our radio broadcasts. We cannot afford it.

We earnestly hope the Congress will include in the legislation, authorization for the corporation to own ground stations. This makes sense economically and also, I'm informed, technically.

It is a fair appraisal of my Agency to say that we are involved in communications with the rest of the world. We are in business to satisfy that incessant and insatiable curiosity about this land and its people, and we further engage in the difficult and delicate art of explaining abroad the policies and practices of this government.

I mention this because we have more than a mere parochial interest in the cost of international communications. If the cost of using the satellite system is high, it will have the same disadvantage of other present systems. The high cost of communications reduces the volume of communications. Our interest, and I suggest the interest of this country, is in maximizing communications with other lands and other peoples. Our concern is with the maximum flow of information at a minimum cost. How this will be reflected in the satellite system is still moot.

An example in closing: my Agency has opened a foreign correspondents center in New York City as this is where the majority of correspondents from abroad are stationed. I recently spoke to a group of them, and the first question put to me was on the cost of their communications. The rates for sending material to their native lands are high. They asked if there was something that could be done to help them lessen the burden of the sheer cost of technical communications.

There is much they would tell their native lands about our land if

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communications were easier. No outsider can ever have a fraction of the credibility of a native correspondent writing for his own native media and telling them about America. Absolute statements are never absolute, but I think it is near absolute certainty that more written home about America by foreign correspondents stationed in America could not help but be in our unquestioned national interest.

Perhaps, then, I should readdress their query to this committee: Is there not something we could do that would help lessen the cost of communicating for foreign correspondents stationed in this country?

Their costs and my Agency's costs are issues deserving national consideration.

In closing, let me state that we support the concept of broadly based ownership of the System for space communications. A dynamic economy, free of monopoly, is a major message we convey to the world. The Administration bill, as amended, is consistent with that message.

Thank you.

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FOR RELEASE AT 4 P.M., E.D.T., SUNDAY, MAY 6, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Polish Constitution Day Celebration
at Humboldt Park, Chicago, Illinois
May 6, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let me say you my thanks for your kind invitation to share these moments of celebration with you. Each May 3rd you celebrate the anniversary of the Polish Constitution, a document that partakes of the same spirit of liberty as does the American Constitution. And as between Poland and America, therein surely lies one of the many ties that bind.

Our Constitutions date from identical eras -- the American Constitution adopted in 1789, the Polish Constitution two years later in 1791. From these both there springs a common heritage. History relates there is love of liberty in both our lands.

As I read passages from the Polish Constitution, I was struck by their similarity to passages from our own early papers. Note these coincidences of language and intent, beginning with the Preamble to the United States Constitution:

> "We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Listen now to the Preamble of the Polish Constitution in all its similitude of language and intent:

> "Persuaded that our common fate depends entirely upon establishing and rendering perfect a national constitution; convinced by a long train of experience of many defects in

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our government and willing to profit by the present circumstances of Europe, and by the favorable moment which has restored us to ourselves; free from the disgraceful shackles of foreign influence; prizing more than life, and every personal consideration, the political existence, external independence and internal liberty of the nation, whose care is entrusted to us; desirous, moreover, to deserve the blessing and gratitude, not only of our contemporaries, but also of future generations; for the sake of the public good, for securing our liberty, and maintaining our kingdom and our possessions; in order to exert our natural rights with zeal and firmness, we do solemnly establish the present constitution..."

Those words are Polish. They could as well be American. That they are one and not the other is due only to accident of location. Across the distance of time and continent, both content and intent are the same. And each of these is testimony to the testament that belongs to people both here and there.

For both our lands, those constitutions were an end and a beginning. An end in the sense of peoples determining to end their native land's domination by foreigners, a beginning in the sense of hopes new-born and high-held for reform of living and betterment of future.

That it was short-lived in Poland made no less an indelible impression on peoples there. In but four short years it came to tragic end when Russian and Prussian soldiers set upon that land so new-found in freedom.

If the American Constitution did not come to so ignominious an end, it was due in some measure to the contribution of Poles to this land. The name of Kosciuszko is known to all -- the Polish patriot revered by countrymen here for his role in gaining independence for those 13 lonely colonies.

But though everyone knows the role he played, I wonder how many know the birthday he shares with another revered American. Both Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Abraham Lincoln were born on February 12. They share more than a mere calendar. As they were born on the same date, so did they each die in the same spirit. For Kosciuszko's last will named his close friend, Thomas Jefferson, as his executor and instructed Jefferson to buy as many slaves as Kosciuszko's estate could pay for. Once bought, those slaves were to be set free. More than half a century later Abraham Lincoln was to give his life in the same cause of free men.

In times more recent America and Poland were joined again in pursuit of the fruits of liberty. Those older among you will recall the moving days of World War I, the magnificent work for his country of the Polish master of the piano, Ignace Paderewski, his friendship with Woodrow Wilson, and even the 13th of Wilson's famous 14 points -- an independent Poland with an

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outlet to the sea and an international guarantee of its independence and integrity.

The Poland that was hoped for was born after the War. It was not a perfect state; few states of men ever are. But there was at least the hope then of fulfilling that promise of the Constitution of 1791.

And then came the days when news from Europe became as dark as the dread foreboding they portended. The years of depression began their slow blend into the fears of aggression. And the shadow of the swastika was seen on the land.

As a reporter it was my sad privilege to be onlooker to the lights of Europe that flickered, then faded. No man walks among us who does not carry on his soul the brand of those days. Humanity, so it seemed, had fled the habitation of we mere mortals.

On September 1 the war began. It was Poland that felt the first weight of Hitler's might. On September 19 Soviet troops marched into Eastern Poland. As in 1795, the Russian and the Prussian had extinguished the light of liberty in Poland.

In company with those soon to join the cause of struggle, we then sat in London. In those few brutal days the punishment of Poland was bitter to bear. The defense of the Polish coast -- Oksywie, Hel, Westerplatte -- these will stand in gold among the battle honors of Poland. Those last eight square kilometres of Polish-held coast, Gdynia evacuated, bombardment from the sea, anti-aircraft guns silenced, the Luftwaffe attacking at treetop height, ammunition exhausted, men collapsing, the end hovering near, and from Colonel Dabek that immortal Polish order of the day: "We have nothing left to defend but our honour; we shall always be able to defend that single-handed."

Single-handed was the last flight and fight of the near legendary Polish submarine, Orzel. It was privilege then to meet her officers and crew in England; it is privilege now to recall their deed.

Gallantry they possessed; daring they invoked; heroism they undertook. While the Orzel fought, Poland was cracking under the crash of Panzers from the West. While the Orzel fought, Russia invaded from the East. While the Orzel fought, Warsaw fell. The Orzel possessed all that men need to engage in battle for defense of homeland, all, that is, save that one quality men best call hope.

The Orzel first guarded the coast of Poland. Under orders she put to sea into what by then had become enemy waters. Attacked and hunted, she pulled into the then neutral Estonia for repair.

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Entitled to time for repairs under laws of neutrality, she was virtually seized. Armed parties removed from the Orzel ammunition, rifles, gun breeches, charts, equipment, and torpedoes. Disarmed and with only six torpedoes left, the crew kidnapped their guards, cut mooring cables and wires, and sought freedom.

They had no charts. They were in strange waters. They grounded on shoals. Through shells and gunfire, they made their escape to wind and sea. For 16 days they patrolled the Baltic. With fuel running out, with water almost gone, they determined to make for England.

To do so they had to traverse the rocky Swedish coast and the Sound between Copenhagen and Sweden. Some areas were too shallow to submerge. Other sections mere periscope depth would put the craft on the bottom. With pencilled recollections of seamarkers and buoys, with her crew on deck with life belts at ready, for they dare not submerge in shallows, the Orzel crept along. They were spotted once, found deep water and submerged, and for 20 hours listened to the thrash of propeller blades above searching for them. With darkness they surfaced, and almost collided with their searchers. They crash dived, came up again and were seen, and again dived. In desperation they waited till drawn and, being able to see their enemy, they prepared to surface and fight -- and this with a submarine largely dismantled and disarmed in Estonia. With the dawn they came to the air, and the sea was empty.

They cleared the Skaggerak and in a North Sea gale they made England. They went on to fight as they had escaped -- with courage and cunning, with daring and success. I met them and admired them. They were Polish and I was American, but in that epic struggle we were all our fathers' sons.

And then on 11 June, 1940, came this cryptic communique from the Admiralty in London:

> "Owing to lack of information, and being long overdue, the Polish submarine Orzel is presumed lost."

The Orzel was never heard from again. A chapter of Polish bravery had come to an end.

The years have passed. An uneasy "peace" lies over Europe. All of us are a little older. Our burdens have been borne a little longer. The Orzel and her crew and the Polish fighter pilots who fought and with such grim gayety during the Battle of Britain are gone but not forgotten.

Polish gallantry and Polish determination are qualities we admire and we hope we share, as well as our love of our countries and our dedication to the principles for which both countries have so often struggled.

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These were the principles that prompted the Polish Constitution of 1791. These were the principles for which the Poles fought so nobly in man's last great world war, and these are the principles which all of us are confident will continue to be held by the Polish people as stubbornly as we hold them here.

I am told that Poland today is in a ferment of activity. Cafes buzz with the exchange of ideas. Western culture is in evidence. Plays from this country and others are translated and performed. Western books are permitted entry. Young intellectuals, artists, and students argue over technique and method. Architects emerge. Philosophers debate.

This is the area of my Agency's concern with Poland. The U.S. Information Agency is in the business of contacting people abroad to tell them about this country, its people and its policies, its ideas and its ideals. To do this, we broadcast radio, produce television, make motion pictures, print magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets, publish books, produce travelling exhibits, run libraries and information centers, teach English, administer educational and student exchanges, and stage lectures, cultural and artistic events.

We carry on these programs in countries around the globe. Some of these activities are carried on in Poland. For example, we broadcast in the Polish language on the Voice of America radio. We print and distribute a Polish language edition of our magazine called "Ameryka." We participate in the trade fair at Poznan. We occasionally have exhibits in the country. We are involved with scholarships and cultural exchanges. We administer the International Media Guarantee program for American commercial films, books, and magazines.

We do this because we have high regard for humanity and for the Polish people. It was no mere accident that in President Kennedy's first State of the Union message he mentioned Poland by name and expressed "...our abiding friendship for and interest in the people of Poland." And, I suggest, it is no mere accident that in the forefront of that expression of friendship for the people of Poland lies the work of the U.S. Information Agency.

I have in my mind a vivid recollection of a description of Poland written several years ago by the Englishman, James Morris. He describes how in the old and beautiful Polish city of Krakow from the belfry of the church of St. Mary the Virgin a trumpeter on the stroke of every hour blows an ancient martial call.

Bold and clear and beautiful the call rings across the market square. Morris describes it as ringing from the tumbled houses to the broad frozen Vistula and the high ramparts of the castle where the old kings of Poland once lived in tapestried splendor. Then in midphrase the trumpeter stops. The

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music dies. Four times he tries, turning north, south, east, and west. Four times he fails, his fanfare never completed.

As many of you know, the trumpeter blows this way because in the dim history of Polish centuries a trumpeter rousing Krakow to a Tartar invasion was shot in the back. An enemy arrow interrupted his summons. His fanfare, died with him. To this day the call is never finished, and the heart-rending interruption is broadcast every day at noon by the Polish state radio.

Somehow that trumpeter from Krakow symbolizes Poland. He symbolizes the difficulties that country's troubled history has always known and he symbolizes the determination with which the Poles have always faced those difficulties.

James Morris remarked in closing comment on his visit to Poland: "Young or old, successful or awash, in all their eyes there lurked, I thought, that most affecting of the qualities, pathos. The Poles are pathos personified, 30 million brave souls of brave pathos, through whose affairs there runs, like some distant plucking melody, an unbroken thread of sadness."

In Polish history it has frequently been that the very act of life has been an act of hope. We understand the character and the hope of the Polish people. We feel, as they feel, the strong bonds between our two peoples. We do not overlook these bonds, and forget them we cannot. We are certain that the Polish people share our confidence that these bonds grow stronger in pursuit of those principles that we and the Polish people will never abandon. For the cause of the Polish people, as well as ours, is the cause of free men everywhere who live for the love of liberty.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

Release No. 33

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 1:00 p.m. THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1962

Remarks by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Educational Press Association, at the
National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

It is a pleasure of a different order of magnitude to stand here before an educational press meeting. By coincidence you encompass both my pre-government preoccupations. Like every man who ever learned to write and read, I owe what I am in goodly measure to my education. In younger days I worked in educational pursuits. And as one who plied his trade in broadcast journalism I feel a most natural affinity to members of the press.

I find most people are largely ignorant about what the U.S. Information Agency does. This is understandable. Our product is invisible. Our goals are intangible. By Congressional mandate we operate from the shores of this country outward. Whatever we do is for export only.

We are engaged in that difficult task of telling America's story abroad. We seek to turn politics into understanding. What we endeavor is to reflect with fidelity to our Allies, to uncommitted nations, and to ourselves not only our policy but our ideals.

To accomplish this we use all the media of communication: radio, television, motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, wireless files, books, pamphlets, exhibits, trade fairs, the arts, teaching and education, and face to face conversation with ministers and members of foreign governments and societies.

We must therefore speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures. Our media must talk to peons and professors, to Asian illiterates and Israeli intellectuals, to Congolese natives, to Muslim shopkeepers and to Indian Hindus, to the Filipino merchant and the Japanese scholar.

This means we approach them in their own country, whatever its climate or terrain -- in their own language, whatever its dialect or difficulty -- in their level of comprehension, whatever its depth. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes of the product we promote: the

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hopes and actions of the United States Government.

I shall not burden you with details of most of our operations. Our radio, the Voice of America, broadcasts up to 64 languages and is on the air 107 hours a day -- more air time, I might add, than the major commercial networks in this country combined. Our television services station in 57 countries. Our motion pictures reach a monthly film audience of about 600 million people. Our wireless news file sends out some 10,000 words a day to each of five major world areas. We turn out 68 magazines in 28 languages. We print over 12 million pamphlets and some 25 newspapers, wall posters, and periodicals in 14 languages. We have in circulation 150 travelling exhibits.

But you are interested in education, and education abroad is one of the areas that most concerns our 219 overseas posts in 99 foreign countries.

The heart of our operations on the intellectual front abroad is our libraries. To call them simply libraries is misleading. They do stock over 2,250,000 volumes that reached about 26 million persons last year; that's a lot of circulation for books, magazines, newspapers, other periodicals. But these locales of ours do so much more than lend books that they can only be described by a catch-all phrase, "Cultural Center." They show documentary films, display exhibits, stage concerts and lectures, organize seminars and study groups, provide special activities for children and youth groups, place programs on local radio and television.

A former Mexican Foreign Minister is reported to have said to an American diplomat: "The United States has done many fine things for Mexico. You spent fifty million dollars helping us eradicate hoof-and-mouth disease. You have constructed sewage systems in each of our towns along the border. You have helped us build health clinics and other public works throughout the country. But the finest single thing you have ever done for us, in my opinion, was the establishment of the Benjamin Franklin Library."

One must agree with the foreign minister that our USIS libraries are one of the finest things we have done in many countries. We have 176 of them, along with 85 reading rooms, in 80 Free World countries.

It is perhaps a paradoxical comment upon our success that USIS centers and libraries are usually the first objects of rioting mobs and demonstrators. Our libraries have been pillaged in Bogota, Baghdad, Athens, Beirut, Algiers, Calcutta, Taipei, Cyprus and, to a lesser degree, in half a dozen other places. Yet often the rioters themselves return to use our facilities; our attendance does not slacken after such demonstrations. Local citizenry quite often pitch in to help with the clean-up and repair. Once in Athens the cadets in the Greek Naval Academy began a campaign to raise funds for repairs, and even carried the campaign into the public schools.

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Attackers assail our libraries for many reasons. Some are nationalist outbursts; others are admittedly Communist fomented. But their very concentration upon our posts shows the enhanced position of the United States in world affairs and the potency of the ideas and ideals we have to offer.

I find it equally interesting to note that when we have decided to close a library or cultural center -- for budgetary or other reasons -- local townspeople almost invariably petition us to keep it open. In Germany some cities have even built new buildings and offered them free of charge to keep libraries from closing.

In lands with few cities but many people we take our culture and books to the people. By truck and caravan we plumb the depths of the jungle and the foothills of the Andes. By raft and riverboat we navigate the Indus and the Amazon to take the culture of our country wherever men have eyes to see and ears to hear.

In many countries, locally sponsored institutions are also serving in the cause of our country's culture. We call them Binational Centers. They are locally formed by the people of the area in cooperation with the United States. Their purpose is to promote the ties that bind the host country and the United States. Each center is indigenous, non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian. We supply services, top personnel, facilities and books. But their very strength is in their local autonomy, their local roots, their local participation. There are 128 of these binational centers today, many of them in South America.

We participate quite heavily in the pioneering spade work of building education in lands emerging from illiteracy. These lands have an urgent desire to absorb as much as they can as fast as they can. Carbon copies of educational systems and practices in this country are of little avail. But our experience is of great use, and this we parcel out liberally for the local people to adapt to their own needs.

For example, we gave the Nepal Government College of Education a collection of 250 books on education to use both for present training and as models for developing texts for Nepal schools. In Pakistan, the Ministry of Education is using a set of our textbooks to guide them in the writing of history texts for secondary schools in Pakistan.

We also have had an active role in encouraging the establishment of American studies courses in overseas universities. In India, for example, by judicious placement of book presentations American studies programs are underway at universities in Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, and Madras. The trend is spreading to Japan and Brazil, and has its greatest momentum in Western Europe -- England, Germany, and Italy.

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Just as much of the world would share our knowledge and emulate our machine age productivity, so would they speak our language. Teaching the English tongue is high on our list of activities. Last year over a quarter million people in 55 countries took instruction in English. We ran some 87 seminars for over 5,000 local teachers of English who will in turn reach over a million students. We are distributing a television series, "Let's Learn English," now running on 34 stations in 20 countries. Seven other countries have requested the series. Its success augurs well for its expanded use abroad.

I could amaze you with tales of the impact of English in foreign lands. There is a man in Latin America who rides all day and all night on horseback to get to his weekly English lesson, then returns home the same distance. In Africa a group of chieftains was told that English lessons would have to be postponed because there were no chairs in the newly built USIA building. So they showed up anyway -- each carrying his own chair. In Central America a small boy barely large enough to reach the counter came to pay tuition for English lessons. He asked shyly if it was all right for him to come barefoot. He was told yes, and it was only much later that we discovered he had sold his only pair of shoes to pay for the lessons. In Mexico City the announcement of English lessons drew such a crowd a day in advance that special police were called to stand guard through the night. And the next morning when USIA opened who were the first ones through the doors to register? The special police. Seven thousand five hundred people a day are now studying English in Mexico City alone.

In Africa we number among our English pupils several Prime Ministers plus Cabinet ministers and high officials too numerous to catalogue. In one country we even laid on English lessons for the entire Cabinet -- at the special request of the country's Chief Executive.

Parallelling this interest in speaking in our tongue is the passion for reading of our knowledge. And so USIA promotes the publication of books -- 6,000,000 of them published overseas last year, in English and in other languages. By assisting foreign publishers and encouraging translations of American books, the average output has been around 6,000,000 books a year over the last decade -- and this in 50 languages. We last year also distributed some 3,500,000 books and magazines contributed by voluntary collections. And we have specialty programs as well -- low price paperback editions that sell for the equivalent of 10 to 15 cents, special ladder editions of books for those with limited English facility, done in vocabularies of 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 words.

One of the more encouraging aspects of our book program is the use of our textbooks in foreign educational systems. Burma, Indonesia, India, Israel, Pakistan, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the United Arab Republic are all training part of their youth on educational texts obtained through this country.

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And let me tell you of another aspect of this unremitting war we wage for the wits of men. On the publishing front we are out-gunned by the competition. Last year alone, Russian books distributed to non-Communist countries rose by 30% to a high of 40 million volumes. It will come as no surprise when I add that the greatest increase came in underdeveloped countries. Furthermore, the Communists added seven new languages last year, all of them South Asian or African.

It is obvious that what they peddle is not ideas but ideology. There is not near so much Tolstoy, Dostoevski and Turgenev as there is Marx, Engels and Lenin. And it is equally well to note that my figure of 40 million was for books produced in Russia alone; there is at least twice this amount of Communist publishing done outside the USSR and Red China.

It was inevitable, I suppose, that any discussion of USIA's educational role abroad would drift onto the shoals of the present great political confrontation. It would be trite to say that we live in what could be a watershed of history. If this nation could have its "druthers" some might counsel a wish to live in a time of crisis less burdensome than the present. It is far less strain to read of the stormy fortunes of nationhood in history books than it is to live through them in anxiety.

For my own part, I would, I think, choose no other time than now. Peril there is, and in great abundance. But there is opportunity as well. And challenge. And hope. And these too are with us in great abundance.

It would be misleading of me to describe our fate as other than one of great struggle. We are in combat -- but combat of a different order. That the sound of shot and powder is only rarely in our ear does not make it less a struggle. If any thing, it increases the mortality of danger. Everyone knows to resist when attacked. But our decisions today are not easy ones like resistance to invasion. There is threat abroad but its danger is more indirect, and for that reason more insidious.

And if this is our fate, then victory is our goal. But as our combat is of different order, so must be our victory. We as a nation are accustomed to clearly drawn lines and quickly gained triumphs. But the victory we seek will not be so easily recognized. It may not even come in our lifetime. It may fall to our heirs to finish these tasks.

This victory will see no ticker tape parades down broad avenues. There will be no bands, no extras on the newsstands, no climactic battles, no holidays proclaimed, no burst of enthusiasm on that suddenly arrived date.

It will be a victory which will take years, perhaps decades, of hard work. And each year will be composed of months of anxiety. It will take the

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combined efforts of many to achieve it. It will not be a victory of the United States over the Soviet Union. It will not be a victory of capitalism over socialism.

It will be a victory of revolutions realized -- but revolution without violence. It will be the victory of men and nations standing straight and standing for their individuality as nations. It will be the victory of hope over despair, of accomplishment over frustration, of action over apathy. It will be the victory of freedom in the world as men have the right to know it and demand it.

We believe this victory will come -- and on both sides of the Iron Curtain. To believe any less is to be untrue to ourselves. And in a forum of educators, what man would dare suggest untruth as his premise?

But truth, like the proverbial night, has a thousand eyes. Many will view this truth with jaundiced eye and querulous gaze. We must try to see our truth in its right perspective, and to know that in the fullness of time we marshalled that truth and our power in the better service of all mankind.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

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Release No. _____

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
at the National Newspaper Awards Dinner
Toronto, Canada
May 19, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am on alien soil...and yet I am home also. Canada for me is not truly foreign. I was raised in the logging country of the Pacific northwest where I came to know the Canadian as worker. I passed the sorrowing years of war in England where I came to know the Canadian as warrior. I have in years gone by been witness to events of our world in company with your newspapermen and broadcasters where I have come to know the Canadian as journalist. And, being among friends, I must confess that in spending the all-too-rare evenings of friendship with you I have come to know the Canadian as imbiber.

But I am at home as well because I repose this evening with toilers of the press. There was a time when I counted my own crumpled countenance as one of your own. It was in those days that I learned what writing truly was: putting little words between big words. But like any man who ever earned his keep by orchestrating the sound of the key board, I also learned Oscar Wilde's difference between journalism and literature: journalism is unreadable; literature isn't read at all. My sympathies are with you still, save that now I am on the other side of the interview and am become more aware how much simpler it is to ask questions than to supply answers.

I am witness this evening to awards for exemplary achievement in Canadian journalism. I am grateful to you all for your gracious invitation to join in an evening of award and commendation. I confess that being miles away in Washington I have far too little opportunity to peruse your press product at first hand. There are compliments due the Canadian press, but discretion suggests that I limit their mention. Even compliments between friends are dangerous lest they be misunderstood.

What better example of misunderstood compliment than that of a young lad taking his first date to a high school prom and being told that the most important thing to do was to compliment the young lady at every opportunity. Tell her she

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looks lovely. Tell her she is wearing a beautiful dress. Tell her she dances divinely. Tell her what a light lovely laughter she has. Hours passed. The boy returned home beaten and battered and torn and tattered. His incredulous parents, horrified, asked what had happened. "I paid her a compliment," he answered. "I told her that for a girl so overweight she didn't sweat much at all."

Compliments, then, are not my intention this evening. Rather would I prefer to share with you some thoughts about this seldom gay, often grim world in which we live and how the politics of change are slowly changing the politics of nations.

Those politics and changes intimately involve the work of the Agency I head. The U.S. Information Agency is engaged in the task of making the policy of our country everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. We seek to tell others what manner of man it is that resides upon our shores.

To do this we use every form of communication known to modern man -- radio; television; motion pictures; newspapers and magazines, books, libraries, and information centers; traveling exhibits; educational, cultural, and artistic exchanges; teaching, and the vital face to face confrontation with foreign leaders and opinion moulders.

Ours is the permanent pursuit -- the inquiring mind of curious men. There is a great world foreign to the way of life of the North American continent. It is their curiosities we would engage, their intellectual appetites we would satisfy, their need for knowledge we would serve. By river raft and pack train, on horseback and on foot, our foreign service officers around the world take the story of our land and our people to wherever men have eyes to see and ears to hear.

Label it virtue or vice, it is an aspect of Washington that there is scant leisure for reflection. It is, after all, the tranquility of repose that lends savor to our labors. It is perhaps commentary upon our times that mere mention of tranquility seems in discord with reality.

As newsmen you are chroniclers of history. When I labored as one of you I was ever sobered by the knowledge that copy for today's readers would inevitably become research for tomorrow's historians.

I will here burden you with no incantations of fidelity to the truth. You are journalists. If you be worthy of that title, it is because truth is part of the rubric of your lexicon. If adherence to truth is not true of you, no exhortation will sway your morality.

It is rather history upon which I would dwell tonight. We fancy our

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lives as part of the scientific age. But we live as well -- including the scientists -- in an historical age.

I am aware that men have often imputed to their time of life the ultimate crisis of mankind. Our problems are perhaps no worse or no better than many that have gone before. We simply have the misfortune of having to live with ours. It is of course untrue that past generations lived with the single minded devotion of producing the unenviable situation we share today. Histories yet to be written may regard 1962 as looming no larger than 1806, or 1674, or 1523 or scratch your head for any other year about which you remember nothing in particular. Yet there is something about what is now happening to encourage the belief that these times are of more than fleeting inconsequence.

History is not a succession of one long continuum with no points of emphasis. It was H. J. Randall who said: "The historian who treated the Norman conquest of England as a mere incident in a continuous development would be as guilty of false emphasis as one who contended that it changed everything." All of history was not born free and equal. There are indeed great moments of history that divert the destinies of men. This would be true of 1776 for the United States, 1789 for France, 1867 for Canada, 1917 for Russia, and even the early 1940's for all this world and this generation.

And this may be part of the difficulty. I trust none will dissent if I postulate the Western world as being at base a moral world. But our age became the age of upheaval as men were slaughtered in such numbers as to make their meaning as men near meaningless to other men. It is possible, perhaps, to judge Charlemagne, Genghis Khan, or Napoleon without regard to their massacres. But what poor churl would attempt to judge Hitler or Stalin without regard for the measure of their misery.

Ours was truly a generation of morality that saw morality forsaken. And when we bore tortured witness to morality being pitchforked out of politics, I suggest it was indeed an excruciating moment of history.

The history of those days would appear to be, in J. B. Bury's pungent phrase, "the dossier of an incompetent Providence." I acknowledge the pitfall of regarding what is nearest in time as heaviest in import. Those days are still close. The mind of many of us is still seared by the scorch of memory.

But setting aside the emotions of memories, there seems sad relevance in the comment of the historian R. G. Collingwood, who wrote: "The only thing that a shrewd and critical Greek like Herodotus would say about the divine power that ordains the course of history is that...it rejoices in upsetting and disturbing things."

"Upsetting and disturbing" is the apt epitaph of much of this century. But I would be unfair to events if I assert that the legacy of our days is the counsel of darkness. Surely we shall bear to our posterity good omens of more

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than just the bitter taste of tears and torment.

I would share with you this evening one of those portents of tomorrow's hope. It is quiet and unobtrusive, as portents are wont to be. Little noticed, rarely discussed, seldom acknowledged, it is of near revolutionary portent.

Dwelling as we are in an historical vein, I trust I will offend no sensibilities if I borrow two historical terms to describe this new portent: Renaissance and Reformation. We are truly amid a Renaissance of the physical sciences. New postulates, new perimeters, new pioneers -- physical knowledge is quite literally exploding into outer space.

But the Reformation has also set in -- not in physical science but in political science. It is the concept of sovereignty and the nation state that is changing, changing so radically that the future chronicler of today's politics will not help but pause over our days to reflect on what now transpires.

Look how history has positioned us.

It was the famed British legal historian Sir Henry Maine who long ago noted that the duties of a nation state were but two: internal order, external security. Outside this, its position was one of sovereign equality. Other states might be its peer. None could be pre-eminent.

Sovereignty, though rooted in antiquity, has been developed in modernity. Again an Englishman defined our terms and his definitions today vie for immutability. John Austin viewed law as the command of the sovereign personifying the power of the nation. Sovereignty was a duality -- one could make law for internal groups, one could be free from command by other sovereigns of other lands.

Austinian jurisprudence is viable today. It is still the core of that concept of ultimate political power.

But between the days our grandfathers lived and our children were born, a revolution occurred. Philosophies changed. Governments differed. Attitudes altered. The basic role of governments -- once passive in nature -- became active in practice.

There is now concern for the individual. Personal freedoms must be protected. Individual security must be provided. Economic growth must be guaranteed. We seek to uplift the poor and employ the idle. Sickness and work are no longer the problem of one man, alone among many. The welfare of one has become the concern of all.

What a far cry indeed this is from Henry Maine's denomination of a

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state as concerning itself only with internal order. Sovereignty has indeed been altered. Passivity is gone. Activity reigns. And the maturity of the modern state is calibrated along the measuring rod of how fair will its citizenry fare.

More important still, how stands sovereignty internationally?

The philosophers of yore would stand agape at how stands modern sovereignty. Sir Henry's principle of solely "external security" has been foresworn and forgotten.

Independence from outside influence was the hallmark of that classical sovereignty. Today this is gone. Today there is immersion and involvement in world affairs. Events in one country may become the concern of many countries. What occurs in one place may be strongly influenced by the concerns of many foreign countries. Sovereignty in its traditional sense is fading. It is a fledgling genius labelled national responsibility that now stalks the councils of nations.

Consider, if you will, these examples:

The American balance-of-payments was a subject of concern in all of West Europe. And all West Europe consulted about how best to champion the cause of the U.S. dollar.

Economic assistance to the poverty-rows of the world has been in the forefront of national policy. And my country has issued call to the industrialized West to devote economic efforts to this end.

The Marshall Plan of postwar recovery was still again a marshalling of efforts in discharge of responsibilities that transcended issues of sovereignty.

There is no such thing in traditional sovereignty as external national responsibility. The very idea is outside formal structures of governments. In its way it is as revolutionary as guns or grenades. History has perhaps now come full tilt. The concert of nations is no longer based on sovereignty -- it is now based on the concept of responsibility. What happens in other nations is our concern. And what happens in our nation is the concern of others. Between one and all, there is a mutuality of responsibility.

It was Walter Landor who said, "In diplomacy we often talk on principle and act on interest." We have, then, a new principle based on national self-interest. It is the new national responsibility that has given rise to the demise of sovereignty.

Sovereignty, then, is not what it was. Its change is due not to new weapons or to the fact that, in Senghor's happy phrase, our oceans have become

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rivers. It is primarily due to a coalition of powers reaching common conclusion that they want to live in the same kind of world, and recognizing also that unless they engage in common external action their world will not long endure. That world is predicated on a view of man and state -- that the state exists for man, not man for the state.

Man will continue. But it is still moot as to how this continent will mould the image in which man will be cast. The story of man is the chronicle of history. And if history chronicles any one lesson it is surely that maximum challenge is never surmounted by minimum effort, that battles once won must oftimes be fought again, that merely being in opposition is not enough if your society has nothing of merit to offer in its own name.

The chronicle of history is saddened with the sagas of nations once mighty who were admonished by destiny under the stress of their times. Necessity can become the midwife of inspiration and change.

This may, indeed, be history's last best charge to the peoples that populate both our lands. This new science of the new sovereignty is but another way of denominating how our fortunes will cohere to our standards of interdependence. Ill fortune or good, we are bound to our higher mutuality.

If it be true that our youth is our oldest excuse for our shortcomings, then our two nations share not only our youth but the fact that we have both come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We do not always agree. We cannot explain away our disagreements with the excuse that we are separated by oceans or mountains or language barriers. Perhaps we understand each other too well, although I doubt that this is possible. Sometimes we appear to view each other with the same fascinated frustration that caused some anonymous but perceptive reporter to remark that a woman who is beautiful cannot be faithful and if faithful, she must not be beautiful.

We should, I suppose, do our best to disagree agreeably but the act of disagreement and the right to express it forcefully is part or our heritage and it should remain our habit. Both of us, I suspect, are becoming increasingly aware that we want to live in pretty much the same kind of world and that a major part of the responsibility for maintaining and improving that world rests upon both of us. Let us blackguard each other as little as possible while arguing how to do it. Let us talk to each other with candor tinged with a little compassion, being always conscious that, as Thoreau once remarked, "It takes two to speak the truth -- one to speak and another to hear."

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

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Release No. 35

FOR RELEASE AT NOON EDST, SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 1962

Text of Commencement Address
by Edward R. Murrow
Director, U.S. Information Agency
at Washington State University
Pullman, Washington

Mr. President, Honored Guests, Faculty and Students of Washington State University, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am home again. Washington state was the site of my youth. Washington State was the site of my education. It seems in retrospect almost as long ago as it was in fact that I sat in those same chairs where now you sit and regarded a commencement occasion.

I am, Sir, indeed grateful for those economiums of praise in your "Distinguished Alumnus Award." "Alumnus" you are compelled to acknowledge, for I hold the University degree. "Distinguished" is a more moot appellation. Reasonable minds might differ, as in the advice I recall from Homer's Iliad: "Praise from a friend, or censure from a foe, are lost on hearers that our merits know." The eminent words of the President of the Board of Regents are undoubtedly an illustration of those other words in the Notebooks of Samuel Butler: "Life is the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises."

I am grateful for your welcoming me back to Washington State. Those were happy years spent here. A man is a product of his education, his work, his travel, his reading, all his experience. But first among these mentioned is education. It was here that I found the contagious spark that is curiosity, the ravenous excitement that devours ideas, the emanating wisdom that hopefully opens the pathway of logic bypassing fancy and leading to fact.

I trust that as students you have less levity of spirit than that woeful student who regarded as gospel the nostrum of knowledge from Butler, "A hen is only an egg's way of making another egg." Butler, I am told, was wont to finish off audiences that regarded his remarks with sober and serious mien with his parting sally: "How holy people look when they are sea sick."

I departed these portals some thirty years past. The world of my departure

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bears little resemblance to the world of my return. In the interim the extremity of man's excesses have washed high on the sands of time. We are not, I think, handmaidens to but an incompetent Providence. But it would take only the greatest act of faith to believe that what humans have done in these decades has all been done in the name of humankind. "We live," commented William Dean Howells, "but a world has passed away, with the years that perished to make us men."

We are engaged in great confrontation with an implacable foe. It is both the refuge and the frustration of the academician to observe that the ultimate decision will be made upon the playing field of politics. Politics has often been called a game. But it was Bertrand de Jouvenel who pointed out the essential distinction. In a game man is free to play or not as he chooses. No such option is open to this generation of Americans.

If men play, they are free to limit their stakes. No such limitation is ours today. The old parties of the Weimar Republic never agreed to stake all their liberties and the lives of European Jews on a game of chance with Hitler. But this, in fact, was the stake they lost.

More disturbing still, it is not even necessary to know what is at stake. The rules of the game are simple: Play we must. And if we lose, only then in the goodness of time will be know what stake we have lost. Our game is in deadly earnest, for the stakes in our game of nationhood are indeed life as we live it.

If this world were tranquil our composure could be comforting. But tranquility has been now banished from the counsels of our calculations. Though this land is but 180 years young, we live still amid a revolutionary age.

We do not live alone. Around this globe, across these continents there are others who at long last have turned their battered countenance to the windward side of history. This, in large measure, is partly our own doing. In Henry Steele Commager's happy words, we are the oldest of the new nations. Ours was the first of the great world revolutions. It was no stroke of chance that a rioter arrested in front of a U.S. Information Agency library in Africa responded to questions with the phrase: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." He was quoting a U.S. book in continual circulation by an author named Thomas Jefferson.

Our revolutionary age has multiplied; there are not one but many revolutions: the political revolution of new nations, the economic revolution of new wants, the biological revolution of exploding populations, the scientific revolution of new knowledge.

The path of the future lies shrouded in the dynamic of change.

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Though no man of rational wit would dare predict, it seems reasonable to conclude that that change and that future may be even more significant. And I suggest in all seriousness that anyone who believes that the future will be easier than the past is mad.

The chronicle of modern times has been the dominance of the North European nations. Even in this country we like to think that recent history has been moulded in our image. If that be the burden of your reflection, then savor well the poverty of your recollection.

America's day of one land among the many is ebbing. New centers of power arise from old ashes in Asia. By century's end China and India will be industrialized, and China's population will be close to one billion souls. Europe in its infant clothes of new born unity will in short time grow to the restiveness of rebellious adolescence. And who among us could doubt that regional unity will in its day come to Latin America and Africa?

The Atlantic civilization has not lost its focus, but the light of civilization will no longer be focused on the Atlantic. History is changing from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and to the Indian Ocean as well.

This is not the beginning of the American century. Nor is it the beginning of anyone else's century, certainly not the Communists'. And if there are other actors advancing onto the stage of life, it behooves us to acknowledge the reality that America will not be alone at center stage, and that modesty is never in ill grace.

It would also be unreal of us not to acknowledge that great advantage in these circumstances lies with the Communists. Revolution is predicated upon change. When the ordered society is in a state of change, the marketplace of ferment gives premium to the wares of Communism's deceit and hypocrisy. But let us not misread these events.

Communism did not invent the world's revolutions. Every one of them -- political, economic, biological, and scientific -- had their origins in our way of life. Wittingly or not, the West launched them all. It is Communism that takes advantage of the momentum we generated. They exploit the momentum with anti-imperialist jargon and proclaim their false brotherhood of Communist man. The debasement of their people, the fallacy of their promises, the abandonment of their principles, the humiliation of their leaders -- all this bears witness to the falsity of their creed. But it is to our everlasting shame that in the years since World War II we have given them by default the initiative that was our birth right.

There is irony in the belief that the struggle in this bi-polar world polarizes around the twin poles of "capitalism" and "Communism." The capitalism of Karl Marx is as dated here as the feudalism of the Czars is dated

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there. Marxist ideology suggests that there exists outside the Communist orbit a static and basic condition. They call it capitalism, and they assume that since the lifetime of Marx in the last century it has undergone no change. Anyone who has seen the world around us would acknowledge how false this is.

Our society today is the society of the middle way. It is the mixed society. We have proven to our peers that it is possible for the state to evolve social security and economic growth without banishing political and civil freedom. Far from being unstable and doomed as Marx predicted, our society has shown that the society functions best which functions on a basis of personal liberty and social concern.

And it happens elsewhere as well. There is today not one social and economic system outside the Communist orbit. There are near as many systems as there are countries. And some of them in their democratic economics are even closer to the ideals which Marx conceived as the good society than they are to the laissez faire capitalism of Marx's day.

Capitalism in its traditional sense exists in only one place today. It exists in Communist orthodoxy, in the minds and the mouthings of the Communist idealogue who spares his own belief the test of relevance to reality. Aware of it or not, the world has passed these poor souls by and left them whirling in violent backcurrents quite detached from the mainstream of real life.

But economic jargon all but obscures the main issue. The disagreement between Moscow and the West is not really a disagreement over which form of social system is most productive. It is rather a disagreement about what is most important in the first place in the lives of peoples. It is not capitalism versus Communism. It is at base the right of man to make his own choice free of the strictures of the state, and not the right of the state to pre-determine those choices for him. It is freedom versus coercion.

It has always been the privilege of this land to regard its future as sustained by the belief of optimism. We have always regarded our future as indestructible, compatible, malleable, even benign in the portent of its hope. But the agent forces of history no longer circumscribe us in so complacement a comfort. If one thing is certain it is that the consolation of our past will be sorely called to task, that forces are abroad today totally unlike anything that has gone before, and that if our yesterdays were sheltered our tomorrows will stand naked to our challenge.

I do not belittle that optimism. But I do suggest that our optimism has on occasion misled us.

It has, I suggest, given us a false degree of confidence as to how free we have been to mould history. When our success in history has coincided with

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the movement of history, it has led us to believe that history is the product of our own effort. It has not made realists of us when history runs not with, but counter to, our designs. It has made it not a sign of wisdom but a suspicion of weakness to think of what is impossible.

Optimism has done one thing further. It has given us an oversimplified idea of what is history. The forces that we have harnessed, placed in another environment, might give a totally different outcome. Our optimism conceives of technical progress as only enlarging productive powers. What, then, of technology having social repercussions quite different from productivity alone? Our optimism conceives of political hope as leading naturally to popular democracy, as it did in the cradle of our own country. What, then of politics in lands where the conditions of western democracy have never existed? Our optimism conceives of economic advance as an end and goal in itself, as it was in our grandfather's century of insufficiency. What, then, of the new problems of organization and values that come with the growth of abundance?

Optimism is not to be abandoned. But it is perhaps wisdom that it be tempered. This century has seen extraordinary attempts to reshape the running forces of history. Some men by force of will and wills of force have even imposed their will on history. But the toll for humanity has been near catastrophic.

Invariably, too, those changes successfully inaugurated have usually been in accord with the drift and direction of world history. I know of no successful revolution against the forces of technology and against popular political aspirations. No revolution has been able to preach anti-industrialism, the inequality of classes, or the ideas of classical and outdated capitalism. Even Mahatma Ghandi -- he who so disliked advancing technology and had the adoration of his people -- could not keep India closed to advancing modern technology. Those nations who have insisted on resisting the tide are noted best today for their stagnation. They have had no subsequent history that has been of world import.

The fact that history runs too deeply to be turned aside does not mean that our future is pre-determined. But it does mean our future will be moulded with scant comfort to those who shun challenge. To what ultimate end historic forces will carry us none can know. Who among us can gainsay what will be the final impact of science and technology, the end effect of egalitarian political ideals, the concluding results of collectivism, the outcome of social conscience. We only know that these influences are firmly mounted in the saddle of history. Short of the profoundest change in the character of civilization, or an incalculable redirection of events, these will dominate the environment that will be our future.

"The scene changes," said Vannevar Bush, "but the aspirations of men of good will persist." You are those future men of good will. The dilemmas and difficulties that my colleagues and I ponder in Washington will set the pattern

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of the problems that you in your day will confront.

If you are dissatisfied with the world your elders have moulded and regard the mess of porridge we leave as unpalatable, be not too harsh in your judgment of us. Marcus Connelly has a play, "The Green Pastures," in which the angel Gabriel turns to the character of God and says, "How about cleanin' up de whole mess of 'em and sta'tin all over ag'in wid some new kind of animal?" And God replies: "An' admit I'm licked?"

Ours is a land and a people built for great challenge. Those who regard their future with misgiving are the ones willing to give little to their future. And history will deal harshly with those who confront challenge with complancy.

But the legacy that we elders pass on will not be bereft of truths. This generation will have shown that heroes are not all dead. We will have shown that courage lives on. We will have restored the belief that faith and loyalty can lift common men to greatness.

And upon this you, the youth, will build. And you will build it well for you will have no other choice. We are all, in the phrase of Rabelais, going now to seek our great perhaps.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the 21st Annual Conference
International Council of Industrial Editors
Pick-Carter Hotel
Cleveland, Ohio

Let me say you my thanks for the honor you do me with this award. I noted in your monthly magazine that the page mentioning this designation to me was preceded by an article with an arresting title: "We Had Created A Monster. What next?" One turned the page and the "what next" was the crinkled visage of Ed Murrow staring out.

I attach only a random significance to this.

I am grateful for your designation as "Communicator of the Year." For though I have left private broadcasting it is as a communicator that I still expend my efforts.

The U.S. Information Agency is in the business of communicating America's story abroad. To do so we use all forms of communication -- television, radio, motion pictures, books, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, exhibits, exchanges, libraries. Wherever you will find men with eyes to see and ears to hear, there will you find U.S.I.A. telling our story.

But as I am among private communicators I would here mention an area of private communication that has been of great value to my Agency and this country. The magazine industry of this country has been a greater help in our information program than some of its members realize. They have given us permission to draw upon their store of product -- from requests for one-time reprinting to requests for permission to translate into multiple languages and distribute throughout the world for republication. Trade publications, house organs, mass circulation and special interest magazines, scholarly journals -- they have all provided part of the canvas upon which we paint this nation abroad. And to all of them we say our thanks.

All of us as well will owe a debt of thanks to the three major television net-

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works. As many of you no doubt know, the first experiment in space communications will be launched bare weeks from now. We have asked the networks to devise what it is that this country will say to the world when man for the first time speaks from a star of his own making. The networks harbor minds of great talent and ability. They will create the new symbols of new ideas to excite the imagination of men. They will determine and supervise the content of this first experiment in space. It is the beginning of a new era in communication. None can fail to be excited by it.

But it is another future I would discuss with you today. It is a subject with prospect more foreboding, with challenge more demanding, with necessity more insistent. Some of you may feel only marginally affected by the advent of satellite television. But no man can feel quite so marginal about nuclear arms and disarmament. That margin is narrow. We share it together. Common anxieties about nuclear war have now become the common property of all we common people in this land. For on the face of this land mass there is literally no place to hide.

Since the end of World War II we have had a peace that has brought not peace but an armistice of arms. Our fancies have fled into a nightmare of technology, and we have responded with flight into ever more devious means of devising men's death.

We are in danger of using our energies not to enrich humanity but to destroy it. Ever growing opportunities for the betterment of man have been sacrificed to the ever growing stocks of weapons for the banishment of life.

The burdens we carry are no longer solely our own. History for the first time has become truly global. Classical history was confined to the shores of the Mediterranean. In the Middle Ages Europe conducted its affairs in virtual isolation from Asian kingdoms. Even when European power became truly global in the last few centuries, Asian states were passive, and European powers ran their domains as but extensions of European affairs.

But our world has changed. Temperaments and technologies are different. And great masses of humanity are turning their faces to the windward side of change. In this ferment now garbed in the robes of modernity, any decision and any move conjures up global consequences.

Man is no longer alone. Civiliation has now been thrown together. Man has made his world a near prison of uncertainty. We now are the possessors of a stewardship we did not seek, a responsibility we cannot shirk. This government and its efforts have become the unwilling custodians of the hopes and fears of all mankind.

And it is this that impels us to our goal of disarmament. We have no choice but to work and to plan and to hope for progress on disarmament.

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This country has a tradition of peace and disarmament little noted and widely ignored abroad. It is the Communists who are new-come to the pursuit of disarmament. The story of America has been the story of revulsion to war.

In 1815 peace societies arose in this land as well as in Europe.

In 1817 we entered an agreement to limit our naval forces on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain.

In the 1840's those peace societies convened congresses that passed disarmament resolutions. In the latter part of the century the societies merged into a world-wide Peace movement.

Early this century we elected a President on a platform of peace and a promise to keep the nation out of war -- the President: Woodrow Wilson; the war: World War I.

We went into World War I naked in armament with only a bare minimum of fighting force.

Even before that war ended the fourth of Wilson's Fourteen Points sought "adequate guarantees...that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

After that war we began disarming.

In 1921 this nation called the Washington Disarmament Conference resulting in the first successful attempt to reduce and restrict armaments.

In 1928 the United States was a prime mover in the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing and outlawing war as an instrument of national policy. The Pact was even named in part for U.S. Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg.

In 1932 the United States went to the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva with a proposal for abolishing all offensive armaments, and continued in the deliberations of the Conference for the next two years.

The storm clouds began to gather over Europe.

This country in 1935, 36, and 37 passed Neutrality Acts intended to keep the United States out of war and to prohibit the sale and export of armaments to warring powers. It may not have been to our ultimate credit so to have conducted ourselves. But it was this country's aversion to war and desire for peace that brought our early abstention from the rising conflict in Europe.

The war clouds darkened, and in 1938 President Roosevelt proposed a

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world conference to reduce armaments and ameliorate the more inhumane aspects of war.

The last months before war were replete with intercessions by Roosevelt for peaceful solutions of issues, and asking for assurances against attack on 31 nations in Europe and the Middle East.

Even as the great war began, this country tried to stay neutral. Not until we were attacked did we enter the lists.

And when that occurred, we again entered naked of armaments. What man among us does not recall our training of troops with no uniforms, with wooden sticks for guns, with bags of white flour for bombs, with trucks labelled "TANK" for armor.

But fight we did. Even at the height of the battle, we planned for peace. In the Department of State a special task force began planning the United Nations.

Today two major powers control the outcome of agreement on the control of power. Since the end of World War II, what has been the record of the United States and Russia on attempts at disarmament?

Compare the following chronology of the two great powers:

The United States in 1945 -- the first year of the bomb -- announced our willingness to share atomic energy information with the world and recommended a special United Nations commission. Thus in 1946 the U.N. unanimously approved a resolution establishing the Atomic Energy Commission.

That same year we presented the Baruch Plan to control atomic weapons through an international authority. Three times the United Nations approved the plan. But the Russians opposed it.

The United States then helped promote a resolution for establishing a U.N. Commission for Conventional Armaments. It came into being in 1947. In 1950 the Soviets walked out of the Commission and never returned.

At the suggestion of President Truman, the United Nations in 1952 created the Disarmament Commission. The Soviets protested its creation. In its six years of operation a subcommittee held 157 meetings. The Soviets never consented to any agreement.

At Geneva in 1955 the United States presented its "open skies" proposals to provide against surprise attack and lessen international tension. The Russians finally rejected the plan two years later.

By 1957 Western proposals on disarmament were endorsed by the

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General Assembly. The Soviets responded: they avoided agreement with a charge that membership in the Disarmament Commission was unrepresentative.

In 1958, after voluntary suspension of nuclear testing, negotiations began in Geneva for a permanent test ban. For two and a half years we negotiated, and the Soviets agreed to a preamble, 17 articles, and two annexes of a draft treaty. After a recess the West offered further concessions to break a deadlock. But these were the talks destined to be ruptured by the Soviet's secretly prepared test series of last fall.

In 1960 a 10-nation conference resumed disarmament negotiations in Geneva. Communist bloc delegates suddenly and without warning walked out of the conference. The U.S. proposals were presented to empty seats, and the meeting collapsed.

Then in 1961 came the Soviets' wanton resumption of nuclear testing in September at the very time they sat in Geneva discussing a test ban with the United States. Three days later President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan urged the USSR to reconsider. The Soviets were undeterred. The United States announced it was compelled to resume underground nuclear tests.

And it was then that the United States became the first government in history to establish a full time permanent staff of the government to concern itself with disarming our fears by disarming our weapons. President Kennedy announced to the U.N. his intention of establishing the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, an arm of government unparalleled in any other nation.

After some 50 Russian tests last fall the Russians, in response to U.S. initiative, agreed to resume test ban talks in November. Futile weeks of conversations followed; the talks adjourned in deadlock in January of this year.

Note, then, this Soviet record of participation in the search for a safer sanity:

The Russians rejected the Baruch Plan, approved three times over by the United Nations.

The Russians walked out of the U.N. Commission for Conventional Armaments.

The Russians protested creation of the U.N. Disarmament Commission.

The Russians resisted the United States "open skies" proposal.

The Russians rejected Western proposals for disarmament in the

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Disarmament Commission, and they did so without any study or consideration.

The Russians boycotted the Disarmament Commission.

The Russians again walked out of disarmament talks in Geneva in 1960.

The Russians broke the test moratorium even while they talked of not testing.

Having urged the merger of test ban and disarmament talks, the Russians turned down Western agreement to do so.

The shadow of the mounting arms race looms over all nations, great and small. The anxiety of one has become the concern of all. The survival of our planet is at stake, and the hour is advancing.

And thus we have come to 1962, where the scene last March was set at the Palais des Nations in Geneva for the disarmament talks now underway.

Two matters have occurred this year which seem to make the prospect of disarmament more real. We now know a good deal of what would happen if agreement were reached. Where there was once confusion, there is now clarity.

The first event was a United Nations report on what would be the impact of disarmament. Nine U.N. members, including this country, Russia and Poland, now unanimously agree that disarmament will NOT cause economic depression or large unemployment if proper preventive planning is done by government. This is a major change in Communist doctrine. They who once decreed the collapse of capitalism without the prop of war have now reversed themselves.

The other event was the U.S. draft of an arms agreement presented at Geneva in April. This was a milestone because never has a document so specific and comprehensive been prepared. We now know the possible shape of the future.

The goal is general and complete disarmament -- disbanding all armed forces and destroying all arms save those needed for domestic order and for a United Nations Peace Force.

Two principles are paramount: The disarming process would be balanced to prevent any state from gaining a military advantage. The aim is to insure greater security for all nations. There would be no advantage to increasing insecurity for an increase in insecurity means an increase in incentive to attack.

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The second principle is that compliance with all obligations would be verified. Without this we face a double dilemma: As Henry Kissinger points out, either we must rely on the Soviets to keep their word on what they destroy, or we must try and hold-back enough of our own weapons to offset what we think the Russians may be holding back. If we rely on the Soviets' word, we will be relying on the word of those who executed the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution while they were under a Soviet guarantee of safe passage. If we hold back some of our own weapons from destruction, we will have substituted a secret race for an open arms race. As both courses are unpalatable, verification becomes imperative.

The process of disarmament would be done in three stages -- the first to take three years, the second three years, and the third as soon thereafter as possible. Transition from stage to stage would occur when the U.N. had verified that the last stage had been completed and preparations for the next stage were completed.

All the steps in the U.S. treaty can be grouped in three equally important categories: First, arms reductions; second, reduction of the risk of war; third, peacekeeping by the United Nations. Each stage includes actions in each category.

Most categories of arms would be reduced by 30% in stage I, by 50% of what remains in stage II, and eliminated in stage III. Nuclear weapons would go through similar reductions to elimination, as would manpower reductions save only those needed to keep internal order. International peacekeeping would be taken over by the United Nations.

The second category is reducing the risks of war. In stage I some measures could be taken immediately to cut the risk of war by accident or miscalculation, such as advance notification about major troop movements to prevent surprise attacks and avoid misinterpretation of routine activities; establishment of observation posts at ports, road and rail centers, and air fields to report any unusual troop movements or concentrations; exchange of military missions to improve communications and promote understanding. An international commission would be established to study further measures to prevent war.

The third category is United Nations Peacekeeping. In stage I preparations would be made for setting up a U.N. Peace Force. A Peace Observation Corps would be established to check on possible conflicts. In stage II the U.N. Peace Force would come into being and would be progressively strengthened. Parties would agree to accept Rules of Conduct which would go into effect after circulation to all parties unless a majority objected. Stage III would see the U.N. Peace Force reaching such strength that no single nation could challenge it.

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This new U.S. "total approach" offers disarmament not for its own sake, but as a major tool, first, to make war less likely and then, in time, to abolish it altogether. To do this, actual disarmament --arms reduction -- is only part of the treaty. The other two parts, neither of which gets more than lip service in the Soviet plan, are United Nations peacekeeping and steps to reduce the risk of war.

A world without war is not easy to imagine. But it is far easier than imagining a world after war.

These plans are not, as some charge, irrational utopianism. They are practical, they are possible. For the first time since the end of the war, this is their great merit.

Some wrongly think of disarmament as a sign of weakness. On the contrary, it is a sign of strength. Disarmament is the way of the strong ensuring their survival by disciplining their individual strength into the collective strength of a world rule of law.

We will not disarm until a system of checks is agreed and all nations move to the same goal. We will not throw away our strength in mere reliance on the gratuitous vow of another. We will not with meek impotence await our destruction at an aggressor's whim.

Strength is important in another way. No nation ever won a worthwhile treaty by leading from weakness. Strength brings others to the bargaining table. When both sides can inflict punishment, both have reason to persevere in seeking an agreement. This is the great fallacy of those urging unilateral disarmament, for unilateral action would discard our means of getting others to negotiate.

We can and will pursue both strength and disarmament, in the words of the President, "at the same time and with equal energy."

It is stablity in the long run that we seek. The arms race is inherently unstable. It may in the end destroy us. Disarmament is inherently more stable. We hope in the end it will protect us.

All of this will take time, much time, to realize. Agreement will not come this year or the next, or perhaps not even in the year after. We must be neither frantic nor urgent, but rather patient and perservering.

Do we have the time?

We must make the time. Our past suggests it. Our present requires it. Our future demands it.

For those who despair of the burden of these responsibilities, there is

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naught for their discomfort. The counsel of hope and the counsel of patience is no longer the counsel of disillusionment. The press of our fate is everywhere around us, but there is more cause for hope today than in any recent year.

All of history must not now be brought to focus on a solitary moment of destruction. No other item on the agenda of humanity has higher priority. We in this world who are divided in ideology are now united in concern. Our infinite vulnerability only seems infinitely unanswerable.

The answer lies in a nation confident of its strength but tempered in application of it, resolute in its hopes but patient in its efforts, aware of a sense of urgency but no longer the prisoner of haste, confident in the cause of peace but tolerant of its fragility, assured of its rightness and possessed now of the conviction that this matter we are determined to see to its ultimate triumph.

No nation can ask more of history than to be worthy of its fate. The last recorded words of Franklin Roosevelt before death, written but never spoken, were these: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today...Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

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Statement of Edward R. Murrow
Director of the U.S. Information Agency
Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee
on HR 11040 as Amended: August 6, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee:

We have come this morning to communicate on the subject of communications. But today there is a difference. We are at last privileged to imagine the unimaginable. Man has dreamed and imagined a talking star in the heavens. That dream is now true. The subject you have before you is how to shape the form that imagination will take.

It was in a spirit of enthusiasm that the world greeted the advent of the Telstar communications satellite. The scientist, in the language of his technical virtuosity, would say that experimentation has demonstrated the communication feasibility of the active repeater low altitude satellite. But the man in the street, in the language of his exuberant zeal, would say, as did a paper in Belgium, "This was the triumph of the human genius," or a paper in Norway, "... as revolutionary as the invention of printing," or as a paper in France labelled it, "1962: Year I of Worldvision."

Even quarters not usually pro-American sang out with praises of the new communication. Banner headlines, large picture layouts, long news stories, laudatory editorials -- as this characterized the reaction in the United States, so did it characterize the reaction abroad.

From Berlin, "The science of electronics has had its finest success to date."

From Stockholm, "It was ... America we were introduced to, in all its greatness, beauty and simplicity."

From Tokyo, "(Telstar) ... will increase mutual understanding and play a major role in making this 'one world.'"

From New Delhi, "The success of Telstar is like a Wellsian phantasy come true. It marks a revolutionary advance..."

From Karachi, "... The use of artificial satellites for world communication ... is the first product of space research which will have a direct and tangible link with the people..."

From Addis Ababa, "Telstar is a scientific breakthrough."

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From Accra, "All humanity has a stake in the potentialities of such novel and revolutionary developments."

From Mexico City, "It is proof that science can be at the service of peace and agreement between men."

It seems safe to conclude that the world regarded this as reflecting an accomplishment of the entire country. From Italy came the line, "Telstar is the symbol of the new space frontier desired by Kennedy ..." Sweden referred to it as a "brilliant American overture ..." From Tunisia, "... The gigantic American breakthrough ..." From Ghana, "... The Americans deserve every congratulation..." From Mexico, a reference to the United States' scientific victory. From Cairo, "The launching by the U.S. of her satellite... is considered the beginning of a new era ... and a real first step toward the use of space for peaceful purposes..."

Thus communications satellites, whether they be under private, Government, or mixed auspices, will be viewed abroad as an undertaking of the United States. As regards any experiment in space, this country will receive credit for successes and blame for failures, regardless of who owns the system. With all the effort and dedication that has gone into this success story, no one, I think, would wish it otherwise.

The telephone to many of us is an every-day fixture of a busy world. But to the 23 cities in Europe which participated in the telephone demonstrations coordinated by our Agency, it became a symbol of the space age. These Telstar telephone demonstrations grew to events of national import. For many countries it was the first individual participation as a national entity over the new satellite. One European country, in honor of the Telstar telephone call it was to receive, cancelled all other international phone calls on the day of the experiment, both incoming and outgoing. National radio and TV coverage was the order of the day. Cities renamed streets after both the satellite and their American counterpart city. And one city -- Alba, Italy -- even took the phone used by its Mayor in the experiment, enshrined it under glass, and put it in the City Museum for permanent viewing. Telstar had swept over Europe.

Clearly, then, the entire world has paid tribute to what our space research has accomplished. This land has reinforced a reputation based not upon the gimmicks of our schemes, but upon the gains of our sciences.

But now that the experiment has worked and the praise has been ours, we confront the more prosaic, yet even more important, task of turning this into a usable system -- and organizing for that effort. The legislation before you represents this Administration's judgment as to the organizational form to be adopted. Our Agency supports this legislation in general. Our concern is that the bill meet the objectives expressed in the President's letter of February 7, 1962, as well as his policy statement on communications satellites

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issued July 24, 1961. This appears to be the case.

There are, however, matters peculiarly within the narrow context of this Agency's individual interest. In the balance of my remarks I shall draw your attention to those aspects which we believe merit the committee's attention.

As you are no doubt familiar, the U.S. Information Agency is the voice of the United States people abroad. We make films, broadcast radio, produce television, print magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets, run wireless news files, print books, run libraries and information centers. We tell this nation's story overseas, to those who want to know and need to know, clarifying for both the curious and the cautious the means and the manner of free men pursuing their destiny. We are, in sum, communicators. Any instrument of more perfect communications is thus of prime interest to us. A space satellite is such an instrument.

But ours is also a more direct involvement. Some months ago the National Aeronautics and Space Administration created a Government steering committee to concern itself with these first public demonstrations of a communication satellite. My office is personally represented on that committee.

Through that committee USIA was assigned certain responsibilities. We were involved with the three major television networks of this country in their efforts to create the first live trans-Atlantic television program. We were involved with the European television industries regarding their similar undertaking in Europe. We coordinated the telephone demonstrations linking the 23 cities in the United States with the 23 cities in Europe. And ours was also the responsibility of exploiting and explaining around the world this latest and greatest manifestation of the peaceful use of outer space.

I can report to this Committee the unqualified success of all aspects of the Telstar experiment.

As regards the usefulness of this system to the U.S. Information Agency, we have two paramount concerns. One is the cost. The other is the signal.

First as to cost. Our Agency will use a satellite system only if we can afford it. We cannot squander millions for the novelty of using a new satellite system. On our Agency budget we must staff and maintain over 200 posts in 100 countries around the world carrying on all the highly diversified activities I mentioned previously. Broadcasting -- although it is important -- is only one of these activities.

I think it is reasonable to suggest that the national interest demands that we use the system. Reflect, if you will, on the impact around the world of the instantaneous live television coverage of the launching of a man into orbit.

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Dwell upon the lessons of freedom that would attend the world-wide live television coverage of an American election.

It is thus with some apprehension that I inform this Committee of our concern that we may not be able to afford to use the satellite. May I cite the following example? It is one I suggested in my testimony to the Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

I draw the parallel to the Atlantic cable. It, like the satellite, is a different means of communication which my Agency would benefit in using. Based upon current cable rates, were we to have seven television circuits -- one each to Latin America, the Near East, Far East, Southeast Asia, South Asia, West Europe and Africa -- and use each an average of 1 - 1/2 hours a day, the cost to us would be over $900,000,000 a year. There has been nothing to suggest that for some period of time satellite rates will be any cheaper than current cable rates. It seems then that present speculation on using satellites can reasonably be based on the present costs of using the cable.

We calculate the 900 million dollars as follows: The cable costs $4 a minute for a 3 kilocycle channel, the normal telephone channel. A minimum television channel is 3 megacycles, or about 1,000 times a telephone channel. 1,000 times $4 a minute is thus $4,000 per channel minute for television. Multiplied by 90 minutes for ourhour and a half of daily broadcasting gives $360,000 for each channel of television. Recall we had 7 geographical areas of the world to reach. Multiplying them by the 7 channels gives us $2,520,000 for each day. Daily operation for a full year brings us to the final cost of over 919 million dollars.

Note that we have assumed the telephone channel rate as a base. Since the TV circuit would use channels otherwise available for telephone, we think this a fair assumption.

We are dealing then with a considerable sum of money. It is for broadcasting television only. It also is eight times the complete budget for all the operations of the entire Agency this past year.

Faced with such an expensive cost of using the system, my Agency would face one of four alternatives:

(1) ask Congress for substantial supplementary funds to use the system.

(2) seek a reduction in rates.

(3) advocate the establishment of a separate system to meet unique needs of the Government.

(4) simply make little or no use of the satellite.

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May I respectfully submit a suggestion. National investment in the system has been great. Having contributed to developing the system, Government should not be on a parity of payment with other commercial users. We strongly believe that affordable rates for our Agency's use -- inasmuch as we speak abroad for all the nation and for all this Government -- is an appropriate partial repayment of that national investment.

One may phrase this as a reservation of a public domain for public use, an extension of the public service concept into the system.

In the absence of any legislative provision requiring special Government rates, we would try to secure such rates in direct negotiation with the Satellite Corporation. We understand the pending Bill to permit such negotiation -- subject, of course, to the Federal Communication Commission's rate regulation. While this approach offers us no firm assurances, it does give us hope. The question of ground station ownership, however, has an important bearing on whether that hope can be realized. Let me illustrate: If our only access to the Satellite System is through a ground facility owned by a common carrier rather than the Corporation, our negotiations would have to be with the carrier as well as the Corporation, or conceivably with the carrier alone. If present carrier practices are followed, no reduction in rates would be possible. The Corporation, therefore, must be authorized to own ground stations. Indeed, we understand there are excellent technical and economic reasons why all ground stations should be owned by the Corporation as an integral part of the Satellite System.

Cost is not our only concern. I mentioned earlier that our second concern was the quality of the signal. How does one send the best signal to a satellite and then back to earth? People will watch a bad signal the first few times out of mere curiosity. Once that is gone, the signal must be competitive with current methods. People will not listen or watch a signal that is weak or distorted. There must be good transmissions, consistently every day of the week, every week of the year.

First results of Telstar certainly reveal an encouraging signal. But it has yet to withstand technical degradation through long exposure in space. And with the prospect of alternative approaches to communications satellites, we do not know which satellite prototype will give the best signal over an extended period of time.

And perhaps we are all so caught up in the excitement of what we have done that we have over-looked what I suggest is the most over-riding of all our considerations. It is the consideration of content.

We shall orbit our rockets. We shall transmit our broadcasts. We shall communicate. And the world will listen. But in the end we shall still

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deal with the basic elements of human communication: words, and pictures.

Space satellites will not make it any better. It will only diffuse it over a wider area.

Thus it is that now we confront once more the age-old problem fundamental to all communication: What are we to say?

Transmitters and microphones have no vocabulary. Wave lengths are mute. A communication system is totally neutral. It will transmit both pap and inspiration with equal facility.

What I suggest, gentlemen, is that the satellite will neither solve our dilemmas nor salve our consciences. Television and radio will still be television and radio, whether transmitted from a tower 500 yards away or a satellite 500 miles above.

Let me summarize. Our Agency is concerned with the psychological impact abroad of what this nation does. Space communication has enormous impact and immensely enhances the standing of this land overseas. Telstar is the orbiting proof of that.

USIA will make use of the system provided the cost is economical enough and the signal good enough.

I advance the case for satellite communication with great enthusiasm. But I also advance a note of caution. It is important that we do not oversell our enthusiasm. The first satellite is orbited and working. But it is still a long way from this to a going system interconnecting parts of the planet. Much of what we discuss will not be realized for the next several years, and some of it not until the next decade. Our current posture is one of experimentation and development. We do ourselves and our hopes little good if we build up expectations abroad which we cannot satisfy for a long time to come.

And it is expectations abroad that lead me to this final comment in closing. My Agency is global as, indeed, are the foreign policy concerns of this Government. This new era of communication will call for a new era of international cooperation on an unprecedented communications scale. This satellite system is postulated as a global system. That means no less than global participation. If Nigeria is a low traffic area without the profit potential of an England or France, it is still an area that has to be serviced. Lagos is as entitled to modern communications as is London or Paris. We must service the lean as well as the lucrative. Meeting this requirement is recognized as clear national policy in the very first provisions of the Bill. Those charged under this legislation with the responsibility for giving effect to this policy will, I'm sure, understand its urgency. For we shall send our signal to the satellite, but there must be a receiving nation for that signal to return to earth. Any

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system that does not have due regard for the national interests of other countries will not gain the cooperation of those countries. After all, Mr. Chairman, it takes two to discourse upon the truth; one to speak, and another to hear.

Thank you.

* * * * * * * *

Reply by Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency, to questions raised by Senator Symington, as requested by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on August 7, 1962

In accordance with the Committee's request, I am pleased to furnish the following statement in response to comments made by Senator Symington on the subject of estimated rates for USIA usage of a communications satellite system.

Senator Symington's comments were of two kinds: first, a criticism of the estimated figure USIA used, and second, submission of several alternative estimated figures.

May I make a general observation regarding all estimated figures. The satellite currently orbiting is experimental. No rates have been set. No one at this date can be certain what those rates might be. Hence all estimates -- including mine and the Senator's -- are tentative. I think all parties to the discussion unanimously agree on this.

But Senator Symington has called the USIA figure "obviously ridiculous" and suggested estimates of his own to replace our figures.

I respectfully suggest that the Senator's estimates have no claim to any higher validity.

The Senator's first estimate is based on what he calls the Cuban rate. This rate uses a communication technique known as tropospheric scattering. The usable television signal it gives will work only to a maximum distance of about 700 miles. Because of its technical limitation it cannot be used to reach many areas of the world. Hence any rate based on it is obviously a rate that is inapplicable to USIA's world wide communication needs.

I note as a brief aside that the Cuban rate is of a nature that cannot be broken down into a per mile cost. The technique of tropospheric scatter enables the method to be used for distances varying from less than 50 up to 700 miles. That means it would cost as much to "bounce" signals from the troposphere to a ground receiver 50 miles away as 700 miles away. Your cost is then based on point to point facilities rather than distance. Hence any attempt to reduce it to a unit cost based on distance is misleading.

The Senator's next estimated figure is based upon the domestic rate. May I point out that the domestic rate, by its very definition, is not used internationally. It was for this very reason that we determined to use a rate that was in international use.

The same is true of the Senator's next estimated figure, the "domestic rate of video to message toll rates". If it is a domestic rate and obviously will not be used in computing international rates, why use it as a base for an estimated international rate?

Might I here allude to another shortcoming in all three of Senator Symington's estimates?

He has in each case broken them down to a per mile basis of cost and, using the distance across the Atlantic, multiplied each figure by seven for the major world geographical areas we wanted to serve. But the distances to those seven world areas are not all the same as the distance to Europe. The roughly 3,500 miles he uses across the Atlantic would, for Latin America, reach only the northern coast of Brazil, leaving much of the continent uncovered. It would not reach any of Africa or the Middle East. For the Far East and Southeast Asia we would go over a different ocean and several times 3,500 miles. For the Senator to be completely accurate on a mileage breakdown he would have to take account of far more than merely a multiple of seven. His error was to take the distance to one point and multiply by seven whereas there are in fact seven different areas.

We were conscious of this problem in our pondering the figures in USIA. In point of fact, you cannot calculate the cost of the satellite based on miles covered. A distance computation is normal when your facility is a cable with overland distance easily measured. A distance computation, we suggest, is useless when your facility is a satellite to which a signal may travel several thousands of miles before returning to earth, and when it does return may give coverage to several thousands of square miles on the earth's surface.

You will note that nowhere in my previous testimony has distance ever been mentioned. Rather, it was done on a basis of time used. We think this is altogether reasonable.

May I make now a few comments regarding the USIA estimated figure.

I shall not repeat my explanation of the computation used. It has been amply set out in the record. (pp. 258-9 of transcript)

That record states that we use a currently existing international rate as our basis.

Senator Symington states, and I quote him briefly, "There is no filed video tariff to Europe." (p. 604 of transcript) That is precisely the point of our estimate. But there is a telephone tariff filed for Europe. This is the figure we took for our base. The amount of that tariff -- $4 per minute -- is confirmed by public listing of the rate and Senator Symington's own use of that figure (p. 606 of transcript). Note, too, that this rate is based not on distance but on time alone.

We multiplied this phone rate by the approximately 1,000 telephone channels needed for transmission of a video picture. Senator Symington says, and I quote him again, "this does not follow, as video is not 1000 times the voice rate." He is quite right for domestic video rates. But bear in mind that many video facilities in the domestic service have been specially constructed for such purpose. Use of them does not normally pre-empt facilities which would otherwise be used for telephone revenue. With or without television use, telephone revenue will not be largely disturbed.

This is not the same with the satellite. It has capacity today for only one television channel. That means whenever TV is used telephone capacity is pre-empted. Obviously the state of the art in time will advance until a satellite can handle both telephone and television simultaneously. But until that day, using a satellite for television will use up channels otherwise available for telephone.

We therefore concluded that since television would use up approximately 1,000 telephone channels otherwise available for service, the rate might well be calculated to compensate for lost telephone facility until a satellite is available with capacity to handle both TV and telephone simultaneously. (This is particularly true as to those less developed areas of the world where the satellite system may in the near future provide the first and probably only means of international telephone service for some time.)

Another consideration impelled us to choose the 1000 figure. Senator Symington (p. 605 of the transcript) uses a multiplier of 107. By that he means the domestic television rate is 107 times greater than the domestic telephone rate. We, as I mentioned, used a multiplier of 1,000 -- that is, estimating that television rates for the satellite would be 1000 times greater than telephone rates.

As I have already pointed out, domestic rates are calculated on a basis of distance.

But how many miles does one include for rate purposes internationally when a televised signal will go thousands of miles through space up to and down from a satellite, and then will spray its signal over an entire continental area? Plainly distance is not a factor. Experts both inside and outside my Agency have agreed that this poses a new rate problem.

This is the very reason that we used none of the estimates suggested by Senator Symington. We concluded, and we think rightly, that in the new field of space communications we could not rely on standard domestic practices. If satellite telephone channels -- 1,000 of them -- must be pre-empted for television use of the satellite, it is not beyond reason to estimate the possibility of a rate based on such pre-emption.

This was, I think, indicated in my original testimony when I stated, and I quote from my prepared statement (p. 259 of transcript): "Note that we have assumed the telephone channel rate as a base. Since the TV circuit would use channels otherwise available for telephone, we think this is a fair assumption."

I am aware of the possibility of bulk rate discounts. I can fairly say that I hope we are wrong on our estimates, that special rates or bulk rates will be available, and that our use of the satellite will not cost so much as these estimates we have made. But we have heard very little comment on our rates for the satellite until these last few days, inspite of our concern with them for over a year. Not knowing what our rates might be, and acknowledging in numerous places how tentative our estimates must be treated, we calculated on the basis of what facts were available.

This is not the first time this subject of rates has been presented to the Congress. As I stated in my prepared statement (p. 258 of transcript), this very example had already been offered in testimony to the Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on April 24, 1962. Prior to that it was over one year ago on July 14, 1961 - that the subject of potentially high rates and USIA's difficulty in paying them was mentioned by me to the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, although the example in question was not used. And on August 2 of last year the Deputy Director of this Agency, Donald M. Wilson, raised the same subject in testifying on space communications to the Senate Select Small Business Committee, Subcommittee on Monoply. The $900,000,000 example was furnished for the record. (p. 537) (Until yesterday our estimate had not been questioned.)

As we have said, our formula is based on an existing international telephone rate. We made this choice of a base because it was the one connecting link between the present and the future on the subject of rates for the satellite.

On March 6 of this year, before the Senate Committee on Aeronautics and Space Sciences, the Executive Vice President of A T & T, Mr. James Dingman, testified that telephone rates for the first several years of satellite operation would be about the same as they presently are for the cable. In Mr. Dingman's words, "I would expect them to stay about the same." (p. 326 of the record)

Since an A T & T executive had testified that in his judgment future telephone rates on Telstar would not be different for the first several years of use from present cable telephone rates, and since television will occupy satellite capacity which for a period of time might otherwise be available for telephone use, we think our estimates have merit.

Senator Symington states (p. 604 of the transcript) that seven channels -- one for each of the major world areas we wish to service -- would not be needed. I find it difficult to imagine a single channel servicing different continents at the same time. But even were it possible to link up continents on the same channel, time differences across continents and language needs would compel using different channels. Were it not seven different channels it might be one channel seven different times or other combinations of use. Hence our cost result would not change.

I might add that contrary to Senator Symington's suggestion of our unreasonableness, we have even calculated on the side of caution. For example, in choosing our multiplier of 1000 times a telephone rate for a television rate, we assumed the capacity needed of the satellite for TV was 3 megacycles. I am told a more appropriate band width would be 3.6 megacycles, in which case our multiple would have been not 1,000 but 1,200. In addition, we chose the route of caution by not including any costs of distributing the signal within foreign countries. If, for example, a signal is delivered at a ground station there will be some charge for use of ground facilities to distribute programs across foreign boundaries and within foreign systems. But we chose to ignore this added increment of cost to make sure our estimate was the more reasonable.

Senator Symington speaks of "error," "disservice," "ridiculous," "far fetched," and possible erroneous Senate action based on our estimates. I must respectfully disagree. We have been open and candid about the nature of our figures.

The very fact that the Senator himself arrives at three different answers, none of which agree with ours shows that there is no such thing as being correct or in error. What counts is good faith and proper judgment in the basis of estimates.

Our judgment is involved in using not domestic rates, but international rates, in using telephone rates that will have to be pre-empted to use the satellite, and in making the essential link between present and possible future rates based on a telephone company judgment.

Our good faith has been indicated continuously. In my opening statement to this Committee I made clear this was an estimated figure and must be treated as such. Using language such as "example," "speculation," and "assumption," I think no reasonable man could have understood my statement as being other than what it was -- a tentative estimated figure, to be duly regarded as such.

Indeed, in ensuing discussion with this Committee, a perusal of the record shows that every Senator who questioned me on the morning of my appearance raised the question of the estimated rates. I repeated the cautionary language in response to questions from the Senators Sparkman (p. 265 of transcript), Wiley (p. 269), Carlson (p. 287), and Symington (p. 304).

Senator Symington mentioned that I should now submit a "statement carefully thought out" to replace what he suggested was done in great haste. The shortage of time to prepare, gentlemen, went only to the mechanical problem of duplicating copies of testimony, not to the character of thinking that went into its preparation.

As I mentioned, our rate concern and the example used had been raised on previous occasions. I can assure the Senator that much thought indeed had gone into the estimate. I have more regard for the responsibilities I bear and the high purpose of this Committee than to submit hastily prepared and poorly considered judgments.

We speak of the future. How it shall develop only a seer better than we mere mortals can predict. I am not persuaded that my estimated figures are inviolate and invulnerable. But they were never offered as such. Neither am I persuaded, on the other hand, that they are as far fetched as Senator Symington says. The very fact that reasonable men can differ as widely on estimates as the Senator and I leads one to conclude that we have no certain benchmarks to guide us.

But of one thing we can be certain. The satellite will cost money to use. Based on a body of some evidence, that use may be expensive. I am not persuaded that our estimates are so unsound that the cost of using the satellite will be easy to absorb. Present cable costs indicate the contrary. The telephone company has indicated the possibility of some correlation between present international telephone rates and future satellite telephone rates. I must therefore respectfully conclude that the cost of the satellite's use is still very much the concern of my Agency.

August 8, 1962

"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

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Convocation Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts
September 23, 1962

I am in your debt for this honor you now bestow, and may I say you my heartfelt thanks for such kindness to me.

It is pleasant indeed to pass this fall afternoon in so lovely a corner of Massachusetts as Williamstown. It was perhaps on similar days of coloring leaves and cooling winds that Henry David Thoreau made his travels into the New England woods and penned his random comment about places looming large on the map but small on the journey. No man journeying across the map of American education could help but notice that Williams College, though small on the map, is indeed large on the journey. For here is found that rare combination of talent and taste that educated men best call quality.

President Sawyer has been a most genial host. He has planned my stay and this convocation to care for the unforeseen before it occurs. I am grateful for his thoughtfulness. He is, perhaps, like the possessed racing driver hurtling down the highway who, when asked by a frightened passenger to slow down before the unforeseen occurred, turned and said: "There ain't gonna be no unforeseen. I'm looking in both directions."

Looking in all directions here I see we are convened to recognize the expanding activities of the Roper Center of Public Opinion Research. Your Center is now international in scope, having added materials from more than twenty countries to its extensive American holdings.

Public opinion research is one manner of finding how people have made their choice of alternatives. I well recall the tale of the late Sir Thomas Beecham when one morning his principal oboeist arrived late for rehearsal after a heavy night of Bacchanalia. He was still pale and bleary-eyed, but Beecham greeted him affably: "Good morning, good morning. Now that you have safely found us, perhaps you would be kind enough to give the orchestra your A note;

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then we can get on with our rehearsal." The oboeist gingerly put his oboe into a dry, sour mouth and blew. A tone crackled and wobbled and oscillated, and after it had gratefully perished into silence Beecham turned accommodatingly to the orchestra saying, "Gentlemen, take your choice."

If I be granted choice as to what note I contribute to your convocation, it would be to mention opinion polling of a type unfamiliar to most of you. How is Public Opinion research used in the Soviet Union?

You know, of course, that in Russia they who have created the monolithic state hold public opinion in contempt. With their giant propaganda apparatus, their concern with public opinion has been not to measure but to mould it. There is no dilemma of the state having to reflect public opinion in making decisions. Indeed, since they define their government as of the people, there would be no difference between government and public opinion. Where one pulse beats for all, one mind thinks for all, such matters are irrelevant.

But of recent date they have begun to make use of opinion sampling. The techniques may be crude, the polls may be controlled, the conclusion may be contorted, but at least the effort and the interest is there.

My colleagues pass on to me a fascinating partial explanation for the Soviet use of these devices. Its purpose is propaganda -- but propaganda directed to us in the West as much as to themselves at home. The reason becomes apparent on reflection.

In an opinion poll different views can be pictured. They can manufacture a similitude of debate and dissent if many people can be shown to hold different opinions. But the many tones can also be muted into unanimous support of the regime policies and programs.

Inconsistent? Perhaps so. If there were debate and dissent there would hardly be unanimous support. Useful? Decidedly so. And that is why they are beginning to employ them.

But in fairness to the Soviet efforts, it must be noted that some recent Soviet questionnaires indicate the Soviets are genuinely interested in getting actual information.

The Soviets began in May, 1960, with questionnaires to people living along the 30th meridian, an area very hard hit by the Germans in World War II. They chose an appropriate subject: the prevention of war.

The results published showed that 97% of people polled believed mankind would succeed in preventing war. And when they were asked the follow-up question, "On what do you base your belief?", some replied, "On man's

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inherent love of peace." But the answer given with striking frequency was: "On the military power of the Soviet Union." Further, over half based affirmative answers on the movement of workers in all countries for peace in the world.

The Institute doing the polling added that only two or three Soviets did not have suggestions for preventing war. They took great pride in this, claiming that "the Soviet people not only passionately want peace and are convinced of its possibility, but they also see paths leading mankind to the elimination of war."

And they drew their obvious conclusions from the survey. They noted the similarity between the people's suggestions and the Party's policies. This implied not only that the party therefore knew what was best for the people but that the Soviet people undividedly supported the foreign policy of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. They carefully picked some corroborating examples, and noted that large numbers of questionnaires supported Khrushchev's disarmament plan as well as his proposal for solution of the German question.

Their second poll was more genuinely interested in information than in propaganda. In October, 1960 they surveyed attitudes about the standard of living in Russia. On 65 trains leaving Moscow one day conductors handed out questionnaires to one car on each train. They got fourteen hundred responses. 73% of the respondents indicated a rise in standard of living; 20% reported no change. Even those who indicated no change in their living conditions felt that beneficial changes had occurred for the country as a whole. Thus the number of people who had experienced "a deep change in (their) society" stands at 93%. The Institute concluded that the government's increasing prosperity had affected all levels of Soviet population without exception and that every individual in the country was benefiting from the rise in production.

Some defects in Soviet life were mentioned. Housing was the most frequent. It is scarce and substandard. But as most of the people mentioning it were soldiers, students and engineers, the Institute concluded that the workers of this paradise were better off than ever before.

The second most frequent complaint was the demand for higher wages. Many different approaches were mentioned -- raise salaries, lower prices, raise professional pay, even cut the bureaucracy -- but the Institute concluded that the mass of the people wholeheartedly supported the Communist Party's plans for wage adjustment.

The Soviets have done a third survey on Russian youth, but whatever they found they are keeping to themselves. Only selected questionnaires have been published. Some of them reveal the expected conduct encouraged by the regime: be a good worker, be a good collectivist, be a good comrade. A few others

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show surprising personal ambitions, including one militia man who wants to be a painter, and who reasons that if Russian artists of the 19th Century could achieve greatness under the evil reign of the tsars, how much greater are his chances in this, the best of all possible worlds.

There have been a few other polls conducted in Russia of recent date. They tend to focus on youth. From what little we know of them they indicate that the system that spawned a Sputnik and is warped by a Wall has as well created "heretics," "demagogues," "nihilists," and "revisionists." That the youth of Russia are changing none would deny, least of all the Soviets. The real question is not whether we regard the Soviet polls as either good or bad, but rather whether the Soviet regime will learn more from these polls in the future than what has been released thus far in their public prints.

A similar type research of course plays a significant role in our own operations in the U. S. Information Agency. We inquire into the basic motivation and attitudes of peoples, particularly in the new developed areas. We inspect their preoccupations, their hopes and their fears. We try to define and then refine the key audiences and the influence they wield in countries of interest to us. We then try to tailor our communications channels and techniques to reach the right audience with the right message. We concentrate on areas where knowledge is needed, seeking basic insights into the values and aspirations of emerging peoples and investigating the competing appeals of communism versus democracy.

What, for example, will be the reaction to Soviet resumption of nuclear testing? What reaction to our resumption? Just how influential is Castro in Latin America? Are Voice of America broadcasts attracting listeners and conveying the right theme?

It is here that I note what to me is the most important aspect of opinion surveying. No survey is in itself the end product. A survey is only a tool. Its purpose is to shed light on a problem and, hopefully, aid in pointing the way to a solution. That solution is the end product, and a poll is valid to the degree that it facilitates that end.

The purpose it serves in the U. S. Information Agency is the mission we are charged to fulfill. That mission is to carry the story of America abroad. We must explain the policies and the practices of this land and its government wherever men have, in the Biblical phrase, "the eye. . . not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing."

And our Agency does literally cover the earth. We have some 800 foreign service officers. They man 223 posts in over 100 foreign lands. Supported by the Agency in Washington, they broadcast radio, produce television, make movies, print books and newspapers, publish magazines and pamphlets, run a wireless news service, manage travelling exhibits, operate libraries and

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information centers, sponsor education and cultural exchanges abroad. More important, they engaged in vital face-to-face confrontation with cabinet ministers, leaders, and opinion makers.

Because you are educators, it is well you should realize that you and I are allies in the burdens we bear. Just as you seek to educate America about the world around us, we seek to educate the world around us about America.

Our libraries have over 2 and 1/2 million books, about one third in the language of the host country. A library may be a place of study to you in America. To us who work abroad, it is a place quite literally of excitement. Who among you, for example, would imagine the opening of a library becoming an occasion of state attended by cabinet officials of the foreign land? It happens to USIA abroad. In several African countries the first member of our library was the chief executive of the country. In Morocco people so swarmed over our library that sheer weight of numbers forced us to issue cards of 7 different colors, one color for each day of the week, and to restrict use of the library to once a week for each card holder. In another African country a leading official identified in a courtroom the wallet he had lost to a pickpocket with the comment, "In it you'll find my USIA library card."

In Africa last year almost 2 million people trafficked through our libraries. As some of those libraries have less than 3,000 books, that means many of their shelves were borrowed bare of everything, including most reference books. Around the world last year, there were almost 28 million persons that used our libraries.

And rather than wait always for people to come to the books, we take books to the people. Into the hinterland, to villages and farms, over mountains and through jungles, by bookmobile, by truck or bus or jeep, by camelback or llama train or even on foot, we take books, exhibits and films to those who by distance or terrain cannot come to us.

But we even go beyond books and actively help establish American studies programs. In India, for example, we have brought together professors and teachers for seminars that created interest enough for those attending to return home and establish courses in American subjects in their schools. There are now full fledged American studies programs in Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, and Madras. We carry on support of such burgeoning growth by continuing counsel and donation of book support.

Around the world teachers and educators turn to USIA for advice and help, either on their own research or on the establishment of curricula. What could be more useful or long lasting than helping, as we did recently in Pakistan, the Ministry of Education in writing history texts for the country's secondary schools?

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An officer of USIA has just returned from the Far East and related to me his trip on an airplane carrying 43 Cambodian students. They were bound for this country. They would study for four years here and return home to educate others. They had never left the confines of village and family, yet they were leaving for a land and a people and a life they had never seen. For a country that numbers few college graduates, the return of 43 such educated Cambodians can have a catalytic effect. USIA worked with them for six intensive months of English and orientation to western life. We saw them off. And we shall see them return. And in time they may near remake the face of Cambodia.

And so it is in many places around our globe. Where men are curious and minds are seeking, where desires are eager and dreams are near bursting, there will you find the men and women of this Agency. If any part of American life has been entrusted with tomorrow, surely it is the job we try to do. We work with the future, and seek to implant upon the hilltop of challenge the imprimatur of what is best in these United States.

Are you not then, gentlemen and ladies of Williams College, joined in partnership with the U. S. Information Agency? Education is our province. The mind is our tool. The future is our goal. And this be true for both of us.

Bertrand Russell once said that more than any other class teachers are the guardians of civilization. Most of us, as well as most of the world, regard civilization as the auto, the bathroom, the television, the trappings of woven finery. But none would disagree that it is also much more.

Civilization is a thing of the mind. Civilization is knowledge, and civilization is emotion.

It is knowledge not only of the inconspicuous dimension of this minor planet called Earth. It is also knowledge that our country is not only our home but is also only one among many countries of the world, each calling itself home.

It is the emotion that men are sometimes happy and sometimes not. . . that some men are generous and others are grasping, that some men are heroic and some servile, that some men have been inspired by love of mankind, some by supreme intellect, and some by extreme sensitivity. From these have come the best of the fruits of what men call civilization. Standing opposed to the hatred that is cruelty, to the distrust that is oppression, to the passion that is superstition, it is civilization that holds out the hope of life rising to a rank far better than the brief turbulence of savagery.

This is the road the world would follow. This is the road we would offer. And this is the charge that falls upon all of us in this world which daily swirls around us.

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Statement of Robert Mayer Evans
Special Assistant to the Director, U. S. Information Agency
Before the Committee on Science and Astronautics
House of Representatives
September 27, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee:

The Director of this Agency, Edward R. Murrow, landed in Paris at 8 AM this morning. He is beginning a month-long working tour of USIA posts in the Middle East. He asked that I convey his apologies to the Committee for being unable to attend this morning. In his absence, he suggested that I come and speak to members of this Committee regarding Telstar as it related to the U. S. Information Agency.

This Agency was involved with space communications in two regards. One was the drafting of legislation to establish a space communications corporation. The General Counsel of the Agency, Mr. Stanley Plesent -- beside me here -- represented us on the Administration Committee preparing that legislation. Second, the U. S. Information Agency was charged with overseeing four general areas of these efforts in space: initiating preparation of the first Transatlantic television demonstration, a task generously undertaken by the three major American television networks; establishing liaison with European television networks for the receipt of the American program and formation of the European program, a task greatly facilitated by contact with the European Broadcast Union; responsibility for contacts with other government agencies interested in these matters; and responsibility for world-wide exploitation and explanation by all the many media of USIA.

The success of the above is, in general, known to you. I think we might usefully concern ourselves with two areas perhaps less widely know. First is a mention of the extraordinary success of these efforts, and second is a brief report on the USIA operations that contributed to that success.

To recount it as a success is to understate the magnitude of the accomplishment. Praise of Telstar was as over-whelming as it was universal. May I suggest two main reasons contributing to this: first, communications and television are something which, unlike shooting for the moon, can touch each person's life personally. Television comes into the home. Linking a satellite to television literally brings the space age to the hearthside of the world. The senor and messieur of Europe observe the race for the moon; but they each participate in the communications satellite.

Second, nations both within and without the Western Alliance for the first time were called to contribute to a space experiment. Without their contribution,

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it could not have been the success it was. Giving them a means of contributing was giving them an outlet for all the emotional curiosity and excitement that has built up over man's thrust into the unknown. Bystanders have become participants, and all exult in the mutual success.

This Agency has just completed a study in Great Britain of reactions to Telstar, and some very revealing results were noted.

That Telstar captured the imagination of peoples abroad is supported by the extraordinary level of awareness achieved by the communication satellite in the first weeks of its existence. Measured in the week following the transatlantic television ceremonies of July 23rd, the order of almost nine in ten of the adult population of Great Britain indicated awareness of the new scientific achievement.

A remarkable 82 percent were able to identify the satellite by name -- "Telstar." This level of identification in Great Britain erases the mark set in 1957 by "Sputnik," which 78 percent of the British public were able to identify by name.

These were the questions put in the survey:

"Have you heard, read, or seen anything lately about an earth satellite having to do with television and international communication?"

	Great Britain July 26-31, 1962
No. of cases	(1074)
Yes, aware	88%
Unaware	12
	100%

All Aware (88%) Then Asked The Following:
"Do you happen to know the name the satellite has been given?"

Yes, Telstar	82%
Other	1
Don't know	5
	88%

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"Do you happen to know what country developed this satellite?"

Yes, U. S.	79%
Yes, Great Britain	9
Yes, France	1
Yes, U. S. S. R.	1
Other	1
Don't know	3
	94%

A majority of the British adult population (59 percent) proved not only aware of the new communication achievement but report having seen the U. S. television program transmitted via the new space station. Pressed for details upon what they had seen, the largest single proportion (28 percent) cited President Kennedy, with baseball in a strong second place.

These questions were:

"Finally, do you happen to have seen any television program that was transmitted via this satellite?"

	Saw Program Transmitted From United States	Saw Program Transmitted From Great Britain
Yes, have seen	59%	60%
No, Don't know	29	28
	88%	88%

"What did you see?" (in the program transmitted from the U. S.).

	Great Britain July 26-31, 1962
No. of cases	(1074)
President Kennedy	28%
Baseball	23
Places, Scenery in U. S. and Canada	12
Carvings of past presidents: Statues: Statue of Liberty	6
Man/men unspecified	5
News	4
Theatre/Shakespeare. Choir/singing	3
Other things	6
Can't remember	6
	93%

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Success in capturing attention is, of course, only the first requisite of impact. What next were the reactions to this new scientific feat? Judging by peoples' own estimates of the effect of this achievement upon their attitudes and the sentiments of those about them, Telstar emerges as a dramatic impact of the first magnitude.

In brief, the order of half or more of the total British public rated the new satellite a "very great" scientific achievement; felt that friends and acquaintances were "greatly" impressed; and indicated that their opinion of scientific development in the U. S. had gone up as a result of Telstar.

"How would you be inclined to rate the new Communications satellite as a scientific achievement -- a very great achievement, a great achievement, average, minor, or very minor?" (Asked of those aware of satellite)

	Great Britain July 26-31, 1962	
	% of Total public	% of Those Aware of Satellite
Very great achievement	55%	(62%)
Great achievement	22	(24)
Average	5	(5)
Minor	1	(1)
Very minor	1	(1)
No opinion	4	(7)
		(100%)
Unaware of Satellite	12	
	100%	

"How about other people you know -- would you say that Telstar has impressed them greatly, a little, or not at all with the state of scientific development in the United States?"

Impressed greatly	55%	(62%)
A little	17	(20)
Not at all	4	(4)
Don't know	12	(14)
		(100%)
Unaware of Satellite	12	
	100%	

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"Has your opinion of scientific development in the United States gone up as a result of Telstar, or has it remained about the same?"

Gone up	46%	(52%)
Remained about the same	35	(39)
Don't know	7	(9)
		(100%)
Unaware of Satellite	12	
	100%	

Much of this reflects the wide-spread acclaim accorded the television experiments. Less well known in this country were the Telstar telephone experiments, linking 23 cities in the United States with 23 cities in Europe. The European countries responded with extraordinary enthusiasm to these events, as for most of them it was their first individual participation upon Telstar in their own name. USIA posts in Europe helped arrange these calls and then marshalled the media to cover the events. Cables extolling the success of the venture poured back to Washington. These are samples, for example, for an array of countries in Western Europe:

Italy: Italian communications media barraged its public with streamer headlines, photos and diagrams, explanatory articles, radio and TV documentaries and direct coverage of Telstar events. There was no letup from several days before launching until after the telephone experiments two weeks later.

A preliminary survey indicated that press interest and use of USIS text and picture material was considerably higher than even at the time of the successful launching of the first U. S. satellite in 1958 or the orbital flight into space by the first U. S. astronaut.

Spain: Newspapers, news services, radio and TV sent representatives to Toledo (site of the Telstar telephone call). The news coverage was enormous and extended to Saturday and Sunday papers with pictures and long news stories. Speeches of all parties were quoted in full. The telephone exchange even made the humor section with cartoon references.

Austria: The City of Graz, receiving a call, covered the city with flags from America and set up loudspeakers for overflow crowds to listen to the call. After the event was over, Austrian telephone subscribers were able to dial a special number and hear the entire Telstar conversation repeated over their home phones.

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Denmark: TV coverage was telecast throughout the country. Danish press coverage was excellent and both the Cabinet Minister and Lord Mayor of Copenhagen were "very happy with everything. Post thanks Agency for arranging this most successful event" -- a rather unusual conclusion for a diplomatic cable.

I have chosen only some of the cables. Others told us of towns arranging a festival day when the call was due, renaming streets after Telstar and the American city they called, running culinary contests in all the restaurants and bakeries to evolve new Telstar dishes, and most touching of all, a town that took the telephone used by its Mayor on Telstar and enshrining it under glass for the permanent collection of its town museum.

That recounts in part the success of Telstar. Let me close by mentioning some of USIA's media role in the experiment. As you of course know, USIA's function is to make the policy and practices of this government and this people everywhere intelligible and wherever possible palatable.

With the Committee's permission, I should now like to submit for your inspection exhibits of the product turned out by USIA media, and end by showing you the television films produced for world-wide distribution.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

Release No. 60

FOR RELEASE AT 12:30 P.M., EST, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1962

Text of Address by Edward R. Murrow
Director of the U. S. Information Agency
at the Washington-Bangkok Sister City Celebration
Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.
Thursday, December 6, 1962

Thank you for your generous introduction. And to everyone here assembled let me welcome you in a spirit mingled of gratefulness and pride -- grateful that so many of you are with us to celebrate this bond with a brother nation and a sister city, proud because this program is one of the better things that this government and this people undertake and that the Agency I represent has some role in.

This is essentially a meeting of friendship. We have dined together, and that is good. Friendship in countless cultures is sealed with food and good fellowship. Full stomachs, sayeth the muse, know no enemies. And was it not Voltaire who said: "Thought depends absolutely on the stomach, but in spite of that, those who have the best stomachs are not the best thinkers."

If then fault you should find with the words I speak, pray attribute it not to fault of mind so much as fullness of fare.

We are here today to honor a nation and to salute a city. That nation has a long record of association with the United States. It was the first nation in Asia with which this country ever had a treaty relationship. Since 1833 we have passed through more than a century of being friends and allies. It was one of the first nations of the world actively to support the United Nations and the United States in Korea when the Free World stood up to open aggression. Theirs has been a land of progress and of change, best symbolized by their change of name from Siam to Thailand -- an adaptation from Prathet Thai: Free Nation. And among all the lands of Southeast Asia, only theirs has maintained its independence through centuries of growth.

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Today it lies in a troubled corner of the globe. And as allies we have been, allies do we now remain. Through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization we have pledged our mutual fortunes to a common destiny: that where free men have the will to be free, they will be free.

Thailand shares 1,000 miles of common border with disturbed Laos. It was last May that the Thai government asked the United States to send troops in response to the Communist threat in Laos. And the world witnessed a spectacle but rarely seen today: troops of one country, invited to another country in time of need, remaining until the need had passed, and then voluntarily and by mutual consent leaving that country, the independence of that country not impaired, the strength of one land added to the other so that in freedom both might be stronger.

This, I submit, is cooperation between nations near unparalleled in history. The power of the United States is committed not to domination but to liberation. Would that our adversary had the same absence of pretension to empire. The world we live in would be a far different place.

And the world is a different place from that day a century ago in 1856 when the first American plenipotentiary to the King of Siam said: "A new state of the American Union, California, has sprung into existence, from which the voyage of Siam can be made in one month... This is a strong reason for uniting the two nations." That month has now become mere days, and the days hours, and the time that once separated our two lands now binds us closer together.

What better symbolism of this than the exhibit of art from Thailand now on display at the Smithsonian Institute. Some of those objects were sent to the United States over 100 years ago. These involved two great leaders of our two countries. As a gift they came from King Mongkut, King of Siam from 1851 to 1868 and one of the great Asians of the 19th Century. He had corresponded with President Franklin Pierce, sent the gifts to the "Chief Ruler" President James Buchanan, and when Abraham Lincoln succeeded Buchanan as "Chief Ruler" of the United States two great names in the history of two distant countries came together. It was Lincoln, the representative of what we like to call best in these United States, who wrote to King Mongkut: "the gifts will be placed among the archives of the Government, where they will remain perpetually as tokens of mutual esteem and pacific dispositions more honorable to both nations than any trophies of conquest could be... I shall have occasion... to transmit to Your Majesty some token of indication of the high sense which this Government entertains of Your Majesty's friendship."

And from that day to this, exactly one century later, those objects have been cared for and stored in the archives of this nation. On this very

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day one century later they stand for the unity of our two people as spoken 100 years ago by King Mongkut and President Lincoln.

Dedicated to strengthening the ties that bind two nations is the U. S. Information Agency. Ours is the task of uniting the random spirits of men. We seek to explain to the world what manner of man it is that resides in these United States. We use all the arts of modern communications. In cities and in villages, to men of both high estate and low, we seek to show what it is like to be an American and how it is that Americans have an interest in and concern for the problems of other peoples.

We are educators as well. We publish books. We run libraries. We aid school systems.

We administer exchanges of teachers and students, with Thai and American students numbering in the hundreds that have travelled between our two lands.

We administer the leader and specialist grant programs. And it is gratifying that of the hundreds we have sent to the United States many have risen to high positions in the Thai government, two grantees being now Cabinet ministers and a score more directors general of government departments.

Such a USIA emphasis on education in what it does in Thailand comes with most accustomed grace to that country where more of the national budget is spent on education than on military defense.

We teach English -- recalling as we do that King Mongkut was proud of the English he spoke. But we heed as well the dictum of Aristotle: "Think like a wise man but communicate in the language of the people." May I note with satisfaction that 19 of the 24 USIA staff members in Thailand either speak or are studying the Thai language.

Another example of our common interests are the discussions presently underway in Bangkok between the United States and the Royal Thai Government regarding the possible joint use of a megawatt radio transmitter to be built in Thailand.

But it is to serve the cause of a Bangkok-Washington Sister City relationship that we here gather. A sister city affiliation is as simple to understand as is the art of conversation. Communication needs two things: one to speak, another to listen. What we seek is a dialogue. To have the people of one town speak directly to the people of another, and from that initial contact, to grow and to experience and to learn.

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Curiosity is its spark. Human imagination is its fuel. The variety of human nature is its boundary.

We have found a quality which our way of life has always suspected of existing. The humble people of the world's countless small places, both in our country and in yours, are willing to accept each other in friendship and respect. They but need a common meeting ground. The ground upon which many meet is the City Affiliation Program.

And today 224 American towns representing 35 American states are twinned with foreign towns in 50 countries. New York City is a sister city; it has near 10 million people. Oakland, Nebraska, is a sister city; it has near 15 hundred people.

Washington and Bangkok have such a relationship. We are in a sense gathered at its second anniversary. It was in December,1960 that the Lord Mayor of Bangkok, Dr. Chamnan Yuvapurna, opened negotiations for becoming a sister city. That January Dr. Chamnan selected Washington as his choice for a sister city, and in June of 1961 the D. C. Board of Commissioners passed a resolution adopting Bangkok as the sister city of Washington. One year ago in December, Minister Bhusana Krairiksh of the Thai Embassy presented Washington the flag of Bangkok which was placed on the wall of the public meeting room in the District Building so that all who came to public hearings would see this emblem of sister cities.

It is this same flag that at this very hour flies over the Federal Triangle in honor of the birthday of His Majesty King Bhumibol of Thailand, serving as a high point of this city's two week "Salute to Bangkok."

What greater indication could there be of how highly we regard sister cities than the fact that honorary chairman of the organization of which sister cities are a part is John F. Kennedy and head of the Board of Trustees is Dwight D. Eisenhower.

And what have sister cities done?

Brest, France, has a children's health clinic built by funds from Denver, Colorado.

Medford, Oregon, has a kindergarten for deaf children because Alba, Italy, sent over dolls hand-made in Italian homes to be sold in America.

Coral Gables, Florida, sent a truck to Cartagena, Columbia, and the truck now delivers lunches to children in 25 schools.

In Villaviciosa, Philippines, a five year old boy is walking because Forest Heights, Maryland, helped send medical care for his crippled legs.

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Schools and libraries in Seattle, Washington, received hundreds of books on the Orient from Yokohama, Japan.

Hagerstown, Maryland, had severe unemployment in 1960, so Wesel, Germany, offered financial help.

When an earthquake rocked Vina del Mar, Chile, Sausalito, California, sent several thousand dollars and vital antibiotics.

But the best exchange is probably people.

So municipal officials from Kobe came to work in Seattle to study local government.

A New York City traffic engineer went to work in Tokyo.

Graz, Austria, sends medical interns to train in Montclair, New Jersey.

The fire chief of Jakobstad, Finland, fought fires with the fire chief of Jamestown, New York.

Newspaper reporters, trained workers, professional people -- they have all changed places, all have benefited from the change, and all of this has been done by sister cities.

Such exchanges as we honor here today have a simple principle. In a shrinking world poised on the knife edge balance between peace and war, our need for understanding is great. City affiliations seek to make that contribution of understanding. Conan Doyle once said: "Men scorn what they don't understand."

There are those who would suggest that in the magnitude of our cataclysmic anxiety, linking two cities may seem only a little contribution. But a man's horizon extends as far as his own vision.. As Anatole France put it, "It is better to understand a little, than to misunderstand a lot."

A People-to-People executive once expressed a convenient thought when he said that in medieval times the city itself was a world, but in modern times the world itself has become one big city. The corollary of this is that we are all bound together in our mutual fates. For the pursuit of our common anxieties, never has a world so large been suddenly shrunk so small.

We have not yet reached the end of history, though that is a possibility not beyond occurrence. But we have reached a point in time where man now faces a collective decision over the technology of life.

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Weapons and knowledge obviously represent power. Power can destroy. It can also create. Perhaps our collective problem is how to turn the instruments of power into the incidence of control by world law. It then is the hope that our collective concern will cut across man's tribalisms and reach all the way to man's humanity.

If this be so, we may need what Max Lerner calls an incredibily creative leap. But there have been other leaps in man's history: the discovery of fire, the invention of the wheel, the genius of language, the miracle of writing, the idea of law, the concept of freedom. These have all been challenges to man. To call them forth, there was needed extraordinary amounts of creative collectivity.

And so again we face the collective decision. I for one recall no past time in history when man was faced with so great a leap across the chasm of possible chaos. Man may not make that leap. But he is invariably bound to attempt it.

To the taking of that collective decision does the city affiliation program commend itself. The contribution made by each may not in itself be the determining one. But what is done by each alone or in concert is far from insignificant.

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U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Release No. 62

FOR RELEASE AT 3:00 P.M., EST, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1962

Statement by Edward R. Murrow
Director of the U. S. Information Agency
at press conference of U.S. book publishers
Overseas Press Club, New York City

I am here today to applaud the paperback book publishing industry. As you know, the United States Information Agency is charged with explaining our national policies and our way of life to the peoples of foreign nations. In this effort, USIA makes use of all the techniques of modern mass communications--press, radio, film, television, libraries, exhibits, the arts and the personal contact of our foreign service officers who serve as spokesmen for America in some 100 countries around the world.

Our officers represent the American people abroad in expressing our nation's aspirations and cultural achievements. Their task is an unending one and they need every assistance possible.

The action of the paperback book publishing industry announced today is tremendously heartening. You publishers, of your own volition, have produced a plan whereby American citizens, as individuals, will be in a position to send abroad great quantities of books.

Most Americans take books for granted. Books are available to us in the classroom, in our splendid libraries, in bookstores and elsewhere where we can buy them for pennies. Few of us, I am sure, ever bother to speculate on what life would be like if suddenly books were to disappear. The world around us would quickly seem bare and empty.

Yet millions of men, women and children around the globe suffer the emptiness of life without books. Books are capsules of knowledge. The hunger of people abroad for knowledge is insatiable.

Our Information Agency seeks to satisfy that hunger not only through electronic communications and personal contact but through books. Last year alone we distributed six million books to foreign libraries, institutions, research centers and individuals. Of these, 3.5 million were foreign-language books published overseas and 2.8 million were low-cost paperbacks. In addition, we added a quarter million books to our USIS libraries.

Despite these efforts, the need for books is far greater than we can meet. Nor should we ignore the fact that the communist bloc has overwhelmed us in some areas of the world by sheer quantity. We welcome, therefore, any assistance we can get in stepping up the flow of books from America to foreign lands.

I am pleased and gratified that the paperback industry has now joined us in a campaign to meet this challenge.

Under a plan called BOOKS USA, the five largest publishers of paperbacks have made up packets of representative American books, in cooperation with the U.S. Information Agency, which they will offer for sale to the public at no profit. For the first time now, those who wish to help close the book gap can send, for a few dollars, a BOOKS USA packet to a school or library in a foreign country of their choice. Each packet purchased will be distributed overseas in the name of the donor by our Information Agency. We urge the support of all those who feel, as we do, that books are the tools of truth and freedom.

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STATEMENT OF EDWARD R. MURROW

DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY, AND
COORDINATOR OF THE

SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
ON THE ESTIMATE FOR FISCAL YEAR 1962

I am appearing before you for the first time as Coordinator of the "Special International Program". This is a continuation of the "President's Special International Program" for which funds have previously been appropriated under the heading "Funds Appropriated to the President". This year the program appears instead as a special item in the U. S. Information Agency Budget.

The budget request for the "Special International Program" is $10,000,000 in regularly appropriated dollars plus $1,250,000 in surplus foreign currencies under section 104 (m) of Public Law 480. The dollar amount includes $1,000,000 for trade missions, requested by the Executive Branch in the regular estimates of the Department of Commerce for trade promotion and marketing activities, but which the House transferred to this program.

In H. R. 7371, Title IV, the House provides $7,382,500 in appropriated dollars and $250,000 for the special foreign currency program, an over-all reduction of $3,617,500, or more than 32 per cent. The House Bill also reduces the amounts which may be used for representation from $71,400 to $30,000 in the regular dollar appropriation and from $3,000 to $1,250 under the special foreign currency program.

We are asking for restoration of the full amount originally requested. The reduction proposed by the House would seriously restrict our activities in the face of ever more pressing needs.

The United States is being judged daily by peoples throughout the world, both against abstract standards of cultural values or human ideals, and the comparative standards represented by accomplishments and actions of the Communist Bloc. It is inevitable that these peoples sit in continuous judgment on the extent to which our ideals, interests and objectives coincide with their own -- the degree to which our cultural and material achievements reflect a social order of which they can approve.

Isolated as many of them are from the free flow of communication that characterizes the more sophisticated societies, they are most likely to render their judgments on the basis of inadequate information, or distortions, of isolated examples wrenched from context. Such misconceptions are not uncommon even among our most advanced allies. The Special International Program provides one of our most effective instruments for portraying significant segments of American life, both ideological and material. There is no substitute for visual impact. Skillfully designed American displays at international exhibitions and presentations in the performing arts depict in a way thousands can grasp concretely the concepts we wish to convey to the peoples whose sympathy we seek to enlist. Cultural presentations expose some of America's most talented artists and athletes to personal and professional contact with both the elite and the rank and file of other nations. They permit us to demonstrate in tangible form the

high levels of cultural achievements our social order has produced, but which our detractors allege we have failed to attain.

Alternatively, our absence from participation in such international competition is duly noted, and is interpreted either as indifference or as reluctance to subject our attainments to unfavorable comparison with those of the Communist World Bloc. The Soviets have consistently proclaimed their intention of winning the struggle for world allegiance. If we have at any time failed to comprehend the role of cultural and visual competition in this battle, the Bloc never has. Their recognition of its impact is demonstrated repeatedly in the increasing tempo of their participation in international fairs and the expanding invasion of their cultural attractions into the theaters and display centers of the world.

We already fall short of meeting Bloc competition. I believe strongly we should carry out the program we have proposed to the Congress this year. The original request represented a careful selection, by the Departments of State and Commerce and the U. S. Information Agency, of the highest priority needs. We consider it a minimum program.

Restoration of the full amount for trade fairs would enable us to go ahead with plans for exhibits in Libya, Indonesia and Iraq, all countries where the United States needs to be better known and understood. Restoration of Cultural Presentations funds would permit a much-needed increase in programming for Africa (where sixteen new states came into existence last year) and Eastern Europe, where cultural exchanges have begun to broaden the otherwise narrow channels of communication.

I am sure this Subcommittee understands the need for representation funds, which enable us to take advantage of the presence of the outstanding Americans who travel abroad under this program, putting them personally in contact with foreign counterparts and opinion leaders. To be niggardly in meeting accepted social customs abroad loses us valuable opportunities and belittles our country.

The Coordinator's Contingency Reserve is a new item in the Budget. It consists of $1 million in dollar appropriations, primarily for use behind the Iron Curtain, and the same amount in surplus foreign currencies to be used in Poland, Yugoslavia and other countries where available. A Contingency Reserve to meet emergency situations in the exhibits field was recommended by an interagency task force and its need has been pointed up by events in recent years.

Prospects for exhibiting in several countries behind the Iron Curtain have brightened in recent months. For example, there was an exchange of notes in December 1960 between this Government and Rumania providing in principle for the exchange of exhibits in calendar years 1961 and 1962. We are unable at this time to estimate what can be worked out within the framework of this agreement. Past experience with the U.S.S.R. indicates, however, that when opportunities arise, they are almost certain to be coupled with deadlines which are sometimes impossible to meet through normal appropriation procedures.

It is for such purposes that the reserve is requested. As stated in our justifications, funds in such a reserve will not be used to augment regular program activities. They will be released by the Bureau of the Budget only when special situations arise which justify their use.

Representatives of the Commerce, State and Labor Departments are here to speak to the details of their respective operating responsibilities under the total program.

6/21/61

"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

Release No. 4

FOR RELEASE AT 11:00 A.M., EST, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1963

Remarks by Edward R. Murrow
Director of the U. S. Information Agency
at the dedication of the Voice of America's
Relay Station at Greenville, North Carolina
Friday, February 8, 1963

I stand here as the spokesman of many heads and hands and hearts. What you see around you is the culmination of three years of arduous effort and twice as many years of dreaming and planning. For those who have spent the endless and tireless hours of piloting and sweating this ground station to completion, theirs is the reward of accomplishment. For us, the citizens of this state and this country, ours is the reward of benefit.

For this radio is designed for no parochial purpose. The Voice of America is not lightly named. This voice speaks in the name of the people of this land. It speaks to the many other peoples of other lands. It talks in their languages. It speaks of their dreams. It dwells on our ideals. And it says and will say that together in the service of peace all men share that happy horizon of bright hopes for tomorrow.

The Voice of America is the radio arm of the United States Information Agency. This Agency is in the delicate but difficult art of telling America's story to the world. We seek to make the policy of this land everywhere

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intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. Further, we seek to convey to an eager and curious world some conception of who it is that lives here.

To do this we use all the media of modern communication. Radio is one of our most important. Americans insulated by two vast oceans, have difficulty understanding the importance of international radio. On many continents political boundaries are not state lines but international borders. In a world plagued with mass illiteracy, those who cannot read can listen.

And the arithmetic of international radio is impressive. In 1950 there were some 5,000 hours of international broadcasting. Today there are over 17,000 hours. In 1950 there were 80 million radio receivers in the world. Today there are over 200 million receivers. And the figure is rising rapidly.

In my travels abroad I have been witness to the impact of the small transistor in the small village. To an area where no road nor cable exists, a radio can still speak. It can mould the unity of a people. It can create confidence. It can stir to violence. Some perceptive future historian may one day observe that the advent of the transistor radio was one of the most significant steps in the chronology of communications.

This new Greenville facility will double our shortwave power. In places where once our voice was dim, it will now be strong; in places where our voice is jammed, it will now be clearer. This represents the greatest single unit of our new expansion, but it is only the first of a new series of transmitters being built around the world. Their purpose is to enable the ear of the world to catch the sound of the Voice of America.

Yet let us make no mistake about where we stand against our competition in this implacable war we wage. We are still third behind Radio Peking and

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the distant lead of Radio Moscow. But this imbalance we shall redress.

The heritage of this broadcast voice, and of the entire U. S. Information Agency, is the heritage of freedom. This radio speaks the creed that of all principles which a principled people can muster, the greatest surely is truth. This is one of the greater virtues we have to offer a world sorely in need of great virtues. And it is upon truth that this land, and the U. S. Information Agency as well, have built their striving for more perfect performance.

Communications systems are neutral. They have neither conscience nor morality, only a history. They will broadcast truth or falsehood with equal facility. Man communicating with man poses not the problem of how to say it, but more fundamentally, what is he to say?

The task of the Voice of America has been the task of saying to the world what manner of man it is that resides on these shores. As we are not perfect, so does this radio reflect our imperfection. As we are idealistic, so does this radio reflect our ideals. As we are a diverse nation unified in common cause, so does this radio reflect our unity. And as we are a free people, so does this radio reflect our freedom.

But it is a freedom not shared by much of the world. Our posterity will record that in this generation our planet was governed not everywhere by men of good will. There are those who would debase mankind, defame truth, and brutalize the very name of humanity.

For them, communications are an instrument of power. To live, they use it to propagate dogma and to disseminate un-truths. To survive, they must smother information and truth. They can never stand the full light of fair

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disclosure. Theirs is the society of the monolith. They have only one goal: power. They have only one instrument: control. They have only one means: repression.

Power -- Control -- Repression. This is the fate of truth in the halls of the untruthful. State power defines truth. State control is paramount over its dissemination. State repression awaits those who question.

We seek only to speak our point of view. We seek to suggest new ideas, to offer competing thoughts, to reflect on competitive values. This, our adversary fears. A new idea may insult his power. A competing thought may weaken his control. A competitive value may question his repression. To survive in his present form our adversary has no alternative but to debase truth.

The world can have but one conclusion to this fear of truth: any government that fears its people judging the truth must necessarily fear the judgment of its people.

Truth will go wherever the air of curiosity beckons it. And so, in fact, will radio. Practitioners of the broadcast art at least share this in common with truth: national borders are no barrier.

The Voice of America thus carries a mortal responsibility. Its burden of truth is not easy to bear. It must interpret to a curious and sometimes suspicious world why we are what we are. It must tell them of our belief in man, of our regard for right, of our reverence for truth.

We are willing to test our democratic truths against the dogmas of political forces and nations who contend their way is virtue and our way is vice. But such a test is not welcomed by the closed society.

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This generation has an opportunity of awesome dimension to share its knowledge. We seek to share with all. And those who impede the free flow of ideas work to the detriment of all mankind.

We live amid a time of ideas. For the many around this globe who seek to elevate their lives from a crushing way of existence, these ideas can light their tomorrows. Theirs is the generation of change; ours is the generation of challenge.

If challenge be our charge, then let boldness be our guide. And if the spotlight of history is focused on this land, let us say with pride that when free ideas were under assault we took our stand on the side of truth.

And to this noble charge and high calling do we hereby dedicate this new instrument of the United States Information Agency.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

Release No. 5

FOR RELEASE AT 7:00 P.M., EST, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1963

Address by
Edward R. Murrow
Director, U.S. Information Agency
at the 23rd Annual Distinguished Service Award Banquet
Kinston Junior Chamber of Commerce, Kinston, N.C.
Monday, February 11, 1963

It was a bare 72 hours ago that, along with members of the North Carolina Congressional delegation and other national leaders from Washington, I stood in the clay flatlands of Pitt County to dedicate new transmitters for the Voice of America. This new transmitter complex is the largest and most powerful broadcast station in the world.

It sits upon three sites totalling over 6,000 acres near Greenville, North Carolina. With 22 transmitters and 93 antennas, it will generate 4.8 million watts of power. This is more power than generated by almost 100 U.S. top-strength commercial radio stations.

The site was selected after studying some 30 possible locations in the United States. North Carolina was our choice, and into it we have put 23 million dollars and 3 years of effort and sweat.

This new development will give us a stronger signal into Europe and let us ride harder over Communist efforts to jam us. This will give us a loud clear voice in parts of Africa and the Middle East heretofore not reached. It will cover Latin America to the southern-most reaches of that vital Continent. It gives us a flexible relay system to overseas bases. It provides an emergency communications system for times of unpredictable need.

And this is all only part of our basic plan to eliminate deficiencies in radio coverage and boost our signal strength where the competition is thickest. We are improving our facilities in England. We are moving facilities in the Mediterranean from ship to shore. Plans are underway for additional transmitters in the Far East. A new large relay station at Liberia in Africa will go on the air this year. Relay stations in this country are being modernized and

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improved. New air transportable transmitters are at this hour broadcasting to Cuba and Africa. We have a Science Advisory Group lending their skills and knowledge on new techniques in radio technology. We are active participants in space communications to take advantage of this new dimension of the world of tomorrow.

That tomorrow gives every promise of literally bursting with communications. The growth of international radio alone is astounding. In 1950 there were approximately 5,000 hours broadcast on international air. Today that 5,000 has swelled to 17,000 hours. In 1950 there were 80 million receivers in the world. Today there are over 200 million receivers. And the figure is rapidly rising.

Americans, insulated by two vast oceans, have difficulty comprehending the import of international radio. On many continents political boundaries are not state lines but international borders. Foreign languages associate across those borders as freely as people in a marketplace. In a world with millions burdened by mass illiteracy, those who cannot read can listen.

I have seen abroad the impact of a small transistor in a small village. In an area of the world where no road or cable exists, a radio can still speak. It can mould unity. It can create confidence. It can stir to violence.

And so it is that the Voice of America speaks abroad on behalf of the people of this country. It is on the air 107 hours a day every day of the year. It speaks regularly in 36 languages. For special events we move to broadcasting in over 60 languages. Around the world we make placement of over 8,000 hours every week on local stations in the local languages of the people.

We know that our average listener is 31 years old, somewhat older in Latin America, somewhat younger in Arabic countries. Our youngest audience is in world-wide English, ages 15 to 24, the students of today who will be the leaders of tomorrow.

The basic premise of the Voice of America is truth. We report the good as well as the bad, or as Oliver Cromwell used to say of his portrait, "warts and all." This means that just as we have broadcast the name of John Glenn and the mesmerizing race for space so have we also broadcast the name of James Meredith and the Mississippi race disgrace.

There are some who question why taxpayers' dollars must support our telling the world the bad things about our way of life. The answer is simple. Ours is an open society. Others are free to come and see us if they choose. If we do not report our faults ourselves, others will report them for us, and to our discredit. If the world does not hear the truth upon our airwaves, we become little better than our adversary and people have little reason to believe anything we say.

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Thus it is that we operate under our charter of truth. And thus will it continue with the Voice of America. The truth will help make us believable. Without credibility we can achieve nothing. With it, we may achieve everything.

And in fairness to our performance I must add that part of the reason for telling the saga of James Meredith is to put it in the proper context of explanation, to show the positive virtues of a bad vice, to indicate that its very isolation highlights the progress this land is making.

People listen to the Voice of America for two very good reasons. First, it speaks for the United States Government. The same radio broadcasting from some tiny country in Asia or Africa would achieve far less audience. Second, our reliance upon truth has given us the reputation of honesty. This is vital in so many lands where the average person distrusts and suspects his own radio and press. He will hungrily turn to our radio to satisfy his appetite to know what in fact occurs in the world.

From this we draw two corollaries that differentiate us from commercial broadcasters. Ours is a long range strategic concern. Over a significant period of time we may be able directly to influence the attitudes and actions of people if we establish a source of information upon which they can rely. Second, speed is the important ingredient in commercial broadcasting; with us, accuracy of information is more important. For example, we would not as a government radio report the occurrence of a revolution on first receipt of rumors. We must make absolutely certain that what we say has in fact taken place, for our voice carries the imprimatur abroad of the United States Government.

And are we effective with our broadcasts? The question is as difficult to answer as it is easy to ask. In some countries the host governments will not allow us direct free contact with their people. In others, we are prohibited from circulating around the countryside polling people on their opinions.

Even if we could, what would we discover? We are not in the business of selling merchandise. No cash register rings a sale when a man's mind is changed. No balance sheet reflects how many millions have belief or disbelief. And often progress can be counted with the mere encouragement of doubt or dispelling of reservation. Again, no tables or statistics reflect it.

But we do have some indication of success. It is measured in numbers both big and small. Big numbers, like the 35,000 letters from a transistor giveaway contest in Spanish language broadcasts to Latin America -- including, by the way, more than 1,000 letters smuggled out of Cuba, more than double a previous response in spite of increased surveillance there. Big numbers, like the over 100,000 letters from behind the Berlin wall when our radio in West Berlin -- RIAS -- opened a service for reuniting missing refugees and families. There are small numbers, too, like the one boy in the Philippines who works in a village general store and draws his pay not in money but in listening time to the Voice of

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America over the store owner's radio. Small numbers, like the owner of a theatre in South America asking that VOA broadcasts not go on during certain hours as it cuts attendance at his movie house.

Effective? Who knows, for proof does not and cannot exist. But then, there was never much proof for George Washington's belief in the future of 13 small but revolting colonies. John Stuart Mill's liberty is not reducible to the canons of evidence. To make a poor paraphrase of philosophy, some things exist because they are. I have seen people who listen to the Voice of America. I know what they tell me. Without a statistical abstract to prove my opinion, I believe in its value.

Radio, of course, is only one aspect of the U. S. Information Agency. We utilize every means of communication known to modern men. We make movies, we produce television, we run a world-wide wireless news file, we print magazines and newspapers, we have a world-wide photo service and run cartoon features, we publish books, operate libraries and information centers, teach English, mount exhibits and displays, administer the overseas exchange of teachers and students and of cultural, educational, and artistic groups. Perhaps most important of all, we engage in that vital face-to-face contact work with foreign cabinet ministers and leaders, educators, editors, publishers, writers, and opinion moulders.

All of this effort is designed to focus on a single function: we will convey something of substance about this country and its people, this government and its aims, this land and its heritage. We will show the world what manner of man it is that lives in these United States. And we shall try so to identify our aims and goals with theirs that all will realize that we truly seek not power but peace. We shall say to a world increasingly encumbered by the lust of want and a taste for haste that the way of the despot is not the sole design for satisfying desire. The frankness of free men can as well attain the fruits of ambition.

Our society is imperfect, but then so is man. We have in our imperfection made resolution between need and nature. And yet we have still preserved the will of free men. In this there may be lesson and learning for others.

We will impose it upon none but offer it to all. And in making this choice there is the high happy hope that man will find the goal of his desire not in the maelstrom of evil malice but in the dream of human dignity.

To this end is our Agency dedicated.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
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Release No. 12

IMMEDIATE RELEASE, THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1963

Statement by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
before the
Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements
of the Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives, March 28, 1963

I am grateful for the opportunity to talk with you today on the often perplexing, frequently frustrating, but always fascinating business in which I am engaged -- the conduct of our Government's overseas information program. In the world-wide ideological conflict, which this committee is now studying, there is much that the U. S. Information Agency can do and is doing to further the cause of freedom and our national interests. There is also much that USIA cannot do, and it is well for us to understand its limitations as well as its potential if we are realistically to appraise its role.

Ten years ago the Jackson Committee, established to study our worldwide information program, stated that "any program supported by government funds can only be justified to the extent that it assists in the achievement of national objectives." I agree--and that is the purpose, the sole purpose, of USIA today: To further the achievement of U. S. foreign policy objectives as enunciated by the President and the State Department. We do this in two ways: First, by influencing public attitudes abroad in support of these objectives, and secondly, by advising the President and the Executive Branch on the implications of foreign opinion for current and contemplated U. S. policies and programs.

We seek to influence peoples' thinking through the various means of communication--personal contact, radio broadcasting, libraries, book publication and distribution, the press, motion pictures, television, exhibits, English-language instruction, and others. To do this job successfully, our individual country programs are not scattershot efforts but carefully designed to gain support for established U. S. foreign policy objectives relating to the particular country. This requires imagination, sophistication and flexibility--and means our programs will vary from country to country depending on U. S. policy needs.

There are, of course, many common denominators. Everywhere we seek to encourage constructive public support for what the President has described as "a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others." We present the United States as a strong, democratic, dynamic nation qualified to lead world efforts toward this goal. We emphasize the ways in which U. S. policies harmonize with those of other peoples and governments, and underline those aspects of American life and culture which facilitate sympathetic understanding of our policies. We endeavor to unmask and counter hostile attempts on the part of communists and others to distort or frustrate American objectives and policies.

The advisory function is carried out by my senior colleagues and myself at various levels within the government in Washington, and by our Public Affairs Officers within the Country Teams at U. S. diplomatic missions abroad. In this connection, I am pleased to report that much progress has been made. Beginning with the Jackson Committee report ten years ago, study groups, advisory

commissions and other experts have repeatedly urged that there be greater consideration of psychological factors in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy. Today these factors are usually given appropriate consideration.

This is not to say that American policy-makers decide what to do or what to say on the basis of which way the winds of thought are blowing; foreign affairs cannot, should not and are not conducted on the basis of a popularity contest. But it does mean that, in this age of swift communication and swift reaction, our Government tries to present its policies and programs in as understandable and palatable form as possible--understandable and palatable to those millions abroad, friend, foe and neutral, whose lives and fortunes are affected by what we do.

Ours is a pluralistic, not a monolithic, society. There are many voices of America, not just one. But we learned in the 1940s and early 50s that a government information program abroad can be successful only if it speaks with one voice--and that has been the case since Reorganization Plan No. 8 created the U. S. Information Agency and gave it the prime responsibility for overseas information activities. Since 1953, USIA staffs abroad--acting under the supervision of the Chiefs of Mission--have been responsible for the conduct of public information, public relations and cultural activities for the civilian departments and agencies of our Government.

To do its job, USIA has 239 offices in 105 countries. In addition, USIA's radio arm--the Voice of America--broadcasts 761 hours a week in 36 languages.

As long as the U. S. Government has been engaged in this activity, and that is more than 21 years, there has been confusion about the role of "truth" in a government information program. But there is no confusion within USIA, nor has

there been for many years. We operate on the basis of truth. Voice of America news broadcasts are balanced and objective. They cover all the news, even when it hurts.

American traditions and the American ethic require us to be truthful, but the most important reason is that truth is the best propaganda and lies are the worst. To be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that.

Obviously, in our commentaries, films, exhibits, personal contacts and other activities, we emphasize those aspects of American life and policy which are of greatest significance in furthering our foreign policy objectives. We report events in context; we explain why things happen. But we do not lie, we do not cheat, we do not suppress-and as a result, we are able to obtain a high degree of believability and persuasiveness.

It is this believability and persuasiveness that so enrages the communists. The current issue of the Soviet youth magazine Komsomolskaya Pravda contains a long attack on USIA and its "diverse and abominable" activities. This article also was broadcast by Castro's Radio Progreso. "In the field of propaganda," according to this article, "the ruling circles of the U. S. certainly occupy first place." The author calls USIA "a truly tremendous monster of the 'cold war' which has no equal in other capitalist countries"--but then says this Agency has been a failure because of "the historical non-viability of anti-communism."

We consider this a compliment, an evidence of effectiveness. But it is very difficult to measure success in our business. No computer clicks, no

cash register rings when a man changes his mind or opts for freedom. And, as I have indicated, ours is only one of many American voices. The image of America abroad is moulded by countless sources, among them the 4 million American tourists who go overseas every year, a million U. S. troops and dependents abroad, our 33 thousand missionaries, Hollywood movies seen by 150 million foreigners every week, American magazines, newspapers and TV shows, and letters from the 22 million immigrants who have come to our shores since 1900.

And above all, it is what we do -- not what we say -- that has the greatest impact overseas. USIA can explain, interpret, clarify, synthesize and project -- but we cannot change the unchangeable or do the undoable. The United States of America cannot and should not try to please everyone on this planet; we have, and will always have, some policies that are unpalatable to some people. We are, then, and properly so, prisoners of policy.

We should understand also that USIA cannot by itself defeat communism, solve the Kashmir dispute, resolve the Arab-Israel quarrel, throw Castro out of Cuba, protect the freedom of Berlin or defeat the Viet Cong. But given intelligent and effective American policies, supported by Congress and the American people, we can make an important contribution to the achievement of our objectives. In my judgment, we are today making such a contribution.

In recent years, USIA has come a long way in improving its capability and effectiveness as an instrument of American foreign policy. Let me mention some of the recommendations of the Jackson Committee ten years ago, and the

similar Sprague Committee of three years ago, which are now standard USIA operating procedures:

*Coordinated media activities in support of carefully defined themes;

*Decentralization and tactical control in the field;

*Greater use of unattributed material and indigenous media;

*Greater use of private organizations;

*Improved coordination of information activities with our Allies;

*Better adaptation of Agency films to foreign audiences;

*Increased use of research;

*Stronger book programs;

*Better support for foreign correspondents in this country;

*More attention to third-country students in Europe, and

*An expanded program in Latin America.

In addition to increasing our effectiveness, we also have come a long way in developing a realistic appreciation of what this instrument can and cannot do--particularly in the face of the monolithic, well-financed world-wide propaganda effort of the communists. The Soviet Union does have certain advantages: It can conduct its affairs with a minimum regard for public opinion; it can speak publicly with one voice while following contradictory courses of action; it operates in secrecy; it has disciplined fifth columns in the communist parties of other nations. But it has its disadvantages, too. For we are in a war not to capture men's minds but to free them--and our free society of free men has a tremendous advantage over the communist society of coercion.

Nonetheless, there is much still to be done. We need to improve the quality and pertinence of USIA media output. We need to know more--much more--about the people we are seeking to reach: their hopes, their fears, their prejudices, their thinking processes. Electronically, we have made great progress in the techniques of communication--but, like all mankind, we are still in the primitive stage in our understanding of human relations and personal persuasion. USIA officers have developed much professionalism, but if we are to be truly successful we must speak more languages more fluently. We must increase our knowledge of American institutions and American culture. And we must take better advantage of opportunities which present themselves.

With respect to the latter, I am thinking specifically of such things as greater recognition on the part of American commercial media of their impact on foreign affairs; of the conduct of Americans abroad--how they spend their free time, their associations with their foreign neighbors and their participation in community activities. I am thinking of American tourists who go to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe--not as spies or propagandists, but as walking, living, breathing, free-thinking and free-speaking representatives of our open society and our democratic institutions.

The experience of Cuba seems to have demonstrated at that time and place that no nation, not even the most belligerent, the most aggressive, dares risk a direct confrontation with America's nuclear might. We hope this will continue to be so. But this does not mean that the forces of aggression will be stilled, only that they will turn to other methods. Persuasion is one of the most important of them, and under these conditions persuasion becomes power. Our arsenal of

persuasion must be as ready as our nuclear arsenal, and used as never before.

According to that Soviet writer I quoted earlier, "he is doomed to fail who defends a cause doomed to fail. And USIA," he says, "is doing exactly that."

This angry communist is, of course, wrong. It is the communist propagandists, claiming virtue in their system's violation of human dignity, who are doomed to fail. And fail they will, unless we commit the greatest blunder in mankind's history and--through ignorance, blindness or spite--throw away our triumph.

In my vineyard, given the increased professionalism and effectiveness of USIA, our desire and need to improve still more, the increased recognition of the role of information and cultural activities in the conduct of our foreign affairs, and the growing appreciation of the limitations as well as the potential of this instrument--given these things, gentlemen, I believe USIA will continue to contribute in increasing measure to the security of the United States and the development of a peaceful world community.

Again, I thank you for the privilege of appearing here today; without the support of the Congress and the American people, my colleagues and I cannot succeed in our task.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

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U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Release No. 13

IMMEDIATE RELEASE, FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1963

Statement by

Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
before the
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
in support of
The National Academy of Foreign Affairs (S 865)

April 5, 1963

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Committee:

I have come to express my support for the legislation before you to establish a National Academy of Foreign Affairs. The Academy would provide in-service, interdepartmental professional training to personnel of all Federal Departments and agencies involved in foreign affairs.

Of prime concern to us was the requirement that the Academy be truly interdepartmental. The bill currently before you meets that requirement.

It is important because the postwar years have brought us to the threshold of the new complex diplomacy, a complex of all the bewildering additions to modern life -- from atomic discovery and space exploration through rising nationalism and pressing communism -- that make modern diplomacy more subtle and serious than ever it has been. As our challenge is greater, so must our diplomacy be greater.

The very existence of the United States Information Agency is an example of that complexity and the need for the inter-reliability of all the foreign affairs agencies. Who would have thought 15 years ago that the psychological element would be so important a component in modern diplomacy, or that the psychological element must in turn have regard for so many other disciplines and demands in the modern world.

The testing of such a premise lies in the President's expressed desire for tightly integrated embassy operations supervised by a chief of mission familiar with and responsible for all aspects of his program and not just political and consular functions alone.

Diplomacy today involves more than negotiation and passive reporting. Contacts abroad with foreign office counterparts and fellow diplomats no longer suffice. Knowing the local language is important, but even this is not enough. Regardless of where his post and what his assignment, the American diplomat of the 60's and 70's must have a thorough grounding in the culture and the country of his attention. He must know their kings and their wars. He must know their economic ills and their social wills. He must know both editors and educators, and must be approachable by both the leaders and the led.

Our exposure then is total. No one diplomat can know all, but all diplomats can know more. Diplomacy has become a team function. Any nation that cannot train its foreign affairs personnel for team functions will cease to function as a team.

It would seem that one instrument to make of us better servants of the Republic lies in the National Academy of Foreign Affairs.

Diplomacy, Mr. Chairman, the new diplomacy, the new complicated diplomacy, will never be better than the men who staff it. It is for that reason, for example, that I so heartily endorsed the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel chaired by the Honorable Christian A. Herter. There is a paragraph in that report instructive to me, and it reads: "... our representatives overseas are not merely representatives of the individual agencies that sent them there or of their particular specialties or professions. They are first and foremost representatives of the United States. It is therefore essential that there be an underlying level of understanding and agreement among foreign affairs officials as to the goals of our nation and our democratic system."

As you are aware, the Herter Committee also endorsed the principle of a National Academy of Foreign Affairs. In addition, the new concept of personnel envisioned by them in establishing a family of the foreign services would further serve our purposes of meeting the challenge of the new diplomacy.

The National Academy will be of considerable value to my own Agency. With your permission I now become parochial. I have talked till now on the greater needs of the global diplomat. Such admonition and appelation fit all of us in the foreign affairs community. But my own particular responsibility is the U. S. Information Agency.

I adjudge that we would be served, and well, by the Foreign Affairs Academy.

To begin, we plan today for tomorrow. This is the 20th Century. The problems of the 21st Centurywill be vastly different from the 19th Century. We stand still at our peril. The Academy will help us to move forward.

We are, as you well know, the psychological adviser on American policy, both to the President here and to each Ambassador abroad. We as well are the arm of American policy that goes to the people abroad. We seek to explain to them in their language and on their own terms why it is this country does what it does.

If we are to discharge both these functions, in all candor we need to know more. We need to know more of what motivates foreign peoples. The phrase "foreign peoples" covers a dimension of difference across the variety of tens of different religions, of a hundred different nations, of thousands of different languages, and of millions of different peoples.

A knowledge of history and of political science and of economics and of language is of course important to us. To a degree, some of this is available in the American academic community. But of even greater import is the full and fair understanding of the hopes and ambitions of the man in the copper mine and in the cane mill, the toiler in the rice paddy and the jute field, the laborer in the forest and in the factory, the woman waiting in the medical clinic for care and in the mud hut with hope, the youth in the ox cart and in the class room. To help fashion our fates in friendship requires us to know of their minds. We can only do this with specialized attention to specialized problems, placed at the disposal and contemplation of ALL the best minds from all the foreign affairs community.

There are places in the world where the Agency is actively engaged in psychological offensives designed to achieve specific U. S. objectives -- places where our national interests lie immediately in supporting efforts to meet the

danger of subversive insurgency. To fulfill this role effectively requires men trained to deal with facets of foreign political and social structures not normally encountered. This is a somewhat new dimension of the conflict of ideologies.

The National Academy could help us meet this need.

We may in time pierce the "shield of culture." A foreign culture and a foreign language today often shield us from the foreign populace. We do not know the culture well enough; we do not speak the language easily enough. There is no solution in retreat from knowledge. Our only alternative is higher specialization in the area of responsibility and more thorough preparation in the assignment undertaken.

The sort of an institution we envisage, gentlemen, is one that can stand in prestige as a peer of the best graduate schools in our nation. It must attain this academic eminence if it is to attract to its faculties men whose scholastic excellence renders them capable of providing the depth of cultural and political training about which we have been speaking. It is with no intent to denigrate the current excellence or achievement of the Foreign Service Institute that I contend such level of prestige has not been and will not be reached by that institution. The Institute has been endowed with neither the financing nor the charter that would enable it to build itself to such academic heights.

Fortified with the gift of autonomy, and enriched with the limitless wealth of research material on governmental affairs available to the academician selected to serve on its faculties, I believe it would indeed soon attract many of the best scholastic minds this country has to offer. I can envision that a considerable number of such minds would consider it both challenge and opportunity

to partake of this knowledge and to participate in the preparation of our nation's Foreign Service personnel for improved contribution to the execution of America's foreign policy.

I further believe that there is merit in establishing such an institution beyond the confines of a single Federal Department. Others besides myself have spoken of the new dimensions that have challenged our diplomacy in the years since World War II. Various segments of that diplomacy are now the principal concern of a half dozen Federal establishments. It is only natural that an institution assumes to substantial degree the special interest and coloration of the organization that directs it. Thus I consider it more likely that the peculiar requirements of each department will be served more impartially by an institution of learning that stands free of them all, rather than by an Academy administered solely by one of them.

A brief word, sir, on the proposal as it involves the Agency. With the advent of a National Academy of Foreign Affairs, I would anticipate little if any reduction in our Agency training. A survey of sample courses will indicate why: two weeks of general orientation, two weeks on international communications, a one week course on Agency policy and planning, and separate courses on Overseas Administrative Practices, Domestic Office Practice, Office Administration overseas, Teaching English as a Second Language, Binational Center Operations, and Junior Officer Trainee programs. As you can see, the duration and nature of these programs makes them ideally taught on our premises by our own people, and most unsuitable for farming out to an advanced institution of learning.

Some of the present advanced training outside the Agency could be done

by a National Academy.

Not only are present needs likely to be met but there is another dimension as well. The promise of the National Academy lies not in what it will take over from the present but in what it will discover for the future. Its greatest contribution lies on the frontier of the unknown. I trust the proposal will be weighed not on what it can presently include but on what it can potentially create.

As for the extent of our participation, this is difficult to project with only an idea at hand. One would have to know more of curriculum and relevance before predicting a reliable degree of participation.

There is one comment, however, to mention regarding participation. We must keep our posts staffed. One cannot fail to meet overseas obligations because of training demands. If we should keep a larger number of officers in training, we may need a commensurate increase in foreign service personnel. It is an investment worth making in my judgment, for we measure the greater need of better men against the cost of giving us more men with whom to work.

In addition we have Americans in specialized programs not part of our normal foreign service complement: labor information officers, student affairs grantees, and other specialist categories. These are potential candidates for the Academy. The number would be small, perhaps no more than a dozen persons at a time.

I would also include the possibility of USIA selections from some of our 6,500 local employees abroad -- foreign nationals who have given long and devoted service and whose level of responsibility warrants the investment of advanced training. The number of those participants would also not be large.

May I add a personal addendum. Training in depth is invaluable, and we would be the poorer without it. But given the fast changing revolution of our times and the varied methods of dealing with it, I would hope there could be frequent opportunities in an officer's career for short lecture and seminar courses tied to home leave and transfer. The variety of knowledge and talent at a NAFA, plus the ability to tailor such efforts to a specialized need, could make this a very fruitful endeavor. Like the physician and physicist, the diplomat cannot wait seven to ten years to be brought up-to-date.

I shall welcome, Mr. Chairman, any questions you or the committee may wish to pose.

Director Spells Out USIA Philosophy to House Group

(Last month Director Murrow set forth the philosophy and approach of the Agency in testimony before a crowded hearing room of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. His statement, which preceded 90 minutes of questioning by members of the Committee, which is headed by Rep. Dante Fascell of Florida, discussed the limitations as well as the potential of this activity of American foreign affairs. Following is the full text of the Director's formal remarks.)

I am grateful for the opportunity to talk with you today on the often perplexing, frequently frustrating, but always fascinating business in which I am engaged —the conduct of our Government's overseas information program. In the worldwide ideological conflict, which this committee is now studying, there is much that the U.S. Information Agency can do and is doing to further the cause of freedom and our national interests. There is also much that USIA cannot do, and it is well for us to understand its limitations as well as its potential if we are realistically to appraise its role.

Sole purpose of USIA

Ten years ago the Jackson Committee, established to study our worldwide information program, stated that "any program supported by government funds can only be justified to the extent that it assists in the achievement of national objectives." I agree—and that *is* the purpose, the sole purpose, of USIA today: To further the achievement of U.S. foreign policy objectives as enunciated by the President and the State Department. We do this in two ways: First, by influencing public attitudes abroad in support of these objectives, and secondly, by advising the President and the Executive Branch on the implications of foreign opinion for current and contemplated U.S. policies and programs.

Our programs vary

We seek to influence peoples' thinking through the various means of communication—personal contact, radio broadcasting, libraries, book publication and distribution, the press, motion pictures, television, exhibits, English-language instruction, and others. To do this job successfully, our individual country programs are not scattershot efforts but carefully designed to gain support for established U.S. foreign policy objectives relating to the particular country. This requires imagination, sophistication and flexibility—and means our programs will vary from country to country depending on U.S. policy needs.

There are, of course, many common denominators. Everywhere we seek to encourage constructive public support for what the President has described as "a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others." We present the United States as a strong, democratic, dynamic nation qualified to lead world efforts toward this goal. We emphasize the ways in which U.S. policies harmonize with those of other peoples and governments, and underline those aspects of American life and culture which facilitate sympathetic understanding of our policies. We endeavor to unmask and counter hostile

attempts on the part of communists and others to distort or frustrate American objectives and policies.

The advisory function is carried out by senior colleagues and myself at various levels within the government in Washington, and by our Public Affairs Officers within the Country Teams at U.S. diplomatic missions abroad. In this connection, I am pleased to report that much progress has been made. Beginning with the Jackson Committee report ten years ago, study groups, advisory commissions and other experts have repeatedly urged that there be greater consideration of psychological factors in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy. Today these factors are usually given appropriate consideration.

This is not to say that American policymakers decide what to do or what to say on the basis of which way the winds of thought are blowing; foreign affairs cannot, should not and are not conducted on the basis of a popularity contest. But it does mean that, in this age of swift communication and swift reaction, our Government tries to present its policies and programs in as understandable and palatable form as possible—understandable and palatable to those millions abroad, friend, foe and neutral, whose lives and fortunes are affected by what we do.

Many voices of America

Ours is a pluralistic, not a monolithic, society. There are many voices of America, not just one. But we learned in the 1940s and early 50s that a government information program abroad can be successful only if it speaks with one voice —and that has been the case since Reorganization Plan No. 8 created the U.S. Information Agency and gave it the prime responsibility for overseas information activities. Since 1953, USIA staffs abroad—acting under the supervision of the Chiefs of Mission—have been responsible for the conduct of public information, public relations and cultural activities for the civilian departments and agencies of our Government.

To do its job, USIA has 239 offices in 105 countries. In addition, USIA's radio arm—the Voice of America—broadcasts 761 hours a week in 36 languages.

As long as the U.S. Government has been engaged in this activity, and that is more than 21 years, there has been confusion about the role of "truth" in a government information program. But there is no confusion within USIA, nor has there been for many years. We operate on the basis of truth. Voice of America news broadcasts are balanced and objective. They cover all the news, even when it hurts.

Truth is the best propaganda

American traditions and the American ethic require us to be truthful, but the most important reason is that truth is the best propaganda and lies are the worst. To be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that.

Obviously, in our commentaries, films, exhibits, personal contacts and other activities, we emphasize those aspects of American life and policy which are of

greatest significance in furthering our foreign policy objectives. We report events in context; we explain why things happen. But we do not lie, we do not cheat, we do not suppress—and as a result, we are able to obtain a high degree of believability and persuasiveness.

It is this believability and persuasiveness that so enrages the communists. A recent issue of the Soviet youth newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* contains a long attack on USIA and its "diverse and abominable" activities. This article also was broadcast by Castro's Radio Progreso. "In the field of propaganda," according to this article, "the ruling circles of the U.S. certainly occupy first place." The author calls USIA "a truly tremendous monster of the 'cold war' which has no equal in other capitalist countries" —but then says this Agency has been a failure because of "the historical nonviability of anti-communism."

Difficult to measure success

We consider this a compliment, an evidence of effectiveness. But it is very difficult to measure success in our business. No computer clicks, no cash register rings when a man changes his mind or opts for freedom. And, as I have indicated, ours is only one of many American voices. The image of America abroad is moulded by countless sources, among them the 4 million American tourists who go overseas every year, a million U. S. troops and dependents abroad, our 33 thousand missionaries, Hollywood movies seen by 150 million foreigners every week, American magazines, newspapers and TV shows, and letters from the 22 million immigrants who have come to our shores since 1900.

And above all, it is what we do—not what we say—that has the greatest impact overseas. USIA can explain, interpret, clarify, synthesize and project—but we cannot change the unchangable or do the undoable. The United States of America cannot and should not try to please everyone on this planet; we have, and will always have, some policies that are unpalatable to some people. We are, then, and properly so, prisoners of policy.

An important contribution

We should understand also that USIA cannot by itself defeat communism, solve the Kashmir dispute, resolve the Arab-Israel quarrel, throw Castro out of Cuba, protect the freedom of Berlin or defeat the Viet Cong. But given intelligent and effective American policies, supported by Congress and the American people, we can make an important contribution to the achievement of our objectives. In my judgment, we are today making such a contribution.

In recent years, USIA has come a long way in improving its capability and effectiveness as an instrument of American foreign policy. Let me mention some of the recommendations of the Jackson Committee ten years ago, and the similar Sprague Committee of three years ago, which are now standard USIA operating procedures:

- Coordinated media activities in support of carefully defined themes;
- Decentralization and tactical control in the field;
- Greater use of unattributed material and indigenous media;
- Greater use of private organizations;
- Improved coordination of information activities with our Allies;
- Better adaptation of Agency films to foreign audiences;
- Increased use of research;
- Stronger book programs;
- Better support for foreign correspondents in this country;
- More attention to third-country students in Europe, and
- An expanded program in Latin America.

A war to free men's minds

In addition to increasing our effectiveness, we also have come a long way in developing a realistic appreciation of what this instrument can and cannot do —particularly in the face of the monolithic, well-financed world-wide propaganda effort of the communists. The Soviet Union does have certain advantages: It can conduct its affairs with a minimum regard for public opinion; it can speak publicly with one voice while following contradictory courses of action; it operates in secrecy; it has disciplined fifth columns in the communist parties of other nations. But it has its disadvantages, too. For we are in a war not to capture men's minds but to free them —and our free society of free men has a tremendous advantage over the communist society of coercion.

Much to be done

Nonetheless, there is still much to be done. We need to improve the quality and pertinence of USIA media output. We need to know more—much more—about the people we are seeking to reach: their hopes, their fears, their prejudices, their thinking processes. Electronically, we have made great progress in the techniques of communication—but, like all mankind, we are still in the primitive stage in our understanding of human relations and personal persuasion. USIA officers have developed much professionalism, but if we are to be truly successful we must speak more languages more fluently. We must increase our knowledge of American institutions and American culture. And we must take better advantage of opportunities which present themselves.

With respect to the latter, I am thinking specifically of such things as greater recognition on the part of American commercial media of their impact on foreign affairs; of the conduct of Americans abroad—how they spend their free time, their associations with their foreign neighbors and their participation in community activities. I am thinking of American tourists who go to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—not as spies or propagandists, but as walking, living, breathing, free-thinking and free-speaking representatives of our open society and our democratic institutions.

Persuasion becomes power

The experience of Cuba seems to have demonstrated at that time and place that no nation, not even the most belligerent, the most aggressive, dares risk a direct confrontation with America's nuclear might. We hope this will continue to be so. But this does not mean that the forces of aggression will be stilled, only that they will turn to other methods. Persuasion is one of the most important of them, and under these conditions persuasion becomes power. Our arsenal of persuasion must be as ready as our nuclear arsenal, and used as never before.

According to that Soviet writer I quoted earlier, "he is doomed to fail who defends a cause doomed to fail. And USIA," he says, "is doing exactly that."

Communists doomed to fail

This angry communist is, of course, wrong. It is the communist propagandists, claiming virtue in their system's violation of human dignity, who are doomed to fail. And fail they will, unless we commit the greatest blunder in mankind's history and—through ignorance, blindness or spite—throw away our triumph.

In my vineyard, given the increased professionalism and effectiveness of USIA, our desire and need to improve still more, the increased recognition of the role of information and cultural activities in the conduct of our foreign affairs, and the growing appreciation of the limitations as well as the potential of this instrument—given these things, gentlemen, I believe USIA will continue to contribute in increasing measure to the security of the United States and the development of a peaceful world community.

Again, I thank you for the privilege of appearing here today; without the support of the Congress and the American people, my colleagues and I cannot succeed in our task.

Following is an extract from an address by Edward R. Murrow, Director of the United States Information Agency, before a conference of the League of Women Voters in New York City, May 23, 1963:

From your own experience you know that no limits can be set on women's interests. Women -- for the sole reason they are women -- are not necessarily a separate foreign audience. Women are people first and women second. Their own interests and activities are questions of individual abilities and capacities. Depending on the country, and the status of women in that country, women may comprise significant portions of many groups -- labor, teachers, youth and students, leaders and potential leaders. These groups we do try to reach because they are in the forefront of change in their lands.

As our world grows, so does the role of women in that world.

Women and girls now receive new and increased opportunities for education.

With education leading to a change in women's status, with economic development and industrialization putting more women into jobs where they earn money, women are acquiring economic rights, perhaps hitherto denied to them.

And with political rights, women's role has changed enormously. Of the 111 member nations of the United Nations, 96 now give women full and equal political rights. They vote. They even hold office. The world scene now sees a woman Prime Minister in the Far East and a woman Foreign Minister in the Middle East, as well as other Cabinet Ministers in other countries. Women are increasingly serving as members of parliaments and

legislatures. In only eight countries today do women have no political rights.

And thus will social historians recount that in our day a dramatic change occurred in the potential of half the world's population. Women today lead. They influence public attitudes and government policy. Women assist in the creation of societies which, hopefully, will be harmonious with basic values in human existence. As in the United States, there are women in every country with the energy, desire and ability to speed up the social, economic, and political evolution with which modernity is now identified. This is a new birth of freedom. It is a force to be reckoned in the balance of world affairs. Democracy and this country can underestimate it only to our loss.

USIA has of course a special interest in women in newly independent countries. They have played prominent roles in the national revolutions leading to the independence of their countries. They were active in protest movements, sit-down strikes, demonstrations, and even in battle lines. Some have served time in prison. They have thus come to occupy important roles in present governments. In several countries the women's section of the ruling political party has the governmental responsibility for education and social welfare programs.

But even beyond their role in government, women are gathering in voluntary and professional organizations. Their goal: to accomplish by cooperative action what cannot be done by individual action. These organizations, particularly when devoted to the public service, can provide a training ground in the practice of democratic self-government.

Thus we reach another aspect of interest by USIA in women overseas.

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An information and cultural program designed to work with women's organizations in other countries can help strengthen the political framework of that country by building on organizations dedicated to community action. With good fortune and hard work we help to develop leadership, strengthen democratic processes, and gain political stability while at the same time helping to deepen the understanding of the United States, its people and its policies.

While it is true that as an agency we set no limits on "women's interests," we are realistic in acknowledging that there are concerns common to all mankind -- but especially to women. Take, for example, the care and well-being of children and families, education, medical care and preservation of life, a concern for people and their institutions. These are universal and unifying. These are as well a politically nondivisive base of shared concern that we may use in communicating with women everywhere.

The ancient, once-static societies, so long rigidified by status and sterility, now rise from their sleep to become habituated to change. People and their leaders dare to think in terms of every human being having a decent life. History will record that it was our generation that first conceived such a proposition on a worldwide scale. It is surely the most ambitious goal to which mankind ever set his sights.

Life for multitudes today is still sparse and rugged and even desperate. But the difference now is awareness. Ignorance is being banished from the counsels of concerned men. People now know -- from radio and films and television and books. People now care -- if not for themselves, then for their children. People now are restless -- with their stocism that has so long borne

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the burdens of poverty and disease.

And look at the role of women in this world of change. Most nations contemplate societal changes that simply cannot occur without women. Regard for a moment merely the single area of social development and living conditions.

Nutrition and the feeding of families, the better use of whatever food is available, the willingness to use new foods, -- all this lies with women, for it is women who choose and prepare family meals. The energy or the apathy of a people depends in large part on their diet, and adequate nutrition is not only a question of economics but of information and knowledge.

Health is also in the care of women. They raise children, and with proper education could prevent much of the world's disease. To take one example: the World Health Organization informs us the eyesight of 40,000,000 people is threatened. If not already blind, many of these people soon will be, condemned to a life of stumbling, lonely blindness. Eighty percent of the rural populations of some countries have damaged sight. Yet in so many cases these diseases could have been treated earlier and prevented with elementary knowledge of cleanliness and care.

Patterns of life change as well. Nations are growing. Cities become swollen. Factories draw people from farms. Radio and roads spread knowledge from village to village. Thus new family patterns replace old traditions. The outcome of some of these changes lies in the hands of women. The results can be more freedom for each person, more life for the woman, greater happiness of husband and child. Or these changes can lead to split homes, unhappiness, loneliness, child delinquency, and misery.

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Women with vision, women ready to adapt, and understand, and enjoy -- rather than resist -- can ease the adjustments to change which all families, all communities, and all nations are being called upon to make.

With all this, then, as the principles of our Agency's concern with women, what, then, are our practices?

We operate upon two levels: that of personal contact and that of utilizing the production of the many media we use.

For personal contact, we have Women's Activities Officers in several African posts, and will soon be adding more in the Far East. In addition there are in many USIS posts women officers with the knowledge, interest, and skill to make certain the USIA program is reaching women. We have more than 50 such women officers.

We also have the extra-curricular resource of the wives of U. S. officers stationed abroad. They are a most potent force to influence public attitudes abroad, and a course has been designed to help these women meet their responsibilities as representatives of the United States on the international scene. The course is fairly new. In recent months the wives of husbands working abroad for eight Federal agencies have undergone its rigors. I have had reliable reports on its progress from a source I dare not impeach; my wife has been one of its pupils.

We utilize as well the Department of State's American Specialist Program. Under this we have selected and sent qualified women to hold "leadership training institutes" in foreign countries. They have been most effective.

And this year will see the inauguration of a similar program to bring

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women here for training on how to give consultant service to developing community organizations in their own countries.

Further we train many of our officers in the specialized techniques of communicating with specialized audiences -- women included among them, as well as students, youth and labor. In addition we acquire broadened personal contacts through sponsored workshops on the role of women in urban and rural development, through the United Nations Status of Women Commission Conferences held periodically in various regions of the world, and through USIA's discreet support and understanding of various non-governmental women's organizations, both national and international.

As for our media product, you will recall the varied operations I mentioned earlier: press, television, radio, motion pictures, books and libraries.

In our press division, our Arabic magazine, Al Hayat, devoted its February issue to American women. Four times a year we send a women's press packet to our field posts, containing carefully selected materials to contribute to influencing public attitudes in the vital "nation-building" process. We have regular features in our "Women of Achievement" series and "Profile of an American" series. There is, of course, the continuing news coverage of events and subjects of particular interest to women abroad.

On our Voice of America radio we have commenced a new series, "Viewpoint" with a strong woman's angle. We recently completed 13 half-hour scripts on "The Role and Potential of Women" from material presented at a conference last January at the University of California. We continually cover foreign women leaders visiting this country, and many of our 36 language services tailor special country programs to women in the audience.

In Television a half hour documentary is now in production on "The Woman in the Home." The request for this came from our post in Tokyo, but it will be useful in other countries as well.

In our Information Center Service, we are planning to use a book tentatively titled "Half the World's People." Its theme is that the changing status of women within their own societies constitutes a universal revolution that is one of the significant events of this century. When the book is published this year, we shall make extensive use of it in our low-cost local language book program. This is an example of how the Agency encourages the writing and publishing of books useful to us overseas.

Further, we prepare lectures and slide talks for use by Cultural Affairs Officers abroad, and also respond to overseas requests for appropriate pamphlets from non-governmental organizations.

In motion pictures we have film magazines and newsreels that cover continental areas: "Horizons," for example, in Latin America, and "Today" in Africa. A recent edition of the African newsreel contained features on innoculations for parents and children against measles. Last year's film on Mrs. Kennedy's visits to India and Pakistan had much of special interest to women, but in fairness they had exceptional general audience appeal as well.

Let me close by mentioning a project dear to those of us in USIA. We call it BOOKS USA.

Most Americans take books for granted. Books are available to us in the classroom, in our spendid libraries, in bookstores and elsewhere where we can buy them for pennies. Few of us ever bother to speculate what life

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would be like if suddenly books were to disappear. The world around us would quickly seem bare and empty.

Yet millions of men, women and children around the globe suffer the emptiness of life without books. Books are capsules of knowledge. The hunger of people abroad for knowledge is insatiable.

USIA seeks to satisfy that hunger through many means, as I have mentioned, but also through books. Last year we distributed some 6,000,000 books to foreign libraries, institutions, research centers and individuals. But our competitors from Communism overwhelm us with their output. Last year they published over 80,000,000 books in non-bloc languages alone. This year they will distribute some 150,000,000 books.

Here is a book gap we can never hope to close by public appropriated funds alone. But it may be possible to make progress through the help of American citizens. Our Agency has devised a plan called BOOKS USA through which the largest paperback publishers in the country offer packets of ten books for sale at no profit. USIA selects the titles in these packets. For a few dollars anyone can send a BOOKS USA packet in such fields as American literature, history, and biography to a school or library overseas. Each packet will be distributed overseas by our Information Agency in the name of the donor of the books.

I have left some folders explaining the concept in more detail. We ask the support of those who believe as we do that books are the tools of truth and freedom.

We are all concerned with the growth of democracy and the nurturing

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of freedom. Your organization does that in this country. We do it overseas. Those who make decisions in government and those who are affected by those decisions concern us both. Politics, after all, is people, as one of your recent publications says. And it is people who in the end of the day will decide the conditions of life here on earth.

The purpose of your organization is to promote political responsibility through the informed participation of citizens in government. The purpose of my organization is to inform citizens abroad and hope that such knowledge will contribute to a relationship between people and government. Our purposes are not so dissimilar after all. As I hope for the success of the work of my Agency, let me wish you success in the work of your organization. We both have our responsibilities to meet. I trust we shall meet them well.

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
At the East Carolina College Commencement
Greenville, N. C., Sunday, June 9, 1963

To speak at a commencement is, to some degree, to accept the challenge of the obvious. Commencement means beginning. But how many times have commencement audiences heard ringing phrases like "Commencement is not an ending but a beginning." I first heard that comment in the sixth grade, and it impressed me. When I heard it again in the ninth grade I was reminded I had been impressed in the sixth grade. By the time it had been repeated at high school and college commencement, I had heard it and had it enough.

So Mr. President, leave us commence our commencement with a promise not to parse commencement into a beginning.

I have come here to the red clay soil of East Carolina in part to represent the interest my Agency and this state have in common. We have just completed in nearby Greenville the world's most powerful shortwave radio transmitter complex. We have an operating reserve and an executive reserve here, and your President is an active and enthusiastic member of this latter. In point of fact, my Agency has received splendid cooperation from this college and this faculty, and my colleagues and I in Washington are grateful for it.

The U. S. Information Agency is in the communications business. We

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seek to tell others something about the kind of men who inhabit America. We try to associate this people and this government with the hopes and aspirations of other peoples. To do this we put to hopeful good effect every instrument of modern communication known to man.

We broadcast radio -- the Voice of America -- 789 hours every week in 36 languages. For special events coverage, such as the orbiting of Gordon Cooper, we broadcast in up to 62 languages. Every week, for use on overseas domestic stations translated into their native languages, our posts place locally 14,000 hours of taped broadcasting.

We make moving pictures. Six hundred million people a month see USIA films produced in 52 languages.

We produce television, placing some 500 programs every year in 61 countries.

We are in the press business. We send a wireless news file transmitting 10,000 words daily to over 100 world posts. We print newspapers and magazines -- 66 magazines and 20 newspapers in 25 languages. We have a world wide photo service, last year placing a million and a half pictures in newspapers around the world. We print pamphlets and cartoon strips -- over 18 million pamphlets last year, and five cartoon strips published in 87 countries -- including one that is the most widely read printed feature in the world with an audience of 100 million people.

We produce travelling exhibits, some 300 of them in continual use around the globe.

We publish books -- 8 million of them last year, many of them in foreign translations, but not near enough.

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We run libraries and binational centers -- 182 libraries in 88 countries and 159 binational centers, with approximately 30 million people visiting them each year.

We teach English, having instructed over a million persons since 1953, and teaching every day, for one example, over 7,000 people in Mexico City.

In conjunction with the Department of State, we administer the education and cultural exchange program -- helping some 5,000 students, leaders, and teachers every year to experience for themselves our country.

We work in private cooperation with U. S. business firms, with several hundred separate concerns sending material to their thousands of representatives working abroad.

And this is all done by some 1,300 Americans and 6,300 foreign nationals working overseas with our total Agency budget last year of $122.5 million.

So it is this instrument of national policy that some of the people located here are designed to complement. We appreciate your interest.

I have never been intrigued with the fascination of my own reminiscences. I remember well my own school days, but I am not about to burden you with homilies honed and humored over the past half century. As college graduates you are worthy of congratulations on the glorious magnitude of the infinite uncertainty confronting you. In the past those similarly garbed and graduated had at least the consolation that with modest diligence they would survive. But populations grow. Needs arise. Crises appear. And with the fearful possibility that the human equation might someday equal the nuclear nought, even that is no longer safe assurance for you.

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Even more, perhaps, do I have a modicum of empathy with teachers. They work with the intangibility of ideas and often the ingratitude of students as well as the impatience of administrators. And yet if our future bears any relevance to dream and desire, who is a more instrumental instrumentality than the teacher.

I stand here today. Tomorrow one of you may stand in my stead. I am beyond the sway of your teachers. You are not. My prejudices and patterns, for ill or good, are set. Yours are just beginning. If one of you is to fall heir to my mantle of responsibilities, or to another in Washington or Raleigh, as invariably someone must, what you have just completed at this school may have done more to form you than any other single experience in your life. Reflect upon that as you regard those who for four years have borne the burden of exposing you to the pain of ideas.

I stand but in awe of the teacher. He has an increased dimension of responsibility. He has, if his mind be not lulled to sleep by the drone of his own sonorous tones, a widened area of curiosity. Man knows more today about more things than ever before. In the full floodtide of our printed revolution, the art of education is not so much knowing how to read as it is knowing what to read. The wise teacher must temper his curiosity with inquiry, and hope that its resolution will bring that rare man who can mingle his love of knowledge with his understanding of ignorance.

And the students' view of these rare men of the mind is epitomized best in William O. Douglas' canard about the first confrontation between Supreme Court Justice James Clark McReynolds and Robert Hutchins -- McReynolds, then

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the elderly bastion of conservatism staunch in his devotion to the principles of the last century, and Hutchins, then the mercurially brilliant new young Dean of the Yale University Law School. Justice McReynolds grumbled over the handshake, "Well, I suppose you tell them at that college that we are old fuddy duddies," and Hutchins replied softly, "Oh no, we simply let them find it out for themselves."

But there are other things you will find out of life as well. You will find that you advance into a world not quite overwhelmed at your coming. Days of leisure and pleasure now become weeks of work and worry. There is a living to earn -- it must be garnered as it is not given. There are responsibilities to assume -- they must be discharged as they will not dissolve. There are destinies to meet -- though some of the meetings may be both unexpected and unpleasant.

I wonder if you realize how unusual you are. This country has a population of 188,000,000 people. In a land where the pat phrase runs, "almost everyone goes to college," do you know how many college graduates this country had last year? 420,000. Math majors among you will quickly calculate that at about point oh-oh-two per cent (.002) of our population. In the entire country there are but 10 million college graduates -- about five and one-quarter per cent of the populace.

A lot of people in college? Yes, if you count them head by head; no, if you count them group by group. Ladies and gentlemen, you are an elite... an educated elite... and no elite in history has fared well unless they serve themselves and their society with distinction.

With diplomas in your hands, you have now had an education. We are all afloat on a vast sea of ignorance, but recalling the numbers I mentioned

above, you have been better prepared than most to sail that sea. If you founder, your excuse will come with the poorest grace of all. This society has chosen to educate you. An educated man among the uneducated, like that one man with eyesight in the company of the blind, cannot help but be a leader.

Being educated, you now should have that most important faculty of all -- criticism. You should have opinion and idea as to what is good and what is bad, what is meritorious and what is meaningless. You should be able to distinguish quality from quantity. You should have the beginnings of taste, because now your life becomes your judgment. Should you judge wisely and well, so will you live.

I am curious about this rare thing you now have that we call education. Have you, for example, heard the names of Stuart Mill and Rousseau, or of McCauley and Gibbon? You know the names Tom Jefferson and Karl Marx; have any of you read anything either has written? How many of you have read a play by Ibsen, a poem by Eliot, criticism by Mencken? Do you have a favorite painter or sculptor, a preferred composer or conductor? Or even more mundane, how many of you know any painters or composers?

Education should have made you more sensitive as well. The more you know, the more of complexity and difficulty you should appreciate. Education should remind you that when an apple falls on your head you think of gravity. But when you see a car driving down the road, how many of you think of Arab oil or Venezuelan gasoline that propels it, or of highway deaths near half-a-hundred thousand each year, or of fat Americans in poor condition who rarely walk, or of labor unions striking in behalf of worker benefits, or of design and fashion and built-in obsolescence changing each car each year for each buyer, or of

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traffic choking the downtown heart of big cities and leading to blighting the city core and urban renewal, or of massive highways cutting cross the land and changing forest land to billboard freeways, as well as the ardent campaign of beautifiers to ban the billboard, or of dormitory suburbs with spreading conformity and eaten-up land and segregated living. It's all a part of the one word "automobile," and it comes from nothing more than elemental sensitivity and critique that education should have given you.

For you now do the things that for years you have complacently watched your parents do for you. Conservation and the outer banks, better newspapers and television, business ethics -- they're all alien concepts to the world from which you come. But they're all passionate concerns of the world to which you go.

As college graduates you go from lessons you have studied to lessons you must learn. There is much to learn in this machine age. The largest educational machine in the world is in Berlin. It is 27 miles long, it is strung with barbed wire, it teaches lessons in the meaning of democracy and communism, of freedom and tyranny, of humanity and inhumanity. Its name is the Wall.

There are other educational machines here. One of them is a lunch counter. It is some 50 feet long, it is lined with almost deserted seats but it is ringed with a great crowd. Over the shoulders of that great crowd stand another whole host of onlookers. Through picture and print and film and text a veritable legion across this country and around this globe watches what lessons in democracy and freedom and humanity emerge from this teaching machine.

My contrast is somewhat invidious, and for that I offer apology. The Wall is deadly repression and depressed strife. The lunch counter is, I suggest,

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lively progress and expressed life.

If education has made you sensitive and critical, then the one thing you cannot feel is indifference. In the pages you have thumbed these past four years, one hopes you have learned to discern and to temper rawness with rationale. Your hopes are probably no different from those who have gone before you. Most of your dreams have been dreamed before. But what will concern you?. Of what shall you be afraid? What will stir you to righteous anger... to action?

If you have learned to discern then the issue becomes what it is about which you choose to feel. I know my own feelings and angers. They are not as important as yours, for you are my tomorrow. Through your feeling and your anger shall men know you, and me, and us, and all this country, and all that we in our world feel is noble and just and worth the price of sacrifice.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
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Release No. 25

FOR RELEASE AT 1 P.M. EDT, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19, 1963

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before 59th Annual Convention, Advertising Federation of America
Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, June 19, 1963

My listed subject is "The Voice of America." I may stray from that, for, as you may know, the Voice of America is the radio arm of the U.S. Information Agency. It is therefore only one of some half dozen different media we use to communicate America's story to the world.

The U.S. Information Agency is in the communications business. We seek to tell others something about the kind of men who inhabit America. Our purpose is to associate this people and this government with the hopes and aspirations of other peoples. To do this we put to hopeful good effect every instrument of modern communication known to man.

We broadcast radio -- the Voice of America -- 789 hours every week in 36 languages daily. For special events coverage, such as the orbiting of Gordon Cooper, we broadcast in up to 62 languages. Every week, for use on overseas domestic stations translated into their native languages, our posts place locally 14,000 hours of taped broadcasting. We do not pay for this time.

We make moving pictures. Six hundred million people a month see USIA films produced in 52 languages.

We produce television, placing over 500 programs every year in 61 countries.

We are in the press business. We send a wireless news file transmitting 10,000 words daily to over 100 world posts. We print newspapers and magazines -- 66 magazines and 20 newspapers in 25 languages. We have a world wide photo service, last year placing a million and a half pictures in newspapers around the world. We print pamphlets and cartoon strips -- over a million pamphlets last year, and five cartoon strips published in 87 countries -- including one that is the most widely read printed feature in the world.

We produce travelling exhibits, some 300 of them in continual use around the globe.

We publish books - five million of them last year, many of them in foreign translations, but not near enough.

We run libraries and binational centers -- 182 libraries in 88 countries and 159 binational centers, with approximately 30 million people visiting them each year.

We teach English, having instructed over a million persons since 1953. We are teaching English in classrooms to nearly one quarter million people this year. English lessons by television reach millions more.

In conjunction with the Department of State, we administer the education and cultural exchange program -- helping some 5,000 students, leaders, and teachers every year to experience our country for themselves.

We work in private cooperation with U.S. business firms, with hundreds of separate concerns sending material to their thousands of representatives working abroad.

And this is all done by some 1,500 Americans and 7,000 foreign nationals working overseas, backed up by 2,500 Americans in this country, with our Agency budget last year of $131.6 million.

Our client is, of course, in advertising terms, the United States of America. More particularly, it is the government of the United States acting in behalf of the people of this land. Our client demands, and we owe him, only our very best.

We are on the ground in 104 different countries. Some of these countries are directly opposed in varying degrees one to the other: India and Pakistan, Israel and the Arab States, the Congo and South Africa, yet we must operate in them all.

The message we convey to them is not a simple one. Ours is a land of the multiple ideology. Democracy is not simple but complex. We allow, even encourage, dissent. Variety is our hallmark. We have made it a national credo not to have one belief, one rationale, one guide, one dogma. We have made a veritable dogma of having no dogma.

Thus it is that our Agency has been the recipient of great volumes of advice. The political scientist, the professor, the student, the researcher, the

sociologist, the psychologist, the anthropologist, the newspaperman, the broadcaster, the businessman, the sales manager, the manufacturer, the diplomat, the advertiser, the public relations man, the missionary, the writer -- they all say they have answers for our business of propaganda. And, in truth, some do have some of the answer. But the very variety of source and suggestion is enough to suggest that no one person has a monopoly on the how of understanding the United States.

As a people, we prefer it this way. We would suspicion any man who suggests he has a monopoly on what to be or how to think or what to say. When someone comes forth to assert such, the American experience puts the lie to his assertion.

Our concern is with the idea and the ideal. We cannot gauge our success by sales. No profit and loss statement sums up our operations at the end of each year. No cash register rings when a man changes his mind, no totals are rung up on people impressed with an idea. There is no market listing of the rise or fall in the going rate of belief in an ideal. Often, one's best work may be merely to introduce doubt into minds already firmly committed. There are no tallies to total or sums to surmise when you've finished a day of explaining disarmament or discussing with the disenchanted the hope of an Alliance for Progress.

In short, gentlemen, our job is far different from selling a product to a single mass market. We are not selling America abroad. America is not for sale. Sloganeering and boasting of cars and washing machines is a product of the past. How much food and how many refrigerators we have in America is hardly a persuasive message to men who have no food either to refrigerate or to eat.

As you know, ours is an independent agency reporting directly to the President and receiving its budget through Congressional appropriations. We have no constituency, our work begins at the water's edge, our results are frequently intangible, we generally receive domestic publicity when we make a mistake. Our budget can be cut with political impunity for no trade union, no arms manufacturer, no lobby will bring pressure to bear upon Congress on our behalf.

To do our job, we require people and money.

We do not know how much the communist world spends for propaganda and information. USIA has tried to estimate the size of the Soviet propaganda effort

worldwide, but has found it impossible to strike a reliable estimate. But a study published by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in 1960 estimated, and I quote: "The various forms of communist propaganda throughout the world involve a personnel of about 500,000 and an annual expenditure of approximately $2,000,000,000..."

I quote further: "It can be said that Moscow (with slight aid from Peking) spends $2 a year per free man to be subjugated. To grasp the magnitude of this figure expressing the scope of the political war Moscow wages against us, we should remark that an American Senate Committee has estimated the sums allocated by the United States to world propaganda at one and a quarter cents per person per year. If the budgets of all other free countries are added the total hardly comes to two cents.

"On this point the Soviet effort is roughly 100 times as great as that of all the rest of the world." End of quotation.

Yesterday we received the verdict on the U.S. Information Agency budget from the House of Representatives. We had asked for a total appropriation for Fiscal 1964 of $157.9 million. We were given $142.7 million, $15 million less than we had requested.

The House Appropriations Committee report stated, "No additional positions have been allowed except for the Voice of America..." That means a personnel ceiling -- a freeze.

We were allowed $110,000 to cover all representation and contact work by our officers in 239 posts in 104 countries. That breaks down to $75 per man per year. Not infrequently some of that money is used to entertain visiting Congressmen who later deny requests for money for entertainment. For the Agency's use in Washington, we were allowed $500 a year to entertain foreign cabinet ministers, prominent journalists and the heads of visiting delegations.

Another figure may illustrate the point. The Russians attempt to jam the broadcasts of the free world. Were we to maintain and operate a jamming system equivalent to theirs, it would cost us $150,000,000 a year. The budget of the Voice of America is $23 million.

Let me share with you what we may have to face eliminating. Latin America and Africa are our two prime areas of concern.

In Latin America we asked for $10,747,000 to cover our operations in 23 countries. The United States, in concert with the other American republics, seeks in Latin America a social revolution across the span of an entire continent within the time of a few years without resort to violence. In all the noble deeds of man best chronicled by history there are no examples of success on so comparable a scale.

The modest commitment of our Agency's resources to this effort may have to be pared. We had plans for more films to show the failures of communism, to relate the Castro experience as part of a world wide pattern of failure.

We planned films in addition to those already done to illumine the concept of the Alliance for Progress, films that would emphasize the self-help of Latins and the need for participation not just by governments alone but by people as well. But we shall probably not have enough dollars to tell the story to the extent we consider adequate and necessary.

We had plans to open branch posts this year. We have opened nine in the past two years. Their purpose is to move more of our operation to the people outside the capital cities, to tell our story to the people in the lonely bayous as well as those on the crowded beaches. This we may have to defer.

We have pioneered a new concept of reaching critically important groups: labor information officers and student affairs specialists. They live with workers and students, learning their thoughts and their problems, and then trying to relate what is good in America to what is needed in these countries. They have established contact, they have gained the confidence of these people, and now they need the material to support their efforts: new books, new printed matter, new films, new television, new ideas. Supplying them the back-up they need is now in question.

Or take Africa. We are staffing today 56 posts in 33 countries. Five years ago we were in only 16 countries.

Our role in Africa is complicated by that "nationhood explosion", by great distances, infinite variety, and constant challenges of climate and culture. We have the burden of explaining America's race problem to an African continent acutely aware that our Negro citizens are of African origin. We are pressed to explain that we are not racist, that quite to the contrary the government and majority of this country support the Negro movement to progress. But we must explain as well the difficulties of moving fast, the limits of the law in a land that respects law. The phenomenon of social change has to be explored in considerable depth by all the means at our disposal.

There is considerable belief that we are a country of extreme conservatism, that we cannot accommodate social change, that we have no consideration for the development of the rest of the world, that we have never grown beyond what is essentially a 19th century society.

The increase we had requested in Africa was only $1.8 million. What had we planned to do with it?

We must reach the African, setting forth U.S. policy in terms the African can understand and appreciate. We had hoped to set up a regional printing center to produce material covering African-U.S. exchanges of people, AID economic assistance programs, setting forth aspects of U.S. history and institutions relevant to Africa, pointing out common elements of our heritage.

We had hopes of a series of documentary films on how the United States is aiding Africa in the formidable task of educating a continent of people who see education as their springboard into the 20th Century. We would have filmed AID construction for the University and colleges in Ethiopia, or the vocational training school in Guinea. Or films on Food for Peace programs, where the U.S. has averted famine and provided jobs. This, too, is an aspect of the United States concern worth telling to the Africans.

We wanted as well to open information centers in five new areas of Africa. What the magic of space is to this country, the magic of education is to Africa. We want to reach the moon; they want to reach their own minds. These new centers would have provided books and libraries and equipment to tell the story of the United States to Africa's leaders of tomorrow being trained today. Two of these would have been in Nigeria where the U.S. investment of interest is great and two others would have been in the Congo, a country still living in the shadow of its own crisis.

Or take the Far East. Our Agency there is deeply involved in the psychological struggle that will determine Asia's future for good or ill. We have committed ourselves and our energies to assist people to understand the alternatives and to make the decisions that will point to freedom. Further, there is a shooting war in Vietnam where our country has committed high stakes of national interest.

USIA is literally in the front lines there. We have mobile information teams, accompanied by a doctor, which circulate the countryside visiting villages, gathering the leaders and assembling the people, discussing and treating their needs both medical and psychological, seeking to tie the country together and rousing interest in their own self-betterment. We are in the strategic hamlets with newspapers and pamphlets and films and radios, with guidance and instruction and advice for a sorely tried people. We use helicopters for access, not buying them ourselves but going piggyback in those of other agencies whenever the need is great enough.

At Hong Kong we have a Center gathering information from the Chinese communist mainland and disseminating that information for world wide use. From there we feed material back for the Voice of America to broadcast to the mainland;

we feed material for our wireless file to convey to the 104 countries of USIA operation around the world; we produce Chinese language radio programs for placement in South Asia and run a Chinese book translation program for one of the key political audiences in Southeast Asia, the millions of overseas Chinese who live in other countries of the area.

Or regard some of the particular media we use. Television grows enormously. Last year close to two new television transmitters came on the air somewhere in the world every single day -- Saturdays and Sundays included. The appetite of overseas transmitters for product is voracious. They make no charge for time. They get no payment for carrying our programs. To gain similar access to such a burgeoning communication instrument, the Russians would pay -- how many millions would you guess? USIA gets the air time free. But we may not be able to make our best efforts to use it.

Our Television Service last year spent $3.9 million. To meet the expansion of world TV, we asked to add $3 million more, and to add new personnel to meet the new demand. But instead we received an unsympathetic response and a personnel ceiling for the Agency at its present level.

This means that two new studio facilities being constructed to replace our primitive facilities would not be staffed properly. Additional production over 1963 would be curtailed.

A regional TV production center in Mexico City would be out.

The most popular TV series this Agency has ever done, "Let's Learn English" and "Let's Speak English," would be cut to one-half its planned production.

Our ability to do timely and high quality video-taped and filmed programs on major issues and themes -- such as the President's two recent speeches on peace and integration -- would be reduced by three-fourths.

Acquisitions from commercial networks and cooperative programs with private and educational producers would be at less than one-third that proposed for 1964.

Successful current programs would have to continue at the current level despite requests that would permit an increase of both quality and quantity; Japanese television, for example, has requested that our "Washington Report" be produced every week instead of the present every two week schedule. They will probably have to be refused.

Additional programs for Africa, the Near East, and East Europe, where output is now low, would likely not come to fruition.

Or take our Press Service. Our Arabic magazine for the Middle East, Al Hayat, could not go to production every month as we had proposed; it may have to stay a bi-monthly. Or consider America Illustrated, our Russian and Polish language magazine. Russians have been seen in block-long lines at kiosks to buy the magazine in the dead of winter. The Russians tightly control the number of copies they permit us to sell, but our agreement with them may permit us nearly to double our print run. The increases we requested would have covered the cost of doing this.

This Agency has spearheaded the intelligent use of the motion picture in the national interest to a degree unprecedented in the United States with the possible exception of World War II. This development has taken place in the last year. Its success is evidenced by the response from overseas as well as by the favorable appraisal of the effort by the press, officials in government, and members of the Congress.

Now that USIA has put the government in the position of having the operating potential to make use of American film-making resources, it is indeed a setback to receive a vote of no confidence from the House of Representatives. On last year's limited production budget, we produced examples of what might be done in various fields with motion pictures. In Fiscal Year 1964 we had expected to have funds available to put America's most talented film-makers to work on themes of priority importance. The necessary funds included an increase in per-picture costs and an increase in the number of pictures.

We intended to treat such issues as America's racial challenge in a series of films which would explain to the world this most basic of American problems. We wanted to do 30 films on subjects such as Disarmament and the need for a Test Ban, Progress through Freedom on the U.S. social scene, the results of communism. The budget cuts may slice this plan in half.

Of great significance is our book program -- significant because, in a world awakening to the revolution of education, books and the access to knowledge will guide the minds of those new literates who will dream great dreams. The communists are aware of this. Last year they published 40,000,000 volumes in non-bloc languages. They caused to be published around the world another 100 million. USIA last year published five million. This year we asked for funds to publish some three million more, particularly in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America where we have managed to build a modest momentum. The House appropriation could hold us at our present level. And our modest goal was for eight million next year against their 140 million this year.

Of course, all these things I mention -- and they are but a partial list -- will not have to be eliminated. But all have varying degrees of urgency, and the restrictive judgment of the House of Representatives forces us to painful choices in which some national interest must be compromised and some precious national opportunities cannot be seized.

Most people in this country never know of our Agency unless it gets into trouble. Learn of us now, because we're in trouble now.

We had asked for a budget increase that we thought we could spend effectively and efficiently. We want only the tools of our trade. We shall try to restore the cuts in the Senate.

Either the House of Representatives believes in the potency of ideas and the importance of information or it does not. On the record, it does not so believe. It is the function of the Congress to decide these matters. It is the duty of those concerned with this global struggle, however, to utter warnings as to the consequences that may be expected to flow from a policy which denies the United States the opportunity to compete on equal terms. Money alone won't do it -- the propaganda of the deed is more important that the propaganda of the word. But we must be heard and we must be read, particularly by those in the emerging nations who are examining old ideas and new allegiances. If we fail, history will take its revenge.

The United States Information Agency is not a perfect instrument, but it is maturing and its product is improving. It is the government agency charged with the responsibility of exporting ideas and information. More money will not guarantee success, but insufficient money will threaten failure.

We are being out-spent, out-published, and out-broadcast. We are a first-rate power. We must speak with a first-rate voice abroad.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

Release No. 26

FOR RELEASE AT 9 P.M. EDT, MONDAY, JULY 1, 1963

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the National Education Association
Cobo Hall, Detroit, Michigan, July 1, 1963

You are very kind to permit me to share with you my thoughts on your role as educators and the U.S. Information Agency's role as an educational instrument. We are both engaged in man's honored pursuit of his future by training tomorrow's leaders today.

Three weeks ago today, in his historic address at American University, the President said "we have no more urgent task" than the pursuit of peace--the "rational end of rational men." He described this peace as the kind "that makes life on earth worth living--the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children. Not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men and women. Not merely peace in our time but peace for all time."

You as educators of America's children, we in USIA as communicators with all the world, are side by side in the vanguard of this great effort. Our weapons are ideas; our battleground the human mind. More than 40 years ago, H. G. Wells prophetically observed that "human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." Hopefully, that race is only begun; conceivably it is nearing a flaming finish.

So it is that education, in its broadest sense, is a prime concern of the U.S. Information Agency. We seek to further an enlightened American foreign policy by telling others about the kind of men and women who inhabit this country--who we are, what we are, and why we are what we are. We seek to associate this people and this government with the high hopes and lofty aspirations of people everywhere. To do this, we put to hopeful good effect every instrument of modern communication and adult education we can muster.

We broadcast by shortwave -- the Voice of America -- 789 hours every week in 36 languages, and we place many thousands of hours weekly of recorded

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programs, in as many as 62 different languages, on local radio stations abroad.

We produce films. Some six hundred million people each month see USIA documentaries, which are distributed in 52 languages.

We employ television, placing over 500 programs every year in 61 countries.

We report America through printed word and photograph. Our wireless news file transmits 10,000 words daily to our offices abroad in 106 countries. These words from America are quickly translated into local languages and distributed to editors, educators, broadcasters, government officials and other opinion leaders.

On a given day, for example, we can provide our posts abroad with the text of a major policy statement by the President in advance of delivery so that -- even while he is speaking -- mimeograph machines from Oslo to Ouagadougou are running it off in the local languages. It is not easy to measure the lasting impact of such communication -- just as it is difficult to evaluate the force of a message in our own country -- but we do ensure at least that the American point of view is quickly and fully available for scrutiny.

We also published 66 magazines and 20 newspapers in 25 languages. Last year we placed a million and a half pictures in newspapers and periodicals around the world. We print pamphlets and cartoon strips -- over a million pamphlets last year, and five cartoon strips published in 87 countries -- including one that is the most widely read in the world. These too are means of reporting America and the American point of view persuasively.

We produce travelling exhibits, some 300 of them in continual use around the globe. These range from simple panel displays to multi-dimensional exhibits, covering subjects from elementary education to space exploration. In the past two years, for example, we have shown three major exhibits -- on plastics, transportation and medicine -- in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These three exhibits alone have been seen by more than three million people behind the Iron Curtain.

We operate 182 libraries and 159 binational centers, and they attract some 30 million people each year.

We have taught English to over a million people since 1953, and are teaching millions more by modern techniques of instruction, including television.

In conjunction with the Department of State, we administer the Government's educational and cultural exchange program -- helping some 5,000 foreign students, leaders and teachers every year to experience this country for themselves, and sending their American counterparts abroad to study, speak and lecture.

Years will pass in many cases before the foreign student, brought to this country for a few months or a year, will put to effective use the benefits of his experience here. It is also a gamble, for other forces are at work on him

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and around him as he matures to a leading position in his own land. There is ample evidence, though, that the exchange program is one of our most useful bridges to understanding.

Also in conjunction with the State Department we encourage and sometimes sponsor the performance abroad of American music and theater.

We support and often initiate the establishment of Chairs of American Studies in foreign universities -- sometimes occupied by visiting Americans, sometimes by scholars of the foreign country. We promote the establishment of courses on all varieties of American subjects in foreign universities, and then support those courses with books and publications. In addition to producing educational materials -- both for print and for broadcast by television and radio -- we sponsor seminars, workshops, round table discussions, lectures, and readings.

This past year we have reached thousands of foreign teachers attending USIA-sponsored seminars. Our purpose is two-fold: we share new teaching techniques and we impart information about the United States. Interest is avid. One teacher in Brazil travelled 36 hours by river craft and 24 hours by train to reach a USIS seminar on English-teaching. Another seminar, conducted for advanced students in Thailand, attracted more than 1,700 Thais, and afterward drew this comment from one participating teacher: "This program has shown us that America is a force for peace in the world, and is very close to Thailand in feelings and heart."

English teaching is as popular as any other single thing we do overseas. We are teaching millions of people with a new television series, "Let's Learn English," now broadcast in 36 countries. In many countries it occupies the "prime" viewing hours; in Japan it is programmed twice during the day by competitive TV networks. In Vienna, the national network reports that the program is the most popular in the history of Austrian television. Fan mail has been received in volume even from behind the Iron Curtain where many can see the program on their sets.

We had this amusing letter from a middle aged man who, after taking his final examination, asked that he be graded leniently. He had watched "Let's Learn English" every night on a television set in a furniture store window. He said the boys who also watched it were rough and shoved him around -- and besides, it was hard work standing up and taking notes on the glass window!

We are emphasizing our activities with youth and students abroad, many of whom misunderstand us and oppose our foreign policy. We are attempting to reach young people who never before came to USIA unless they had rocks in their hands. We are not imitating the communist techniques of riotous demonstrations. We are after no student mobs chanting "USA, USA." Rather, are we trying to reach the hitherto "unreachables" and convince them that we stand with them in their efforts to modernize their societies, and that democracy and freedom can be effective instruments in solving their problems.

We work with U.S. business firms, with hundreds of separate companies

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sending material that explains our national policies to thousands of representatives abroad.

We publish and distribute millions of books abroad, many of them in foreign translation, but we do not yet publish nearly enough. We give or loan books to foreign schools, universities and other institutions, and to key individuals and organizations as well. We facilitate the distribution and sale of American books abroad through regular commercial channels.

And USIA has been the means whereby American publishers, local school systems and private citizens have put books to work for the United States abroad. Publishers have contributed 1,300 sets of the Encyclopedia Britannica, 200 sets of Great Books of the Western World, hundreds of world atlases, multi-language dictionaries, and children's books series. We have given free Book-of-the-Month subscriptions to 650 foreign libraries.

We have shipped some three million donated books abroad in the past three years to libraries and schools, among them 450,000 books from Kansas, 410,000 children's books from California, and great numbers from book drives in Chicago and Los Angeles.

But the hunger abroad for books and reading matter is so great that our Agency has undertaken a new project with the hope and expectation that the American people will respond: BOOKS USA.

We have arranged with the largest paperback publishers in the United States to offer packets of ten books for sale at no profit. The titles which make up these packets are selected by USIA; they include the classics of American literature, modern biography, economics, poetry, drama, history, and contemporary political science. For $4 anyone can now purchase a $5 packet of books. They will be shipped abroad and donated by our field posts to foreign schools and libraries.

I appreciate that worthy projects abound, but may I urge that schools, through student organizations, clubs, or faculty groups, consider conducting drives for BOOKS USA. A note to us in Washington will bring prompt response and, if needed, advice and assistance.

When we first announced this plan to our overseas posts, one of the first replies came from Indonesia, enclosing checks from all the American employees of USIS Djakarta with the comment: "It is difficult to imagine a number adequate to reach the saturation point of effective and useful distribution."

Our post in Manila reports that USIS Philippines is besieged by requests from hundreds of the 28,000 Philippine elementary schools with an aggregate enrollment of more than four million pupils.

After distributing 83,000 primary school readers among the schools of

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nine West Indian islands, our man in Trinidad was told by a teacher with glistening eyes: "For the first time each child will have a book all his own."

To share the reading and education bounty of this country in the pursuit of peace is what we seek. I earnestly solicit your cooperation. The need is great, the competition fierce. Insidious ideologies are bidding for the allegiance of minds and hearts mired deep in the misery that afflicts so much of the human race.

Both we and the communists have made similar commentary on man's modern misery. Both we and they use the same words to address the world: peace, food, good health, houses, love, friendship, mothers and children, the future. If our words are the same, where are our differences?

The difference is over our concept of what at base a man is and may become. The difference is over what our two systems do to human and natural resources. The difference is over the concern each has for the destiny and the dignity of each individual in its society.

Thus it is our adversary who debases destiny, who foreswears freedom, who demeans the dignity of humanity. It is we who have chosen to take our stand on the side of hope, and to proclaim that the only shackles we wear are the limits to which we dare push our dreams.

It has thus come as grave disappointment to me that, at a time when demands are so great and there are needs that cry to be filled, the House of Representatives of the Congress has seen fit to pare the budget request of our Agency.

This vote of indifference comes simultaneously with evidence of great concern in Moscow at the success of the USIA. In the past days, both in the ideological plenum of the Soviet Communist Party and in leading Party publications there has been voiced a chorus of consternation at the growing effectiveness of our Agency.

Trud, the official labor organ in Russia, described USIA as, and I quote, "a perfect example of an instrument for poisoning the minds of the people with deceitful propaganda." Unquote. The principal journal of the Central committee, Kommunist, charged that USIA, and I quote again, "uses the entire arsenal of the means of mass influence over the minds of men." Unquote. Komsomolskaya Pravda, the daily mentor of Russian communist youth, called our officers in Africa, and I quote again, "specialists in the psychological seasoning and the ideological corruption of the population." Unquote.

In the Soviet Plenum, Party First Secretary Leonid Ilichov contended, and here another quotation, that "Western imperialists have seen the folly of relying on military or economic superiority to subdue the Socialist world and have instead turned to psychological and ideological warfare." Unquote.

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We accept that challenge. I came to Washington relishing the prospect of this combat. And given proper support, I am confident of our ultimate success.

There is, indeed, good reason for the Soviets to be concerned. But I must admit to deep dismay that the House of Representatives does not appear to share the urgency of the challenge and our nation's response to it. At a time when we have geared ourselves to a greater effort -- both in quality and quantity -- to follow up the initial successes we have had, the House has determined to restrain us. Not to recognize an opportunity is a shame -- to recognize it but fail to respond in full measure is dangerous.

We asked of the Congress this year $157.9 million. We were given $142.7 million -- $15 million less than needed. The Committee added what amounted to a personnel ceiling for the Agency.

I told the Appropriations Committee when I appeared that we did "not inflate our requests in anticipation of reductions." The Committee was aware that as our Agency operated solely abroad we have no constituency to complain of injury, no pressure group to press our case, no arms manufacturer to intervene on our behalf, no organized lobby to serve as advocate.

Why is the present sum insufficient? We operate in a dangerous world where crisis is the norm, not the exception. But coping with crisis is by no means our sole function. Reflecting with fidelity what manner of man it is who inhabits this country is our most basic preoccupation. We seek to share the American experience and the American message with others abroad, not in idle hope of emulation but because from such dialogue can and must come compatibility and understanding. The alternative has been described by some as the unthinkable.

I stress the word fidelity because we cannot report an America that does not exist even if we would. USIA is but one of many means for telling of our achievements and our dreams, as well as of our inadequacies and our shortcomings. Foreign journalists and visitors, our own film makers and our television networks, our authors and newsmen and tourists, missionaries, businessmen, young Americans studying abroad -- all contribute to the view of America from abroad. What we say about the United States can thus be easily compared to the reporting of others. We must tell the truth, because it is right and because we must be believable.

I hardly need insist that our word cannot be better than our deed. It is what we do, far more than what we say, that will determine what other people think about America.

In the months to come, we shall either have real progress to report in the field of race relations in the United States, or we shall be obliged to try to explain failure. We shall be able, in truth, to tell the world that Americans are faithful to our tradition of personal involvement to achieve justice for all -- or we

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shall be obliged to report that a tradition which fathered such great achievement has foundered in uncontern and indifference.

What we say about this aspect of American life in the months to come will depend on what you and other community leaders will do. Our reporting will mirror your response to the personal challenge of making this a land of truly equal opportunity for all.

USIA has been assigned by the President and the Congress a specific and important role in the conduct of American foreign affairs. We are expected to compete with a massive communist campaign of distortion and denigration. We are expected to explain the United States and its policies. A significant part of that task is to communicate something of the American educational process, and thereby to share the fruits of your experience with those similarly engaged abroad. Yet our annual worldwide budget, funding all our activities, is about one-third the annual expenditure of the University of California and barely more than that spent each year by the city school system here in Detroit.

We sought a budget increase which we believe we could spend effectively and efficiently. To do our job we need the tools of our trade. We shall seek to restore the cuts in the Senate.

Either the United States Congress believes in the potency of ideas and the worth of information, or it does not. Congress has the duty to determine the measure of expenditure. But it is also the responsibility of those of us charged specifically and personally with the program to warn what may occur as result of shoe-string financing. I would be derelict were I not to take notice that the effort to speak for the United States abroad has been short-changed. More money alone will not promise us success, but inadequate money may well threaten failure.

We are a great power and are expected to render great leadership. We cannot expect miracles to flow from the folly of frugality.

I am aware that I depart from tradition in discussing these matters in this forum. The alternative is to try to "make do" with inadequate funds. The Congress appropriates the money but we shall all share the consequences.

In running "the race between education and catastrophe" of which Wells spoke, we must not forget that "the race is to the swift; the battle to the strong." If slowed and weakened by lack of money, this country's worldwide information program cannot maintain the pace required for victory.

I recognize that the U. S. Information Agency is not a perfect instrument but it is improving, as the complaints of our competitors confirm. If it is the decision of the Congress that we should continue to be out-spent, out-published and out-broadcast, then that is the way it will be. I do not believe that is the way the American people want it to be.

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Text of Remarks by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
at the United Givers Fund Opening Rally
at Constitution Hall, 12 noon, September 17, 1963

It is money that brings us together today -- money, and the pursuit of a greater good by giving for the betterment of others. It is a venerable witticism which you will perhaps tolerate my dusting off for this occasion that the United Givers Fund drive puts "all our begs in one ask-it."

If not quite all, then surely most: 143 charitable agencies in the Washington area. They do their work in diverse ways, but they are all dedicated to the proposition that it is the duty of the community to make life more bearable for its less fortunate members. And they all derive their operating funds from the United Givers Fund.

Last year some two million people donated over 8 million dollars. This year our quota is up: 8.3 million dollars to support all these agencies, and the quota set for the government employees unit is 3.5 million dollars, a little less than half.

That represents a lot of money. But in a sense we raise money to buy a bargain. It does indeed cost money to give a fatherless boy a Big Brother to guide him to responsible adulthood. But it costs far more tax dollars to keep a delinquent boy locked up in a reformatory. It does indeed cost money to provide day care for a child, but it costs far more tax dollars to support a mother who is unable to work because there is no one to care for her children. It costs money to train a retarded adult to become a self-supporting tax-paying citizen, but it costs far more tax dollars to keep him languishing untrained in a public institution. And it does indeed cost dollars to send a visiting nurse to a home, but it costs far more tax dollars to transport and keep that patient in the D. C General Hospital.

What we have, then, is an obvious application of the old axiom about ounces of prevention and pounds of cure. We seek the money to apply the prevention now in charity, and hopefully avoid raising the burden of applying the cure later in taxes.

But we would be base indeed if we put it on a basis of solely self interest. Whether the dollars be taxable or charitable, who can put the price tag on the deaf-mute child who is taught to lip-read and speak, on the cerebral palsy girl being taught to walk again, on the boy whose

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playground is the street being given summer weeks camping in the woods, on the forgotten senior citizen finding a comfortable home and friends, on the child unable to go to school for want of a pair of shoes being given a shiny new pair?

The shiny newness of a human spirit now fired with hope is the real reason so many of us give of self and service to this worthy pursuit. Begging a line from John F. Kennedy, we do it because it is right.

To some the sum may seem high. Hope, I suggest, never comes cheaply. Further, this community can afford it. Per capita income in Washington is the third highest in the nation. The Institute of Life Insurance's detailed study of the 1960 census shows that in all these United States only Stamford and Norwalk, Connecticut, have a higher median income than Washington.

Besides, there is our own self interest as well to consider.

Many of these agencies reach into our own lives: the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, help for retarded children, home nursing, mental health associations, family and child care, homes for the aged, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the YM and YWCAs, the USO for the armed forces -- these are all UGF agencies, and some one of them or more will service some one of us or more or a member of our families at some time in our lives.

Further, no one of us is excluded from the circle of potential help. A retarded child, cerebral palsy, deafness, blindness, mental illness, disaster, multiple sclerosis or choose your heartbreak could happen to any of us. When it does occur, we could not handle it alone. We would need help -- professional, specialized, and competent, the kind of help that comes from UGF agencies.

The contentment and well-being of every man and woman here is predicated on an assumption of community well-being and success. The neighborhoods we inhabit, the stores we shop, the churches we attend, the children we educate -- stop and consider how much of almost everything we do is predicated on a first assumption of community well being. In large measure, then, the aim of our charity is to promote and extend that community well being. It is in a sense a type of social insurance premium for us all. We hope never to collect insurance, but we buy it for protection. In the same sense, we hope tragedy never strikes us and that our communities never degenerate into intolerable circumstances of living. But we give to charity for our community protection. And again we have our axiom about ounces of prevention and pounds of cure.

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In the foreign affairs work that involves the Agency I direct, one cannot avoid the reflection that on occasion our world reflects more harshness than it does humanity. I have seen this graphically illustrated in the example of Dr. Henry Smith Leiper's theoretical town of 1,000 people, quoted recently by Sigurd S. Larmon.

This theoretical town represents the world. In its thousand-person population there is a ratio of only 60 Americans to 940 non-Americans. These 60 Americans would have nearly half the income of the entire town. There would be the usual proportionate differences in religions and races of people, with Christians far outnumbered by other religions, and Caucasians a small minority compared to non-white races.

The Americans would, on the average, live longer than most of the other people of the town. They would probably eat too much while many of their neighbors starved. The Americans would be healthy and wealthy, but the majority of the others in the town would be ignorant,poor,hungry and sick.

Of those 940 non-Americans, 200 would have malaria, 85 would have blood parasites, and three would have leprosy. Forty-five would die in their early years from malaria, cholera, typhus and other preventable infections. Twenty would be blinded by trachoma, 156 would die from starvation or malnutrition. Most of the 60 Americans would never see these conditions nor probably ever worry about them.

If this is the world in microcosm, the world in reality will probably get worse before it gets better. It took the world we live in a quarter of a million years to produce the 3 billion people today on this planet. Within the next 40 years -- the further life span of some of the people in this room -- the world will produce its next 3 billion people. If our little theoretical town had privation till now, imagine its fate when the pressures of size have doubled.

It was Samuel Clemens who best characterized the attitude of the well-fed to the unfed when he said: "By trying we can easily learn to endure adversity. Another man's, I mean."

But we, the representatives of the well-fed and the well-off cannot quite afford such disposition to indifference. Perhaps the better keynote for cause came from the venerated Francis Bacon's apt pen: "Men must know that in this theater of man's life it is reserved only for God and the angels to be lookers-on."

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We are none of us lookers-on. It is charity that tempers harshness with humanity. Experience and the modern world have taught us that we are all a part of another man's adversity. For the contentment and the well being of us all, we participate in his self-betterment -- and our own -- through charity. The United Givers Fund is the highest expression of Washington charity. I commend its fate, Ladies and Gentlemen, to the best efforts of us all.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the National Convention of the Federal Bar Association
Sheraton Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., September 26, 1963

Permit me, Mr. Mayor, a brief word of thanks to you and your companion hosts for this honor you pay me. Traditionally in the past when a layman such as myself heard from counsel it was first to tell me what I should not say, and then, in recognition of this sage advice, to advise me what I should pay. I should comment only by observing that I often followed such intrepid invitations to boldness by silence. Today, however, I respond to invitation by counsel with a rejoinder in appreciation. I am grateful for your consideration.

You are lawyers. I today am a propagandist. And therein lies a happy commonality. Words are the stock in trade of us both. We both deal with human aspirations, and with that point at which human aspirations are in conflict. We each seek a meeting of the minds. You speak judiciously for justice; we speak fervently for freedom. But both of us are advocates in a cause for a position. To a degree, we both submit our brief to a jury of our peers, and the decisions they reach are necessarily judgments by which we both must abide.

I feel then that I am not talking to total strangers when I mention something of what the U.S. Information Agency is about.

Our Agency operates in a difficult, not too well defined area. Our function is to explain the policies and practices of this government and this people overseas. We embrace a multitude of disciplines and professions. We employ all the media of communication known to modern man: radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits and the arts. We are involved in an entire range of problems: a press run in Beirut, an exhibition in Turin, a stage performance in Munich and radio relays in Colombo. From a news telecast in Bogota to a sound-tracked film strip in Paris to a book typeset in Manila -- upon all the myriad of details we initiate, we create, we facilitate.

Even more important we must deal amidst the intangibles: the difficult, delicate human art of persuasion. For by word of mouth, by cultivated personal

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contact abroad, we seek to persuade others of the rightness of our view and that our actions and our goals are in harmony with theirs.

We deal not only in communications but also in policy. We articulate and distribute not advertising for cigarettes and soap suds but clarifications of government policy and deeds. And we speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures and styles, of vastly differing levels of comprehension. We must deal also with the very considerable pre-conditioning foreigners have had to the image and the ideas of America. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes -- however unjustified, their existence is real -- of the product we promote: the actions and the hopes of the United States.

We have had occasion to be together in the past, lawyers and my Agency. One of our prouder present projects is called "Law Books, USA," undertaken in cooperation with the Foundation of the Federal Bar Association. This is a project whereby private citizens, just as they would buy a CARE package, may buy a packet of books on the law. USIA posts abroad will then distribute those books to libraries, lawyers, legislators, judges, and students. For $8 one buys these 7 books:

"Spirit of Liberty," by Learned Hand.

"The Nature of the Judicial Process," by Benjamin Cardozo.

"Talks on American Law," by Harold J. Berman.

"Brandeis Reader," by Erwin Pollack.

"Equal Justice Under Law," by Carroll Moreland.

"American Constitution Reader," by Robert McKay.

"American Jurisprudence Reader," by Thomas Cowan.

Under a non-profit scheme, only $8 will put this packet encompassing America's judicial genius into the vortex of intense curiosity overseas as to what our institutions and people are like. Purchases, if sent to the Foundation of The Federal Bar Association (1815 H Street, N. W.) in Washington, D. C., are tax deductible. I earnestly solicit your participation.

Lawyers and USIA have other contact as well. The Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens this summer past was the subject of attention and coverage in all of our world-wide media. Several participants there -- Chief Justice Warren, Judge Thurgood Marshall, and Civil Rights Commission Staff Director Berl Bernhard -- followed this with a tour of several countries in Africa. Reports from our posts abroad were impressive in terms of the impact on Africans with whom they spoke.

Marshall capsuled it nicely in responding to a question as to why he had

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come to Africa. He said they were there on a sort of educational-cultural exchange for the United States, that this country "...had sent Louis Armstrong to toot, Harry Belafonte to sing, and us lawyers to talk."

Mr. Chairman, I am neither a tooter nor a singer. Neither am I a lawyer. And as I am aware that a much talking bureaucrat is like an ill-tuned instrument, I fear I may yet give you occasion to reflect on the propriety of your invitation to me.

Other sources tell me that Marshall lived up to his self-professed credentials as a talker in Africa. At a question-and-answer session following a talk to a highly receptive audience, Marshall had been badgered by several incessant communist student questioners. One followed him from the hall, grabbing at his sleeve and arguing in a loud voice, until Marshall finally turned in exasperation: "I've answered your questions. What do you want of me now?" The haughty student said in a loud voice: "Take a message to the Supreme Court. Tell them to take seriously their responsibility in race relations." The irrepressible Marshall, somewhat struck by this, thundered back: "Good. And now take a message to yourself. Tell yourself to go straight to hell."

The student, I am told, appeared at no more sessions.

Race relations, I am told, took up the conversations of these gentlemen to the near exclusion of almost everything else. Mr. Bernhard mentions, for example, that in Ethiopia Chief Justice Warren's sessions with judges and lawyers, his press conferences and public appearances, must have concerned themselves 90% of the time with America's racial problem.

It may surprise you to learn that foreign peoples are so concerned with our domestic difficulty. It is no surprise to those of us who work with foreign affairs. There is no other single subject month in and month out that so consistently occupies the cares and curiosities of other peoples about the United States. Putting John Glenn into orbit puts his name in every headline in the world. But James Meredith may be as well known around the world, and that while America's space sensations rise and fall in world attention, America's race relations seem to remain in the undiminished spotlight.

It is not then mere bold assertion to state that in the field of civil rights and racial relations our Agency, speaking in behalf of the people of this country, has its greatest difficulty. Events here plague us over there. When the Honorable G. L. Mehta, the former Ambassador of India to the United States, was refused service in a Texas restaurant due to his color, it is no answer to say to Indians that unfortunately the Ambassador was mistaken for a Negro.

An official foreign diplomatic visitor was greeted at the Washington airport on his first trip to the United States. He gave his welcome to his host with eyes fixed firmly on the ground. When asked why he persisted in staring at a spot in front of his feet, the diplomat answered, "I am afraid I shall see a white woman.

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When a man of color looks at a white woman in America mobs of white people may tear him to pieces."

Or take the African Cabinet Minister who with a full day of appointments in Washington cancelled everything to go to Mississippi for the funeral of the slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers. To him that was the most important place in this country on that day.

Or the African student who deliberately provoked having service refused him in a restaurant due to his color so that he could have a feeling of camaraderie and understand what it is like to be an American Negro.

These, of course, relate to foreigners in our country. The responsibility of my Agency is the obverse of this: lands where we Americans are foreigners and other peoples are the hosts.

At a time not of our choosing we have been cast as custodian of man's right to self determine his freedom. It is not a role we have sought. Having shouldered it, we do not now shirk it.

Its import is that in country after country we have a responsibility of awesome sobriety. With responsibility comes renown. Privacy has become a privilege of the past. Ours is now the fishbowl world where we become the focus of many men's attention and curiosity.

How they see us conduct ourselves may well deeply influence how they choose to conduct themselves in relation to us and our Communist adversary.

My Agency's responsibility is to translate the policies and practices of this government into terms meaningful to the foreigner. But how does one pursue this task when, as occurred with one of our foreign service officers, an explanation to an African official was interrupted by the cutting query: "Why are you trying to kill my people in Mississippi?"

What does one do when the foreign minister of a country opens a meeting with a USIA officer by commenting that he came to America believing in our ideals and heritage of a free land, but lost that belief on confronting the reality of racial discrimination here. He has returned to his country, in his own words, bitterly disillusioned with the United States. How well does one then continue the business of diplomacy or politics with that foreign minister?

Or take the example of an English language teacher in a leftist African country where students week after week carpingly criticize America's racial dilemma. After some nine months the students finally acknowledged the fact of progress as reported by the USIA teacher and commended the United States for it. The next morning headlines carried the name of James Meredith and two men killed in the rioting in Mississippi. That very day the students quietly condemned the teacher: "You lied. We no longer have confidence in you or the United States."

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All these examples occurred in Africa. But reactions to race difficulties are not a problem only in Africa. They plague us in Europe, they assault us in Latin America, they bedevil us in the Far East, they in short mock every virtue that we tell others the United States stands for. Wherever men have ears to hear and eyes to see and read they learn that USIA words sometimes fall short of USA deeds.

Put yourself in the following hypothetical circumstances. You are an American citizen serving with USIA abroad. It is Monday morning, September 16, a date recent enough for us to recall the headlines. These are some of the hypothetical things that might have happened to USIA around the world:

In Tokyo a USIA Cultural Affairs Officer is speaking at the opening day of a Japanese university. He talks of the dynamics of U.S. democracy and stresses that the United States, like Japan, is addressing itself to the solution of mutual problems. The students pour from auditorium to street where newsboys run toward them crying the morning lead: "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Rio de Janeiro a USIA press officer is conferring with a features editor of the Sunday paper. He has brought the Brazilian editor a picture layout on the improved status of minorities in the United States. The editor is interrupted by a copy boy bringing in tear sheets from the wire services with this bulletin lead on top: "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Cairo a USIA magazine with a Negro on the cover sits on a newsstand. The magazine carries an important story for Egyptian readers on progress of the American Negro. Next to it is a local paper with the black headline: "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Rangoon is a USIA exhibit set up for the Burmese Bar Association. Its subject: "Man's Vast Future." It has the sub-theme, "We Inherit the Past; We Earn the Future." Burmese lawyers are walking through observing this pictorial evidence of the brotherhood of man and the common aspirations and motivations of our two countries. A Marxist oriented lawyer enters with a pleased expression and holds up a local newspaper headline, "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Istanbul a USIA radio program placed on local Turkish stations is carrying a panel discussion by three teachers and professors just returned from an exchange visit on which USIA sent them to the United States. They are talking about America's racial progress and democracy in action when suddenly the program is interrupted by an announcer with a news bulletin: "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Lagos a USIA library, used by hundreds of Nigerian college students daily has a near full house with students at every table using American books, source material, and periodicals. At a far table one student with a transistor radio quiets his comrades and turns up the volume for the whole room to hear the

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same bulletin on "Four Negro Children Killed in American Church Bombing."

In Caracas a television station has just finished broadcasting to the Venezuelan capital a USIA TV show on the progressive social institutions of a democracy in action. The news show immediately following opens with a lead announcement on "Four Negro Children Killed in American Church Bombing."

These hypothetical incidents could, in fact, have happened to any of our USIA officers in scores of capitals around the world.

Several morals flow from them. U.S. racial violence is top news the world round. The good name and repute of this country is being blackened and defamed. To all of us, this is distressingly, inescapably true.

I should not, however, leave you with the impression that racial disturbances are deplorable because they make USIA's job abroad difficult. Difficulties, after all, are what we are sent abroad to engage, and in the total sum of how this nation fares the good or ill fortune of my Agency is of but small consequence.

But I believe that these are testing times, and that we are being now measured against the yardstick of the very ideals we ourselves created. It is true that a curious world waits to see if a nation so constituted as we can constitutionally solve the commitment of our Constitution to equal rights for all our citizenry. But the reason we attempt racial progress is not the opinion of peoples overseas. It is at base the conscience of ourselves here at home, the conscience of both the deniers and the denied. We do this because we demand it of ourselves. We do it because it is right. And this is a nation where right has honor.

To the world USIA makes commentary upon where our racial concerns may lead us. Our difficulty is heightened in explaining such matters overseas by three things. There is a genuine misunderstanding of an extremely complex domestic problem with its roots deep in the U.S. past and in the U.S. present of economic, social, and political realities. Second, commercial news media of both this and other countries tend to unbalance circumstances by emphasizing sensational developments. This is the principle that violence makes headlines while nonviolence makes dull reading. Third, deliberate distortion by our enemies exploits an impression of pervasive injustice and intolerance in the United States coming from a nation which claims to champion equality and opportunity.

We are newsmen. As such we report events of racial discrimination and violence as they occur, for our audiences abroad have an understandably keen interest in such matters. But at the same time we attempt to place such occurrences in the context of this nation as a living democracy.

We know that this issue and its problems will be with us for a long time to come. Controversy and disorder will be its backwash. We shall not be able to undo wholly such unfavorable impressions of the United States as this will create.

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So our corrective task becomes one of showing that controversy and disorder are inevitable by-products of our national concern over equal rights for all. We do everything possible to offset the effect of distortions and misrepresentations. We seek to dispel ignorance. We aim to supplement oversimplification. We try to remedy incomplete information. Our goal is to obtain sympathetic understanding of interested nations for what we seek to do.

Thus we follow complete candor in recognizing the dimensions and complexity of the problem.

We detail the full and active Administration support of all measures required to solve the problem.

We indicate that the very struggles nowcompelling world-wide attention to the problem are themselves signs of progress. Democracy in action is never quiet.

We relate constructive movements to solutions at whatever level they occur -- national, regional, state, or local. We bear in mind that nationwide more schools, hospitals, theaters, restaurants, labor unions, and housing developments are integrated than are not. Each new instance of integration adds to an already favorable balance.

We seek out and use sources which give a continuing flow of news about significant constructive developments -- however unspectacular.

We background each positive item with materials to show that such developments are not unique but part of a mounting national trend.

We focus attention on the support of the majority of Americans for civil rights progress and programs already in operation and in submission by the President to the Congress.

We point out the large white participation and support of the colored man's call for equality.

We underline the positive response of major elements of this nation -- church groups, trade unions, business leaders, women's organizations, professional associations, students -- and the response of all to the President's call for cooperation.

We look for stories to humanize civil rights advances, telling of those proud but unknown individuals who help to win local gains.

We give prominence in materials for special audiences -- labor, women, students -- to civil rights activities of their U.S. counterparts.

We explain, as we inevitably must, the peculiar nature of the U.S. Federal

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system, making it clear that local officials are locally elected and local police are locally directed. They are not, as in many other countries, under control of the national government.

Do not misunderstand the intent of our Agency. We are under injunction to report the rough with the smooth, to relate unfavorable or controversial developments or resistance to the President and his program. But our purposes are to keep the broader national purposes in view -- and to report our progress, however attenuated, to the national goals we have set for ourselves. And we shall do this even when other sources of information, however motivated they may be in their reporting, tend to obscure those goals.

Sometimes, of course, this may involve great risk. When 200,000 people converged on Washington on August 28, all the facilities of our many media went into action. Our Press Service cameras photographed its length and breadth, with those photos later making their way to overseas posts for placement in local publications. News summaries on our wireless file, along with official statements and releases, were teletyped to seven geographical world areas. The Voice of America, with newscasts in 36 languages, was on the air with special coverage of the story throughout the day. Our Motion Picture Service has done a documentary centering on the March. Further, newsreel footage went into scores of movie houses for theater goers, particularly in Africa and Latin America. The Television Service did short sequences for placement worldwide on foreign TV stations.

This has the ring of sound preparation and efficient organization, as indeed it was. Where, you might ask, was the risk? The risk lay in what might have occurred. Had disturbances broken out our cameras and colleagues and copy would have been just as actively reporting tragedy as they did triumph.

From this arises a very fundamental lesson in propaganda. Propaganda is far more what we do than what we say. Propaganda of the deed is far better and a thousand times more lasting than propaganda of the word. Words can supplement or bolster but can never substitute for actions. We will be known far more by what we are than by what we say we are.

The civil rights struggle will indeed be a trying time for our democracy. Our people in a real sense will be on trial. And our concern will be not only with the ends we finally obtain but as well how we reach those ends. The verdict is not the only truth in our national jurisprudence. Democracy is as well concerned with the style of the trial.

There will be other spectators as well in this courtroom of international history. Two thirds of this planet is non-white; they would be less than human if they were not absorbed in the disposition we make of our own non-white difficulties.

They will regard us not only in their role as non-white onlookers but also as bearers of the legacy of poverty. Sensing their own new-born need for a better

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life, they will sense also the lack or presence of a social conscience in this, the world's richest nation with wealth enough to do whatever its dream commands. If we choose not to make honorable disposition of the Negro complainant in our court of history, they will know that it was not because we were unable. It will be that we chose to do less than honor in the face of injustice.

I am not so naive as to believe that morality alone will be the palliative for our international ills. Defense is difficult without strength to accompany morality. But neither can the judgments we now seek from other nations be commanded by force alone.

Man has not yet devised the command to hold the head and heart of him who dreams and dares.

Respect and confidence, like love from a woman and loyalty from an ally, must be earned. The American people stand now as a nation closely observed. The jury of peers has not yet been summoned to decision. But when that day arrives, let no one man here begrudge the evidence that he himself put into the scales of justice.

The Twentieth Century can be the century of liberty and justice. We inherit the past. But we earn the future. Let us consider our concerns of today with due respect to what we hope that future will bring.

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